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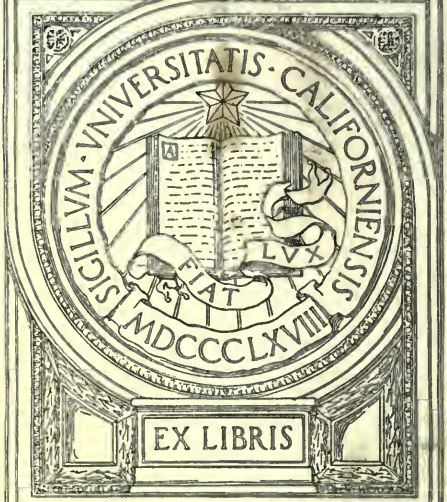

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THE

WORKS

OF

SYMON PATRICK, D.D.

SOMETIME BISHOP OF ELY.

INCLUDING HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

EDITED BY

THE REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.

MICHEL FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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A FURTHER

CONTINUATION AND DEFENCE,

OR

THE THIRD PART

OF THE

FRIENDLY DEBATE.

Nemo sibi tantum errat.
[L. Ann. Seneca, de Vit. Beat. cap. 1.]

Excusare malunt vitia quam effugere.
[M. Ann. Seneca, Controv. lib. iii. al. vii. in procem.]

Job xi. 2, 3.

Should not the multitude of words be answered? and should a man full of talk be justified?

Should thy lies make men hold their peace? and when thou mockest, shall no man make thee ashamed?

THE PREFACE

TO THE

WELL-DISPOSED READERS.

IF we consider how necessary true religion is to the settlement and comfort, not only of every particular soul, but of every family, city, or kingdom; we cannot but think it as necessary, that it should be plainly taught and known; and judge their pains commendable who labour to make men understand wherein it consists. The controversies and vain janglings about it have been so many, the sects of religious people so numerous, their hatred against each other so great, and the world hath been so much troubled with them, that they have made some ready to conclude it is a thing above our reach and capacity either to understand or practise. But if we advise with the ancient more than the modern opinions, we shall soon find it is a plain and simple thing, that hath only this difficulty attending on it, to do according to the rules and precepts belonging to it; which is not so difficult neither in itself, as men are wont to make it by their crossness, hypocrisy, and unbelief. It is nothing else, saith one[a], but the "turning up of our souls (from this earth) to the only true God, and a life according to him; which breeds a most happy friendship with him." As much as to say, an imitation of him whom we worship. "The whole evangelical conversation is propounded as a preparation for the life after the resurrection; our Lord ordaining," saith St. Basil[b], "that we should not be angry, that we should bear with evils patiently, that we should not be spotted with the love of pleasures, and that we should keep ourselves free from covetousness and the love of riches: so that what the other world possesses naturally, we may prevent by our free choice. And if any body will define the gospel to be but a pattern or form of the life after the resurrection, he shall not in my judgment miss

[a] Euseb. Præp. Ev. l.i. c. 1. Ἡ πρὸς ἕνα καὶ μόνον Θεὸν ἀνάνευσις, &c. [p. 2 B.]

[b] L. de Spiritu, cap. 15. Τὸ ἀόργητον, τὸ ἀνεξικακὸν, &c. [tom. iii. p. 29E.]

the mark." This, all sober men cannot but confess, is that which, for distinction's sake, we may call *Religion the end.* This ought to be the scope of all our endeavours to be pure, humble, meek, patient, and full of charity; nor do I see what dispute can be raised about it, though some ignorant men love to disgrace this beginning of the celestial life, under the name of mere Morality. The greatest bustle and stir is about *Religion the means;* viz. faith in Jesus Christ, prayer, hearing of sermons, good discourse, and such like things. About which men have wrangled so long, and have been so much concerned to beat down the opinion opposite to their own, that at last they have, in a manner, forgot that there is any thing else to be regarded, and have made these the sum of their religion; at least, the greatest part of it. Insomuch, that to tell them this plain truth, that faith in Christ is itself but a means to something higher, and not to be rested in, is to raise a controversy; and make a new stir among those who are as ignorant as they are zealous. But the greatest dispute is, what that *faith* is, which is but a means whereby *we overcome the world.* And though St. John tells us, 1 John v. 5, it is to *believe that Jesus is the Son of God;* yet if any body else say so, it is not thought to be good divinity. Tell them that "piety consists not in talking often of God, but rather in being silent," (the tongue being a very dangerous member if not governed by good reason,) and they will quarrel with you for it, and perhaps say you are profane; though they be the very words of a very great and holy man among the old Christians[d], who gravely adds, that we should think it less perilous to hear than to speak, and therefore be more ready to learn than teach any thing about God; "studying to be less godly in words and more in deeds, and showing our love and affection rather by keeping of the laws, than by the admiring and commending of the lawgiver[e]." About prayer also, which is but a quiet and humble dependence of the soul upon God for what he sees good for us, expressed in fitting words, abundance of troubles are raised. No prayers, some think, will obtain the blessings they need, or dispose the soul for the divine grace, and promote the love of God and man in their hearts, unless they be every time in new words, and in a new order and method; which in truth serves more to gratify the fancy than to alter the will and affections; and pleases ourselves rather than God. Sermons also about that which I called *religion the end* are not so well liked; they would have them rather about the means. Nor is it sufficient to hear an holy instruction or exhor-

[d] Greg. Naz. orat. 2. p. 48. [ed. Ben. orat. iii. § 7. tom. i. p. 71 C.]

[e] Λόγῳ εὐσεβοῦντες ὀλίγα, ἔργῳ δὲ πλείονα, &c. [ibid.]

tation on the Lord's day, and the Scriptures read at other solemn times; or to acknowledge God and express our faith and hope in him, our love to him and desire to be like him in his public worship, in our own families and closets; but there must be other meetings and days observed of men's own private invention and appointment; or else all religion, they think, is in danger to be lost, and they much question, whether those have the power of godliness that do not frequent them. By this means, the simplicity of religion, and the true power of godliness, it must be acknowledged, is very much decayed. Many spend that time about the means, which they ought to spend in that god-like life to which they are designed; nay, they use those means in such a manner, that they hinder rather than promote true godliness. But there is a worse thing still behind.

Let any man attempt to apply a remedy to these mischiefs, by making a plain discovery of such mistakes; presently a terrible persecution is raised against him, and a troop, or army rather, of enraged zealots not only assault and wound, but endeavour to destroy his reputation. Though his words be never so plain and easy to be understood, though the composition of his discourse be perspicuous, and though he express in so many words, out of the holy Scriptures, what solid and true religion is; yet he shall be voted an enemy to it, an instrument of Satan, an underminer of all practical godliness, (so they have learnt to call praying and discoursing about good things, and such like matters.) He whose religion only alters the countenance, and busies himself in composing the face, and ordering the postures of the head, shall sooner be believed, though he pour out an hundred lies; than that well-designing person who studies to bridle his tongue, to speak nothing but the truth, and to order his life according to the will of God. These shall all be disparaged and vilified by an empty and talkative devotion, which shall be preferred much before them.

You may think this to be scarce credible; but when you consider the ignorance of some, the weakness of other men's natural parts, the naughty affections that most are possessed withal, and bring along with them to the reading of books, even of the holy Scriptures; and how truth itself was rejected when it came in person into the world, and the sacred volumes have been so wrested that the absurdest fictions have been made out of them, you will not wonder that a pious discourse meets with this bad entertainment. Either men consider not that some truths lie deep, and must be drawn up with a great deal of labour; or they have not indifferent minds, but suffer their desires and wishes to form their opinions for them.

They run over a book in posthaste, and only spend a few slight thoughts upon it; or they want that honesty and integrity of heart, which is necessary to a right understanding. They are fiercely bent to maintain their own conceits, they are blinded by the love of this world, or by anger and hatred of others, or by a proud and vain opinion of themselves, which rise up to contradict the plainest truth that strikes at them. And of all the rest nothing more indisposes the soul, and prejudices it against the truth, than that last thing now named, a vain conceit of themselves; which makes men bold and confident, apt to censure rather than to learn, to be angry at all reproofs, and to conclude that is false which they they do not instantly understand. St. Austin[f] confesses that this would not let him understand the holy Scriptures, which contain things that are of this property, to grow up with a little one; but I disdained, saith he, to be a little one, and "being swollen with pride and conceit seemed some great person in my own eyes." To this there often joins itself an envious humour, which loves to detract from others, that men may seem better themselves than indeed they are: or rather, as Dr. Sibbs hath observed[g], "this is a thing which springs from the poisonous pride of men's hearts, that, when they cannot raise themselves by their own worth, they will endeavour to do it by the ruin of another's credit, through lying and slanders. The devil was such a liar and slanderer, then a murderer. He cannot murder, without he slander first." This disposes them to believe any thing of others, though never so false, and then moves them to fling it abroad by word and writing: thinking it enough to salve their own credit, should they be caught in a falsehood, and convicted of notorious lies, to thrust in these old words, 'they say, 'it is reported,' and such like[h]; wherewith all the tales and legends that are, have been ushered into the world. In this manner Apion calumniated the Jews; and thus the primitive Christians were abominably abused. And all this with security enough; the folly and ill-nature of the multitude being so great, that they dote upon these forgeries and detractions, and suffer themselves (as Josephus hath observed[i])

[f] L. 3. Conf. chap. 5. Turgidus fastu mihi grandis videbar. [tom. i. col. 91 B.]

[g] Sermons upon 4, 5, and 6 of Canticles, p. 285. ["Bowels opened, or a discovery of the neere and deere love, union and communion betwixt Christ and the Church, and consequently betwixt him and every beleeving soule; delivered in divers sermons on the fourth, fifth, and sixt chapters of the Canticles," xi. p. 298. published after the death of the author, Richard Sibbs, by J. Dod; with a dedication to Edward Viscount Mandeville, by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, 4to, Lond. 1639]

[h] Aiunt, fertur.

[i] Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν, &c. l. 2. contra Apion. [cap. 1.]

sooner to be won by them, than by that which is writ with more care and consideration: they rejoice in reproaches, and are ill at ease and vexed when they hear men's just commendations. "Some are credulous, and others are negligent; a lie steals upon some, and it pleases others; those do not avoid it, and these have an appetite to it[k]."

But I need not go to those ancient times to seek instances of this hard usage; there being one so fresh and pregnant nearer at hand of all that hath been said. There came forth a little book not long ago, whose design, as God knows, and all sober men might easily discern, was not to make men less but more religious; not to abate the force and power of true godliness, but to direct unto it, encourage and advance it, that its name might be venerable among men. For which end the author earnestly desired, that men would not deceive themselves and others with mere words and phrases; that the Scriptures of God might be carefully studied, rightly explained, and wisely applied; that the people might be taught the wholesome words of the Lord Jesus, and not fed with vain and empty fancies: that the holy faith of Christ might be made more effectual for its end, God might be worshipped with greater reverence, charity and unity among brethren preserved and restored, all those notorious sins which stare men in the face, though they wear the mask of religion, might be repented of, and that they might not make those things the mark of religion which do not distinguish bad men from good: in short, that they might talk less and do more; not rest themselves in the means nor quarrel about them, but seriously mind that religion, which is the end of all sermons, prayers, holy conference, and of faith itself; and may certainly be promoted and attained by such means as the laws of this Christian kingdom allows.

Against this innocent and harmless book a malcontented person hath opposed himself, with that "unbridled and unruly heat, which without reason and knowledge" was noted of old[l] to be one great cause of all the disturbances and divisions that have been in the church of Christ. Religion, he would have you think, is not only assaulted in its outworks, but the whole fabric of it undermined. For which purpose he hath contrived a great many stratagems and maxims out of his own imagination, (but as he would have it be-

[k] Sen. l. ult. Nat. Qu. c. 16. ["Quidam creduli, quidam negligentes sunt: quibusdam mendacium obrepit, quibusdam placet. Illi non evitant, hi appetunt."]

[l] Greg. Naz. Orat. xxvi. p. 446. Θερμότης χωρὶς λόγου καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἔσχετος. [ed. Ben. Orat. xxxii. § 5. tom. i. p. 583 B.]

lieved, out of that Debate,) wherewith he tells the world, he "sees me going on destroying and to destroy piety, and introduce ungodliness;" and "laying an exact method and platform to compass and effect the extirpation of all practical holiness even from Dan to Beersheba[m]." This is the sum of his charge against me, and in his own words; for which there is no cause at all, but that I set not the same esteem that he doth upon their "keeping of days," "talking about religion[n]," and such like things, which are at most but means of piety when lawfully used; but in which he places, it should seem, the very life and spirit of it, and thinks they are very religious, when they handle the matter so as to neglect greater duties to perform these.

This is to be imputed, I verily believe, partly to his fiery nature, partly to his ignorance and want of judgment, partly to a rash and precipitate forwardness, and very much to his self-admiration[o], a vain conceit of his own abilities, and a desire to be the author of some great discovery, that should make him considerable among his party. Hot and fiery dispositions were anciently noted to be the movers of troubles, though not simply such as had a great fervour in them, but when it was without reason and learning, which begets an audacious rashness in their spirits. Ignorance, you know, can never be just in its judgment, no more than a man can go right in the dark. False alarms are wont to be given in the night; which is the time of robberies and murders, as well as of dreams and phantasms. Rashness and inconsiderateness is little better: it being muchwhat the same to have no eyes, and not to use them. Where this answerer's eyes were when he read my book it's hard to say: not *in his head* sure, (in Solomon's sense[p],) for he never hits the meaning when he opposes, and still misses his way in that which he confidently affirms. His whole discourse (if it may be called by that name) is beside the book, and managed in such a manner, as if his reason served him but like an half moon in a coat of arms[q], to make only a notional difference between him and other creatures; not for any use or active power in itself. This, together with his prejudice and passion, his vain confidence and presumption of his skill, made him so regardless of what he said, that as sometimes he cites such

[m] Preface to the Sober Answer, p. 12, 15.

[n] [Ibid. p. 18.]

[o] Διάπυροι σὺν ἀλογίᾳ καὶ φιλαυτίᾳ. Greg. Nazian. Ibid. [§ 6. p. 583 B.] Σὺν ἀλογίᾳ καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ. ib. p. 444. [p. 581 C.]

[p] ["The wise man's eyes are in his head."—Eccles. ii. 14.]

[q] As Sir Hen. Wotton somewhere speaks.

words out of my books as are to be found in neither of them[r], so he hath stuffed his own with slanders and lies, detractions and calumnies; and notoriously defamed not only my design, but also myself, and everywhere perverted the sense of such plain words, as an innocent child may easily understand. These things he would have had a greater care to avoid, did he either know wherein the life and power of religion consists, or used the means he contends about as much for the purposes of holiness, as for the marks and characters of a party.

You must not expect that I should enumerate them here: you will find as many of them as the brevity I designed would permit in the body of the following book, which I have writ partly to vindicate myself, but most of all to vindicate and further declare the truth. The power and authority of which is such, (as Polybius, an excellent historian and of great fidelity[s] speaks,) that it hath a kind of divinity in it. "So that when all contend against it, and there are great numbers of fair and probable tales ranged with great care on the side of lies and falsehood, she insinuates herself, I know not how, by her own force into the souls of men. And sometimes she shows her power on a sudden, sometimes being darkened and obscured a long time, in the end so baffles those lies by the strength which resides in herself, that she triumphs over them all[t]."

I have not so little knowledge of human nature, nor so little experience in what is past, as to think that truth will conquer all; no, not though we take her part, and lend her our assistance in the best manner we are able. Prophets I know have been slighted, when jugglers and enchanters have been admired; sober reason rejected, when idle fancies have been greedily swallowed. But yet we must not despair of all, because of the perverse obstinacy and heady opposition of some. Nay, the most fierce and violent enemies of truth, if we chance to meet with them in a calm season, and when they are disposed by the grace or providence of God to be humble and meek, we may have some hopes to prevail withal. The confidence of this very man is not so high but it may be taken down, if he will read with the same mind that I wrote; void, I protest, of all anger, and resolved to submit to the evidence of truth whensoever it should present itself.

[r] P. 44. "This should cause you to reflect on yourself, as somewhere you have done upon Bellarm. 'This it is to be a great divine, and unacquainted with the Scriptures.'"

[s] Lib. xiii. Excerpt. Who yet could not escape calumnies, for one Scylax wrote *ἀντιγραφὴν*, 'an history opposite to his,' as Suidas tells us. [col. 3349 C.]

[t] *Ποτὲ μὲν παραχρῆμα δείκνυσι τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν.* [cap. 3.]

He will complain perhaps of the sharpness of my style in some places: but he may believe me, it was not my passion, but my judgment which dictated those words to me. It was necessary, I thought, to disabuse him, and his followers too, who otherwise would not have been awakened to see his folly. If I am mistaken in the fitness of this proceeding, it is but a pure error of my mind, not any vice in my will, as far as I can find. I was not hurried, but went deliberately into it by the guidance of the best reason I had. This tells me also that I have not done ill in undervaluing his answer, (and consequently himself,) as not worthy the name of a book, but rather of so much blotted paper. It is not the work of one *whose heart studies to answer*, (as Solomon's words are,) or *that uses knowledge aright: but whose mouth poureth* or belcheth[u] *out foolishness*. And St. John himself, (as Mr. Burroughs observes[w],) that disciple so full of charity, "speaks contemptuously" of such, and tells the church he would reckon with Diotrephes for his "malicious prating." They do not err alone, but draw company into their follies. *The violent* or injurious *man entices his neighbour, and leads him into a way that is not good. He shutteth his eyes to devise froward things: moving his lips he brings evil to pass*[x]. And therefore such persons must be rebuked with some sharpness, because as they are not insolent merely for themselves, so when one of them is lashed, many more may learn their duty at his cost.

There are some, I know, who think he needed not have been replied unto at all: and I myself for a good while was one of those. For either the people will read my book, or they will not. If they will not, to what purpose should I write? If they will, they need but read what is writ already, and there they will find an answer themselves, without any more ado. But further thoughts persuaded me to resolve otherwise, because there are many men who know well enough he hath missed the mark, that are contented notwithstanding his book should pass for an answer; and will commend it till the nakedness of it be discovered. Others also are easily cheated with a multitude of words; and will rather distrust themselves than a godly minister, as they esteem him, who is so confident, and hath the Scripture continually at his tongue's end. This makes a show of religion and of wisdom too; and though it be nothing to the purpose, there seems to be much of God in it. As there are confident ninnies some times in the garb of wise men, and sententious absurdities that carry the appearance of aphorisms; so there is a

[u] So it is in the margin, Prov. xv. 4, and ver. 28.

[w] Vindic. against Mr. Edw. p. 2. [Compare vol. v. p. 489.]

[x] Prov. xvi. 29, 30.

blustering language which looks like rhetoric, ridiculous conceits which make a show of wit, and ignorant babblers in holy phrase, who seem like great divines. It was a trick of the Separatists from the beginning, to paint the margin of their books with the chapter and verse of many Scriptures, which were the ornaments also of their preaching and familiar discourse. This very much astonished the simple and credulous, who persuaded themselves that the cause of those men stood upon the ground of God's word, which they had so ready at their finger's end; but if a serious man come to examine them, he shall find "they allege Scriptures against us, to prove that which we do not deny: or if they be brought to confirm the matter in controversy, they are unconscionably or ignorantly wrested against or beside the meaning of the Holy Ghost[y]." This I thought good, among many other things, to reprove in this ignorant boaster, though the instances of it are so many, that I could not without tiring the readers note them all. Many other things I have also passed by untouched, for this only reason, that there are such heaps of absurdities, as it would make a volume of too great a bulk to gather them all together. There is nothing I protest which I could not as easily have confuted, as those follies which I have mentioned, nor did I wave any thing because of its difficulty; but since some things must be let alone, (for fear of being tedious,) I took those into consideration which came readiest to my mind, and which I thought the most material, leaving the reader to conceive by the handling of them, what I could have said of the rest, if I had thought it worth my pains.

I speak in the singular number, because my name is not Triumvirate, much less Legion, as some vainly surmise[z]. There is nothing in the two former books, or in this either, but what is the fruit of my own diligence, without the least help from any body else. No collections were made to set me up, nor have I received so much as one observation from any person since I began. I had no adviser neither, no man to instigate me to the undertaking, or to speak in his dialect, "to be my intelligence or assistant form, to move me and carry me about[a]." All these suggestions are out of some of their own

[y] They are the words of the "Grave and Modest Confutation of the Separatists," &c., publ. 1644, in the Pref. [By William Rathband: quoted in part ii. pref. vol. v. p. 439.]

[z] See his Pref. p. 1, and 27.

[a] Ib. p. 39. ["Yet thus far I could extenuate your crime, I am persuaded that you had never been carried about with so rapid a motion, as you have been, but for your *intelligentiæ*, or *formæ assistentes*, (what shall I call them?) which perhaps were more sanguine and airy, more cholerick also and passionate than yourself."]

idle and empty brains, for the whole was purely from and by myself alone; and it is no such wonderful work neither, in my judgment, now that it is performed; if it be, it is more than I know, and I have the very same opinion of myself that I had before it was conceived. What that is, you will find in this book, and therefore I shall not here repeat it; though I must tell you, were I blown up, as he suspects, by the breath of other men's praises, it would be more pardonable, than to swell with my own, and vaunt at such a rate as he doth. Who, as he absurdly fancies me "dealing with religion as Abraham was about to do with Isaac," so he conceives himself like the angel which hindered the execution, and cries out, "Pardon me if I rise up to stay thy hand, wonder not if I adventure all to keep religion from being made one whole burnt offering by you[b]." The earnestness of which request he might well have spared, for it would have been granted without so much as asking. It is no wonder at all to see ignorance daring and adventurous; it is the mother[c], we have learnt, of insolent brags and bold rashness; "which brood," as one hath well expressed it many years ago, "breaking the shell with too much haste, cackles before it be full hatched[d];" of this you have a proof in this great undertaker, whose raw and undigested thoughts made him resemble the destruction of religion (which he was speaking of) to a whole burnt offering to God, and talk of staying my hand after it had given the stroke. Many such incongruous conceptions you will meet with in the following book, which if it do not bring him down from his lofty perch, and humble him in his own thoughts, will lay him low, I believe, in the esteem of equal readers, who will see he is so far from being like an angel, that he hath done nothing like an ordinary man.

As for the time which was spent in composing this or the former pieces, I am not yet so vain as to tell the world how little it was. He shall only know thus much for his satisfaction, that there is no truth in what he hath been told of "collections made for them several years[e]." The second part (wherein he saith there is much reading) being not so much as thought of, till I heard what a stir they kept about the first, and had notice of so many unjust exceptions

[b] Preface, p. 25.

[c] *Θράσος ἀμαθίας ἔκγονον.* Naz. ib. [Orat. xxxii. § 3. tom. i. p. 511 c.]

[d] Bishop of Rochester's Epistle to the Ministers of Scotland, before his Sermon, Sept. 21. 1606. ["One of the foure sermons preached before the King's Majestie, at Hampton Court in September last. This concerning the Antiquitie and Superioritie of Bishops, Sept. 21. 1606, by the Reverend father in God William [Barlow] Lord Bishop of Rochester."—4to, Lond. Reprinted 1607.]

[e] [Preface, p. 27.]

against it. And now I see that this man was one of those that defamed it, though with no more conscience and truth than he uses, when he tells the world, that it was the "earnest wish and longing of the Debater, (as well as of his friends,) that his book might see the light[f]." This is a fiction of his own, or he had no more cause to say so, than he had to pronounce who was the author of these books, that is, none at all but a rumour of that public liar, which hath brought so many other tales to his ears; for he had not the same argument (as he falsely pretends[g]) to prove that person whom he strikes at to be the author of them, which I have to prove those ten sermons, cited so often in the first Debate, to be the work of W. B. Those two letters being set before them, and we being told in words at length, that they were composed by Mr. Will. Bridge, in a catalogue of books printed by Tho. Parkhurst, at the end of Mr. Sam. Rolls's book, called London's Resurrection.

But I should write a new book, should I proceed to represent only all the weak and ungrounded conclusions which this man makes in that preface. Who he is, I have plainly enough signified to those who will be at the pains to read this dialogue; relying chiefly upon his own confession to several persons, though it is easy enough otherways to find him out; to whom I intended at first, another person should have directed a very short preface; I mean, that the Epistle of Isidorus Peleusiota to Candidianus[h] should only have been prefixed to this book, and no other. And though for good reasons, I have made a longer myself, yet I shall commend that also to his meditations.—

"Why dost thou make such haste to injure him whom thou oughtest rather to love, for declaring what opinion all have of thee? Differences have often corrected and set straight men of ingenuous spirits, by making way for a cure of that which they have contumeliously committed. If therefore thou thinkest those things reproachful which thou hast heard, preserve thyself by well doing unreproachable; for if thou dost amend thy works, these disgraces will vanish together therewith."

That I assure you was my end in writing again, to make him bet-

[f] Preface, p. 37.

[g] If you ask how I prove the two Debates to be writ by you? I answer by the same argument wherewith you prove W. B. &c., p. 29.

[h] L. 1. Epist. 480. [Τί σπεύδεις ἀδικεῖν ὃν ἔδει μᾶλλον φιλεῖν, τὴν πάντων περὶ σοῦ γνώμην σοι φανερώσαντα; Αἱ γὰρ διαφοραὶ πολλάκις διωρθώσαντο τοὺς ἀγχίνους, τὰ πραχθέντα ὑβριστικῶς ἰασθῆναι παρασκευάσαι. Εἰ τοίνυν ὕβριν ἡγῇ ἅπερ ἤκουσας, τῇ πράξει σαυτὸν ἀνυβρίστον φύλαξον, εἰ γὰρ τὰ ἔργα σου βελτιώσειας, καὶ αἱ λοιδορίαι οἰχήσονται.—p. 121 A.]

ter known to himself, and the truth better known to the people; to make him more careful what he writes, and them more careful what they believe. If any will still surmise that I have other ends than what I have declared in this and former prefaces, I have nothing to say to such now, but that which a discreet and grave person[1] (whom they dare not discommend) said long ago when he was misconstrued. "The falseness of man's heart, if he set himself seriously before God, cannot so deceive him, but he may discern whether he have a care to avoid evil and to glorify God. In this care I have had my part, and if men will report me otherways, my conscience (as Job xxxi. 36) shall make her a garland of their reports."

I am not the first whose words have been wrested, and design misrepresented and defamed; nor shall I be the last, as long as any honest man will speak truth, and but one of that angry and discontented brood remains which occasioned that apology now mentioned. His words are remarkable in the middle of his sermon, concerning those who then desired a change; with which I shall conclude.

"There are two cruel beasts in the land with gaunt bellies, the wickedly needy, and the wickedly moody. The wickedly needy are they in all degrees, who have consumed their own estates, and now hover over other men's. The wickedly moody are they who have treasured up wrath and revenge in their minds against those who have been God's instruments for their nurture. These disdain that

[1] Mr. Francis Merbury (mentioned upon a good occasion in the following book), Epistle before his Sermon at the Spittle. 1602. ["A fruitfull Sermon necessary for the time, preached at the Spittle upon the Tuesday in Easter weeke last, by Frauncis Marbury, published by direction of authoritie; printed at London by P. Short, dwelling in Breadstreet hill, at the sign of the Starre,"—4to, Lond. 1602.

Little is known respecting the author. He exercised his ministry at Northampton, and repeatedly underwent imprisonment on account of his non-conformity. In the catalogue of sufferers for the Puritan cause entitled "Part of a Register," &c. is a detailed account of his examination in the consistory of St. Paul's, Nov. 5. 1578. before the High Commission Court, consisting of Aylmer, bishop of London, Sir Owen Hopton, Dr. Lewis, Mr. Recorder and archdeacon Mullins: by whom he was committed to the Marshalsea prison. The term of his confinement is not however stated. On Oct. 28. 1605 he was made rector of St. Martin's in the Vintry, by Gervase Babington, bishop of Worcester, and on Feb. 29. 1608 rector of St. Pancras, Soper Lane, by archbishop Bancroft. The latter living he resigned on his nomination by the crown to the rectory of St. Margaret's, New Fish St. Jan. 15. 1610; which he held together with St. Martin's till the time of his death. This event seems to have occurred early in 1611, as his successor Edward Abbot was inducted into St. Margaret's Feb. 12. 1611.—Newcourt, Repert. Eccles. i. 406, 422, 519. Brook's Puritans, i. 223.

Baxter describes him as "a man of much moderation, who afterwards under more liberty of interpretation became far more conformable."—Second Plea, &c. p. 41.]

a new defence should be opposed to their undutiful offence, and both these and the other (as it is said of lions) have for a time crooked in their nails to keep them sharp, but they look for a day: and God grant a day to as many of them as be impenitent; and that the day they shall see may be, as Zachary saith, (xiv. 12.) *when their eyes shall sink in their holes, and their tongues consume away in their mouths.*"

October 13, 1669.

A FURTHER

CONTINUATION AND DEFENCE

OF THE

FRIENDLY DEBATE.

PART III.

N. C. "Now for an Ishmael!"

C. Are you the Isaacs, then, against whom to speak a word is to scoff at the children of God? and must we be all cast out, like the bondwoman and her son, to make room for you the holy seed?

N. C. I did but use the words of a late writer[a], who hath answered your two Debates[b], p. 19.

[a] [The author acknowledges himself to have been mainly led to the composition of the third part of the Friendly Debate, by one in particular among several anonymous pamphlets, which had appeared shortly after the publication of the two former portions; reflecting with much asperity, both upon the work itself, and the character and motives of the writer, whose *incognito* they attempted in vain to penetrate. It bore the title of "A Sober Answer to the Friendly Debate betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist. Written by way of letter to the author thereof; by Philagathus. London, 8vo, printed in the year 1669." A bulky letter or pamphlet of 294 pages, preceded by a preface upwards of 40 pages in length; written in some haste, the author having as he states 'put pen to paper April 21, 1669,' and concluded it by June 1; and printed apparently with no greater deliberation, to judge from a list of two entire pages of errata, which the author closes with the request, "Reader, I do not expect to see the whole Preface time enough to correct it, and must therefore desire thee to correct the rest thyself."

It bears traces of some vacillation in the writer's design, four sheets having been interpolated in a different type in the middle of the book, and the pagination thereby interrupted.

Patrick seems to have had no difficulty in determining who was his anonymous antagonist. In addition to private grounds of information, which he probably professed,

C. That hath snarled and carped, you should have said, at some things in them which he did not understand, and—

N. C. This is your old pride.

C. It is one of your old arts rather, and wretched shifts, to call men proud, when you cannot confute them; and when you have blotted a great deal of paper with senseless or impertinent stuff, boldly to cry it up for an unanswerable piece.

N. C. What arts do you tell me of? I know none we use but honesty and plain dealing.

C. We know a great many other which have alway stood you in mighty stead; one is, to extol the men of your own party to the very sky, to magnify their gifts, their zeal, their sincerity, their selfdenial, their tenderness of conscience, their painstaking, together with their sufferings, though never so small; and on the other side to disparage ours, or at the best to speak very coldly of them, though never so pious and learned: nay, to shake your heads sometimes, and lament their ignorance in the mystery of Christ, the meanness of their spiritual gifts, the formality of their prayers, their unedifying preaching, and (as it is to be feared) their straining conscience to comply with the times.

N. C. Pray let us have no more of this.

C. Why may I not tell you a few other devices that have been in use to win and keep your proselytes? As to brag of your numbers, to spread stories and lies by your agents and correspondents, from one end of the land to the other; to fill every country with the same very tales, to possess the people against the writings of those of our way, to give glorious titles to your

there were internal traces afforded by the pamphlet itself, sufficient to authorize him in assigning it to Samuel Rolle, or Rolls, formerly fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the chaplains of the presbyterian persuasion, appointed by king Charles II. on his restoration.

Several coincidences between the Sober Answer of Philagathus and Rolls' acknowledged productions, are pointed out by Patrick in the following work, such as to indicate most convincingly a common authorship. That it was no less generally accepted by the public as his, may be gathered from the additional fact, that in the sale catalogue of Dr. Thomas Jacomb's library, which has been preserved, the Sober Answer is attributed to 'Dr. Rolls.' It fell at the auction to the lot of Mr. Sprint, for 10*d.* Wood had been inclined at first to attribute it to Dr. Owen, but admitted himself to have been in error.—Athen. Oxon. iv. 108.]

[b] ["Now for an Ishmael! Hear how he scoffs," &c.—Sober Answer, p. 19, referring to the first part of the Friendly Debate, vol. v. p. 278.]

own books, to cry up your sufferings as if they were for the cause of Christ, to call all things you do not like 'idolatry, antichristianism, popery,' and such like odious and frightful names; nay, such hath been the tenderness of some of your hearts, as to threaten your poor neighbours they shall have no work, at least to deny to employ them, unless they will come to your meetings.

N. C. Now you calumniate to purpose.

C. It was a thing notorious in the late times, as Mr. Edwards assures us, and I have cause to think this evil humour is not spent, but rather increased. But be that as it will, you have a number of far more efficacious arts than this; as to vaunt of the power of your preaching, of the glorious appearance of God among you, and of the multitude of converts to you; to bespatter all that oppose you, to persuade the people it was good livings that made so many turn conformists, and that they have lost their gifts, and are much decreased in their graces; at least you have thought good to terrify them and bid them take heed, for they have lost the prayers of thousands. But if any adventure to write against you, woe be to them. Whatsoever they were before, immediately they become the enemies of God and all goodness. The people are told that they strike at the power of godliness through your sides, and that they reproach religion when they reprove your superstition. Every reprehension is called railing and hatred to the people of God; and whatsoever fault they find, it is done on purpose, you say, to bring all godliness into contempt; in short, to suppress you is to suppress the Spirit, and but to speak against your affected language is to be desperately profane; for who ever saw the beauty of Sion, and the glory of the Lord filling the tabernacle, but in your congregation? Let any man go about to contradict this, it is but pouring out half a dozen scriptures against him, nothing to the purpose, and he is confuted; nay, one word will do the work, and he shall be thought to write rarely and to come off like an angel, who can but say, *The Lord rebuke thee.*

N. C. You had as good hold your peace, for I believe nothing that you say.

C. I can prove in every particular, by true and faithful histories, that this hath been the humour of your sect.

N. C. Save yourself the labour, I have no time nor list to hear you.

C. Nor to read good books, but only to babble as your answer doth out of your own head. Did you never see a little book, called "A wise and moderate Discourse concerning Church affairs?"

N. C. No.

C. It was printed in the beginning of our wars, 1641; and I find it since put among my lord Bacon's works: there you may find several of these things noted. "First," saith he[c], "they have appropriated to themselves the name of zealous and sincere reformers, as if all others were cold minglers of holy things, profane men, and friends to abuses. Nay, if a man be indued with great virtues, and fruitful in good works, yet if he concur not fully with them, he is called (in derogation) a civil and moral man, and compared to Socrates or some heathen philosopher. Just contrary to St. John, who would have called such a man religious, and told such as many of them, that he vainly boasts of *loving God whom he hath not seen,* who *loves not his neighbour whom he hath seen;* St. James also saith, that this is true religion, to *visit the fatherless and the widow;* so as that which is but philosophical and moral with them, is, in the phrase of the Apostle, true religion and Christianity. And as in affection they challenge the said virtue of zeal and the rest, so in knowledge they attribute to themselves light and perfection. The Church of England in king Edward's days was but in the swaddling clothes or in the cradle; in queen Elizabeth's time, but in its infancy and childhood. The bishops had somewhat of the day break, but the maturity and fulness of light is reserved for themselves; and as they censure virtuous men by the names of civil and moral, so those who are truly and godly wise (and discern the vanity of their assertions) they term politicians, and say their wisdom is but carnal, and savouring of man's brain. And in like manner if a preacher speak with care and meditation, ordering his matter distinctly, and enforcing it with strong proofs and warrants, they censure it as a form of preaching not becoming the simplicity of the gospel, and refer it to the reprehension of St. Paul, speaking of the enticing words of man's wisdom." You may read there a great deal more to the same purpose, if you have a mind to see your own

[c] Speaking of the oppugners of the present ecclesiastical government. [Bacon's Works, vol. vii. p. 54.]

picture. But nothing methinks is more memorable than the blind rage and fury which the discovery of a most impious cheat excited in some of your predecessors' hearts. There was a young preacher pretended to a power of casting out devils, which he began to assume in the year 1586, and more openly professed, 1597; this made a great noise of "glory, lights, lamps, and shining beams," which now appeared in the work[d], it was given out to be a "marvellous work," a mighty work of the Lord Jesus, which "all that loved him in sincerity must be careful to publish:" a "matter of as great consequence, and as profitable to all that sincerely professed the gospel, as ever any was since the restoring it amongst us[e]." And though first her majesty's judges, and then her commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, found by the free confession of the party said to be dispossessed, that it was a mere cheat and a wicked combination to abuse the people; yet they ceased not to cry out, that "to deny the dispossession, was in a sort to deny the gospel." "It appeared so evidently" (said the author of the brief Narration[f]) "to be the finger of God, as though we ourselves should forsake it, and with Judas betray our Master, yea, with Pharaoh, set ourselves to obscure it: yet the Lord, if he love us, will rather make the stones to cry out and utter it, yea, the devils themselves to acknowledge it, than it shall be hid; and I would advise them

[d] Discovery of the fraudulent practices of John Darrel, &c. anno. 1599, p. 19. [Book i. chap. 4. John Darrell, B. A., preacher at Nottingham, was cited in 1598 before archbishop Whitgift in the high commission court at Lambeth, and imprisoned in the Gatehouse several years, for professing and practising his pretensions to cast out devils, and to heal people possessed. The "Discovery" &c. here cited was written by Samuel Harsnet, Bancroft's chaplain, and was met by Darrell with "A detection of that sinful, shameful, lying and ridiculous discours of Samuel Harshnet." In the same year he also published "A True Narration of the strange and grevous vexation of the Devil, of 7 persons in Lancashire, and William Somers of Nottingham:" and in the ensuing year "The trial of John Darrell, or a collection of Defences," &c. and "An Apology in Defence of the possession of William Somers," &c. Preposterous as such claims may now appear, they were calculated to make an impression at that earlier age; and we find Darrel's writings attracting so much attention at the Universities, as to call forth a letter from Dr. Jegon, the Vice-Chancellor, to Bancroft, narrating certain steps which he had taken for their suppression. It seems uncertain what was the precise term of Darrel's imprisonment, or his subsequent history.—Brook's Puritans, ii. 117.]

[e] Ibid. p. 16. [chap. 3.]

[f] [Chap. ii. pp. 11, 12.]

that slander this work, and persecute the servants of God without cause[g], to take heed lest they be found even fighters against God." Now would you know what the business was which made these men stickle and clamour in this fashion? It was briefly this: when Mr. Darrel and his friends "prayed by the book," the boy, or as they said, the devil in him, was but little moved; but when they used "such prayers as for the present occasion they conceived," then the wicked spirit was much troubled; he acknowledged them also to be "powerful men," and that he was much tormented by their powerful preaching[h]. This was it which tormented the bishops also, to see such mean persons do such wonderful things: or, to use their own words, "It cannot be endured," said the Narration[i], "that these kind of men which are accounted the offscouring of the world, should be thought to have such interest in Christ Jesus, as that, by their prayers and fasting, he should as it were visibly descend from heaven and tread down Satan under their feet: whereas other men, who account themselves more learned, excellent, and wise than they, do not with all their physic rhetoric, pomp, and primacy, accomplish the like. But *God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty.*" A place of Scripture as well applied as that in the 4th of St. Matthew, *He shall give his angels charge over thee*, &c.; and very fit to stir up the people's hatred against their governors, who appeared against this holy cause, as they called it, and laboured to suppress this mighty work of God.

N. C. I have no leisure to hear these old stories long since dead and buried.

C. Nor have I any need to look so far back. For this very scribbler's book, which you tell me of, is a bundle of such like lewd and impudent tricks and shifts as I have mentioned: though the truth of it is, they are so poorly managed, that any one may see he is a mere bungler in his own trade; and either for want of wit, or through the violence of his passion, cannot understand so much as common sense.

N. C. "O Luciferian pride! O attempts to outrail Rab-

[g] For Darrell you must know was imprisoned.

[h] Discovery, pp. 35, 48, 49, 50.

[i] Vid. p. 6.

shakeh! You may make another Lucian in time, I had almost said another Julian, if you persist in this way."

C. You have his words by heart[k], and it is most stoutly and resolutely answered. But I must tell you, it hath been always thought (as Mr. Chillingworth well observes) a mark of a lost and despairing cause, to support itself with impetuous outcries and clamours: the faint refuges of those that want better arguments. And little doth he know whom he imitates in these brutish exclamations. I never saw any man more like that fellow in Lucian, who cried, "O accursed wretch, O damned villain[l]:" when he could say nothing else.

N. C. Yes: both he and we have something else to say.

C. That is, you have a scornful and supercilious way of pitying those whom you have a mind to vilify, which carries with it some show of goodness, when it proceeds from a great disdain of others, and an high opinion of yourselves. You may remember, it is like, without sending you to a book of undoubted credit, where you may find it, who it was that said publicly, "He intended to have preached before the poor wretch (viz. his late majesty, then near his death) upon Isa. xviii. 19, &c. but the poor wretch," said he, "would not hear me." Another also, having jeered our divine service as much as he pleased, at last, wiping his mouth, sanctified all with a sigh or two over us, as "poor deluded souls;" and then we were much indebted to his charity.

N. C. You will be called to an account one day for your malevolent and mischievous writings.

C. That's another way you have to astonish and delude the multitude, by thundering out threatenings, and denouncing judgments against us; in which the gentleman is very powerful, and may pass for a *Boanerges*. There being this device also accompanying it, to make the art more effectual; which is to cry out Blasphemy! If we do but mention any of your follies, to tell the people, (as T. W. doth[m],) that "you wish we have not sinned the sin unto death:" and to bid us to take heed

[k] P. 31 of his answer. [Sober Answer, &c. p. 31.]

[l] Ὢ κατάρατε.

[m] Epistle to a new sermon, called the Fiery Serpents, 19 Feb. 1668. [A Sermon on Numb. xxi. 6—9. by Thomas Watson, rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, whose writings are repeatedly cited in the First Part of the Friendly Debate. See vol. v. p. 281.]

that some do not think (as this scribbler speaks) we have "done despite to the Spirit of grace[n]." Thus I remember some wrote a letter to Bp. Montague[o], wherein they do but charitably

[n] P. 101. of Sober Answer.

[o] Annexed to the Appeal of the Orthodox Ministers (as they call themselves) to the parliament against him. Printed at Edinburg. 1641. [This pamphlet, though bearing the date in the colophon, 1641, appears to have been written, if not published, at least as early as the year 1629, being dedicated that year by the publisher 'to the long-expected, happie Parlament.' Richard Mountagu, then rector of Stamford Rivers in Essex, and prebendary of Windsor, had in the year 1625, in reply to a popish tract, A New Gag for the Old Gospel, published a work bearing the quaint title, "A Gag for the New Gospel?—No, a New Gag for an Old Goose, who would undertake to stop all Protestant mouths for ever with 276 places out of their own English Bibles," &c. Sundry passages out of this book, which were conceived to savour of Popery and Arminianism, were selected by Yates and Ward, two preachers at Ipswich, to be presented to parliament for censure. Mountagu having obtained a copy of this information, besought the protection of the king in a tract entitled, "Appello Cæsarem," &c. King James dying while this was in the press, it was presented to his successor at the beginning of his reign. A committee of bishops was appointed to report to king Charles upon the subject. Articles were exhibited against him in the house of Commons in July 1625, and a report presented by a committee for his committal; but the king obtained his release under a bond of 2000*l.* and proceedings were suspended by the prorogation of the house both in that and the following session in 1628, without any sentence having been passed. Numerous attacks were also made upon him in writing, among others by Sutcliffe, the aged dean of Exeter, Carlton, bishop of Chichester, Drs. Good and Featley, chaplains to the primate, Henry Burton, Francis Rous, William Prynne, Mr. Wotton, and Mr. Yates, a minister of Norfolk, and formerly fellow of Emmanuel College, whose book was entitled, "Ibis ad Cæsarem." The Appeal here quoted, purporting to emanate from 1000 or more of the orthodox ministers of England, supplicates for the censure of parliament upon him; reiterating the complaints of those writers, and subjoining copies of the articles exhibited against him to parliament, and of the proceedings instituted by a minister named Jones in the Arches Court, and at Bow Church, Aug. 22, against his confirmation to the bishopric of Chichester; concluding with an epistle to the bishop himself, and a "Briefe Supplication of the ministers of the Church of Scotland to the high senate of Parlament of England against the same Richard Mountagu."

The controversy became very general, and was conducted with much acrimony. "Sides were taken, pulpits every where rang of these opinions," says Bishop Hall; who himself wrote "a little project of pacification, Via Media; The Way of Peace, in the five busy articles commonly known by the name of Arminius." (Hall's Works, vol. x. p. 471.)—Quoted by Wordsworth, Eccles. Biogr. iv. 283. Compare Fuller, vi. 15—23. Heylin's Laud, p. 124. Parl. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 6, 7.]

hope he hath not committed the unpardonable sin; exhorting him to recant publicly his "malicious errors and heresies;" or else, they tell him, he could never have salvation. But after this, (as if they were in no danger, do what they would) a fit of railing follows, wherein they upbraid him with his birth and parentage, nay, with his very looks and visage, (in such vile language as I will not name,) and at last conclude in this fashion: "If you can, love the Lord Jesus, and do belong to his election of grace[p]."

N. C. Methinks you have an art beyond all these; having shifted and put me off thus long from what I was going to say, that your book is answered, and———

C. And soberly too, as the title pretends.

N. C. Yes.

C. That's strange, when he roars and cries out so hideously, as we have heard; and complains that he is "in a passion;" that I have "made him spit and sputter," nay, "spew in my very face."

N. C. Do not use such words.

C. They are his own confessions[q]. And he acknowledges withal, that he was "impatient till he came out against me;" that he could not "find a man so imprudent and desperate as himself;" and having laid about him very furiously, he puffs and blows, and says he is "overheated;" insomuch that he is fain to "cool himself" again with some holy breath, and falls to prayer, when he can exclaim against me no longer[r]. This shows him to be one of the right strain, that can do these things which they condemn, and immediately betake themselves to their prayers, and say, "I hate myself for it[s];" and then they are well, and ready to do the same again. A thoroughly honest man would have laboured to undo what he saw he had done amiss; as he might, if he had pleased, with one stroke of his pen. But there is no such demonstration of his fierce and fiery spirit as this; that he resolved to confute the second part of my book before he saw it, at least before he would consider it.

N. C. Why do you say so?

C. Because it did not come to his hand, as he tells you[t], till

[p] P. 31. [q] Pp. 14, 31, 289. [r] Pp. 2, 3, 31. [s] P. 22. [t] It was May 3. and he began April 21.—p. 81.

he had written several sheets, and printed some, (as I have reason to think,) and yet they bear the title of an Answer to the two Friendly Debates[u]. At least he clapped on this title as soon as the second part appeared, and before he had duly weighed all things in it; for I know those that saw some of his sheets printed with that title presently after May 3, when he first received my book. Was not this bravely done, and like a man in his sober wits? Are not these like to prove excellent men to guide your consciences, who resolve beforehand, if we reason with them, not to be convinced, but to adhere to their party right or wrong? I could not but fancy him, when I observed this, in such a posture as Mr. Burroughs[x] thought he saw Mr. Edwards, fretting and chafing in his study, saying to himself, "I will answer him, Aye, that I will: I will reply, Aye, that I will:" like one Piso, St. Hierome speaks of, who "though he knew not what to say, yet he knew not how to hold his peace[y]." If he could have had a little patience till he had read but the epistle of my book seriously, he might have met with such advice as would have cooled him better than his prayers, viz. to know before he judged, and not to believe all flying tales. But an answer, it seems, was to be thrust out in all haste, no matter how it was composed, or of what lies it was made up. He could not stay to think much about it, nor indeed was there any great need; being to please those mean spirits, who like a word best, (as a great man observes,) when it resembles those sacrifices, out of which the heart is taken; and where, of all the head, nothing is left but the tongue only.

N. C. And why, I beseech you, should not he answer you? Are you such a Goliah of Gath, that no man can deal with you?

C. I took a measure of myself before ever I took pen in hand: and know very well how much inferior I am to my neighbours. But the more to set off the greatness of his own courage and noble achievements he paints me like that uncircumcised Philistine: and

[u] [Not in the title-page, but in the heading to p. 1.]

[x] [Vindication, &c. p. 24. see above.]

[y] ["Pisoniano vitio, quum loqui nesciret, tacere non potuit."—Hieron. epist. lxix. tom. i. col. 411. Jerome adopted it as a proverbial saying from Cicero's character of Piso.]

then fancies himself to be a chosen one, picked out by God[z] like another David to enter into a single combat with me. This he was not contented to tell us once[a], but as his manner is, he repeats it again in his fulsome preface[b]: having no fear but this, that after he had killed Goliah he should rise again, and renewing the fight should bring some other giant into the field with him, and be two to one, which all know is unequal. And therefore distrusting my generosity, of which he had some opinion when he concluded his book[c], he betakes himself to conjurations to keep me from taking that advantage. "I may well conjure you," saith he, "that if I must be replied to, you alone would do it, for it is not equal that you should have a second, and I have none. It was enough for such a stripling as David to encounter one giant at a time; and you are taken by some for another Goliah." What ailed thee, O thou flower of chivalry, to faint on this fashion? How came thy stout heart to quail at last? Thou that canst pour out Scripture upon thy enemies as thick as hail-shot, that canst charge and discharge as fast as a man can spit, that canst dispatch dragons as easily as Goliah's; why shouldst thou fear a thousand giants, though as big as steeples, any more than so many crows?

N. C. Pray cease your fooling.

C. I assure you he must pass, at least, for one of the seven champions; for "nobody," he tells you, "is thought to be my match, unless a St. George, who killed the dragon[d]." Behold the man then, horse and arms and all! See how he flourishes and swaggers, and resolves to pull me down from the third heavens, whither he fears the breath of the people, and my own vanity may in fancy have transported me[e]. But the mischief of it is, this doughty knight had no sooner bestrid his beast and marched a few paces, but by some enchantment or other he lost his wits, and was turned into a new Don Quixote. For if you look into the very next page[f], you will find that he

[z] "As God would have it, I proved to be the man," p. 192.

[a] P. 1. [b] P. 28.

[c] P. 192. "I think you a more generous enemy than to set any body beside yourself upon me, who have encountered you without the help of a second," &c.

[d] P. 292. [e] Ib. 292.

[f] P. 293. "As he told Hezekiah, that he would deliver him 2000 horses if he were able to set

fancies my book to be an horse, himself riding on the back of it, and which is most wonderful, at the same time fighting with it: and it was none of his fault, I assure you, that he was not also mounted upon the back of an authentic license. But nothing daunted for want of that, up he gets on the back of the book, and giving it line upon line, (as he speaks,) and lash upon lash, away he flies away with his head full of chimæras and impossible imaginations. For he had but just fetched his breath, and spoken a few words, before the poor book was turned into a strong city or fortress; and he "walked round about it," as his own description of his adventures tells us, "told the towers thereof, marked well its bulwarks, considered its palaces[g]," and setting down before it, either "besieged" or "stormed" it, he knew not whether; and, in his fancy, "pulled down all the strong holds thereof, and brought into captivity every notion in it, that did exalt itself against truth and godliness." And yet he had not travelled far, before it was turned into a mighty man again, and he thought he saw "a Samson threatening to pull down the whole fabric of religion, as he did the house upon the Philistines[h]." And then it was a Goliah, as I told you[i], and a very few minutes before[k] it appeared like Geryon, a giant with three heads; nay, he did not know but it might be a whole "legion," "compassing religion," as he elegantly speaks, "with rams' horns, to make it fall like the walls of Jericho[l]."

N. C. I think you are horn mad.

C. You imitate his puny jests very well. And to confess the truth, I am a little out; and must correct my error in not beginning in good order. I should have told you, as the custom is, that of all the days in the year it was April 21[m], in the cool of the spring[n], the Non-conformists being then in

riders upon them; so it hath been said, If any man would be the rider, I mean the answerer of your book, he, or rather his book, should come mounted into the world upon the back of an authentic license, &c. I hope then I shall not miscarry," &c.

[g] P. 294. [h] P. 22 of the preface.

[i] Ib. p. 28.

[k] Ib. p. 27. [l] Ib. p. 25.

[m] As he tells in the beginning of his book. ["Sir, It is now April 21, .. 69, that I have first set pen to paper," &c.]

[n] Which makes the adventure more wonderful, Don Quixote's fury happening in the warmest day of July.

the tenth degree of Taurus, or to speak in plain terms, in the second of the twelve "signs of the zodiac of their sufferings."—

N. C. Your wit sure is in the fall of the leaf.

C. Very well. I am glad to see you in so good a humour; but you must laugh at him and not at me, for they are his words, I assure you[o]. Then, I say, it was, when the good knight Philagathus, or, as he is sometimes styled, Philogathus[p], (for there is a difference about his name, as there was about Don Quixote's,) abandoning the slothful plumes, and causing certain old rusty arms to be scoured which had a long time lain neglected and forgotten, in the great magazines of *Qui mihi, Propria quæ maribus, Syntaxis,* and other such like famous armories, put on his cap, took up his pen or lance, (call it which you please,) and mounted his steed, marvellous content and jocund to think what a noble enterprise he took in hand, of cleaving giants, beheading serpents, killing monsters, finishing enchantments, and, in one word, righting all the wrongs, and redressing all the injuries that had been done to the *N. C.* He had no sooner sallied forth, but a world of windmills whirled in his head; and at every turn he fancied he saw some huge giant, some impious Goliah, defying the armies of the living God. Upon these he sets with a zealous rage, and by his own single arm, in his conceit, vanquishes them all; not having so much as a Sancho Pancha to wait upon him. "A monster or prodigy of ill nature," for instance, presents itself, "the greatest one of them that ever he heard of[q]." At the first sight it seemed to his roving thoughts like bloody Bonner, but a little after like cruel Nero, breathing out nothing but death and destruction. This put him "out of all patience," as he tells you, so that after a few words he could neither think nor speak any more of it; but falls on to thresh it like a sheaf of wheat to the very dust, for fear it should heat a fiery furnace, which now appeared in his imagination, and which the monster, he thought, might bespeak for them. Thus it was in danger to become a Nebuchadnezzar, and before he had done, it appeared in the shape of the devil himself; every one suspecting that if it were

[o] P. 246. "I had almost said they have run through all twelve of the signs in that zodiac of suffering which I spake of."

[p] [It is so spelt at the conclusion of the preface, p. 42.]

[q] P. 80.

in the power of this fiend, he would cast them body and soul into endless torments[r]. And who do you think this Nero-like monster was? You will scarce believe it, but if you consult the book, you will find it was no body but St. Paul himself, or a poor conformist explaining and using his words[s]; to show his neighbour that, according to the apostle's opinion, he might as well suffer him only to commend some persons a little, as suffer others to do a great deal more than that comes to: this made it vehemently suspected that our Don's brains did more than crow at this bout, and that he crashed his teeth, and was perfectly mad with rage. The first occasion of which was a bodily fear wherewith he was surprised, that the monster had a design to forage all the country, and leave it so naked of belly-ware, that he and his must starve. This kindled his wrath, and made his eyes so red, that he could see nothing but blood, death, and hell fire; though there was not the least spark, I assure you, of envy, anger, or ill-will, in him whom he yells against. But let us pass by this, and next behold a monster of pride, "taller by the head and shoulders than most others," which started out of his fancy and set itself before him. It was the more frightful, because it was thus large and yet but a young cub; "not yet grown up unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of pride," as he is pleased to describe it[t]. He resolved therefore to slice him, and make minced meat of him, before he grew too boisterous, and stretch himself as high as Lucifer, or the morning star. In which planet, if you will believe an history as true as his book[u], there are people by this time so big, that from the waist upward they are as tall as the great Colossus of Rhodes. But of all the apparitions he encountered in this frenzy, there were none put him into so great a passion as an huge giant, just like that wicked Alifamfaron, a furious pagan, mentioned in the famous history of Don Quixote[x]. For he conceived he saw him "taking a course that divinity might be exchanged for philosophy, Christianity for heathenism, our Bibles and the precepts thereof for Seneca and Epictetus[y]." All the country was in danger to be wasted

[r] They are his words, p. 149.
[s] Friendly Debate, part i. [vol. v. p. 303.]
[t] P. 196.
[u] Lucian. Veræ Hist. l. 1. [c. 18.]
[x] L. 1. part iii. c. 4. [P. 142 of Shelton's translation, 4to, Lond. 1620.]
[y] [Sober Answer.] Preface p. 18.

by him; for he threatened, as he imagined, to "pull down the whole fabric of religion[z]," and to "extirpate practical holiness from Dan even to Beersheba, from one end of the land to the other[a]." For the compassing of which, behold a great rout, with a numerous train of artillery following him at the heels, I know not how many maxims, stratagems, directions, aphorisms, and other clattering words, as you may find in his terrible preface. Where he tells you they are "very unsound and unsavoury; yea, profane and impious; yea, and bent against religion[b]." Thus he multiplied monsters in his wild imagination, which made those things appear "profane and impious; yea, and bent against religion," (for these things are different in his conceit,) which are as innocent as that flock of sheep which Don Quixote took for so many giants in Alifamfaron's army. So some of his friends, as I understand, told him, and would have restrained him (as Sancho laboured to do his master) from making such a desperate assault upon such harmless things; but nothing could withhold him: away he flings, and hunts up and down, as Don Quixote did among the sheep, saying, in great heat, Where art thou, proud Alifamfaron, where art thou? O have I found thee? Come to me thou proud wretch, for I am but one knight alone, who desire to prove my force with thee, man to man, and deprive thee of thy life, in revenge of the wrongs thou hast done to the *N. C.* And just as he was thinking to chastise his pride, he fancied himself transformed into an "angel and messenger from heaven[c]:" to give the villain such buffets, as he thinks he will remember all the days of his life.

N. C. You said, he would take away his life: pray make an end of this idle tale.

C. You must know he was so merciful as not to kill him, provided he would submit to this condition, to go to W. B. as Don Q. resolved to enjoin the conquered Caraculiambro to go to his Dulcinea, and falling on his knees with an humble and submissive voice, ask forgiveness[d], and say, I am that furious pagan, the destroyer of religion, the rooter out of practical piety, whom the never too much praised knight Don Philogathus, hath overcome in single combat, and hath commanded me to present myself before your greatness, that it may please your

[z] Ib. p. 22. [a] Ib. p. 12. [b] Ib. p. 39. [c] Ib. p. 201. [d] Ib. p. 41.

highness to dispose of me according to your liking. This being done, he tells him they will shake hands, as the lawyers do after they have fought at the bar, and say, How do you, brother? I hope there is no hurt done, but "all is well again[e]."

N. C. It's well the fray is over: and I hope you have done your story.

C. I have omitted a number of pleasant conceits that came into his head, which would make a volume as big as Amadis de Gaul, should they be all written. And now I mention him, it calls to mind a notable dispute which happened between Don Quixote and a neighbour of his, touching who was the better knight, Palmarin of England, or Amadis de Gaul: for just such another doth our Don raise about this question, whether St. Taffee or St. Patrick was the better saint[f]. Many words he makes about it; and in spite of the Irish, or the red letter before his name, St. Patrick, in his judgment, hath the worse of it. And no wonder: for such was his gross ignorance, that he, poor soul, took St. Taffee or David for the divine Psalmist, the king of Israel: when as every child knows, who hath read true histories, and not pleased himself like this knight in his own imaginations, that he was a famous bishop in Wales about eleven hundred years ago; who, by the favour of king Arthur, translated the archiepiscopal see from Caerleon[g] to that city which bears his name to this day[h].

N. C. I confess here he stumbled grievously. But I thought you would have been so kind as to have imputed it to the power of enchantment.

C. That I confess is the best excuse, which will make his

[e] P. 290, 291.

[f] [P. 151 of the Sober Answer.]

[g] [It had been printed Landaff: but corrected in the list of *errata* prefixed to the work before publication.]

[h] [St. David was born in the latter end of the fifth century. His father's name, in the Latin form used by the chroniclers, was Xantus, a prince of Wales; his mother's Melearia. On the resignation of Dubricius he was invested with the archiepiscopal see of Caerleon on the Usk in Monmouthshire. He subsequently removed the seat of that archbishopric to Minevia, afterwards called from him St. David's. The reason assigned for the transfer is, that he disliked Caerleon on account of its populousness, and withdrew to the solitude of Minevia for the advantage of contemplation. —Gerald. Cambr. Vit. S. David. in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 632. Fuller, vol. i. p. 115. Collier, i. 136. Godwin, De Præsul. Angl. p. 572.]

mistakes as pardonable as the errors of his predecessor Don Quixote; who took his inn for a great castle, and the honest host for the noble constable of it. And indeed a pleasant sight it is, to behold how while he is searching for one thing, he still encounters another, as Sancho sorrowfully told Maritornes. He transforms every thing he meets withal into something else quite of another nature; and now it appears in one shape, immediately in another, so vastly different, that the great enchantress, the author of all these transformations, (I have forgot her name, but it ends also in *fee* or *fia*[i],) is much to be admired. As for example, now he fancies me riding like Phaeton in the chariot of the sun, setting this part of the world on fire; and in a trice, before he had well finished one sentence, "the wind of my spleen" (mark the distraction of his fancy) is rumbling in the bowels of the earth, to "make an earthquake all England over[k]." At this instant he quarrels with the "rational divines," (as he calls them,) and makes a fearful stir with them; and at the next breath they are turned into "romantic preachers," that would plant all religion within the compass of the famous Arcadia[l]. As for himself, you shall find him like a Roman sergeant with a bundle of rods at his back; but let him speak a few words, and he is turned into a Robin Hood, and appears with his bow and arrows, which he lets fly among us[m].

N. C. No, only at yourself. For he "labours to give no offence to Jew or Gentile, or to the church of God," as he there tells you, p. 34.

C. Very well observed; he is exceeding tender of all Jews and Gentiles, into which his distracted fancy transformed some of us; but there are certain pilgrims, (what they are in his esteem, Jews, Gentiles, or Christians, I cannot tell,) at whom he grins very often, and makes ugly mouths, nay, lets fly with all his might, and treats them very rudely. But he is never more extravagant than when he comes to talk of "keeping days,"

[i] *Dokesisophia,* as I take it.

[k] Preface, p. 6.

[l] Ibid. p. 12, 13.

[m] Ibid. p. 31. ["Sir, I have not shot my arrows amongst the whole herd of deer, as not caring who or how many of them I wounded, (as you have done amongst the Nonconformists," &c.]

which is as dear to him as Dulcinea to his brother Don. This he compares to emptying the body by "bleeding and purging, spring and fall," or as occasion serves: and yet at the very next glance conceives it like to "exceedings" in our diet, "by eating and drinking to a greater fulness[n]." All this shows that he is out of his wits, and needs a little bleeding himself. If he were sent from that hospital where he now is to that without Bishopsgate, it might do him a great deal of good.

N. C. Now you bite.

C. I am "between jest and earnest," (as he speaks, p. 293,) but by no means can be made angry with him, especially when I see how prettily he frisks, how lightly he leaps over all difficulties, and jumps from one thing to another at the greatest distance; just like the knights errant, who are carried in a cloud from one country to another in the twinkling of an eye: being now in England, and immediately at Trapesonda, by the help of the wise enchanter. And then he doth so nimbly, and with so much facility apply every thing he meets withal to his raving chivalry and ill-errant thoughts, (as the author of Don Quixote's history speaks,) that it is no small pleasure to behold it. Besides, he is so marvellously well satisfied with his performance, and thinks at every turn he comes off so rarely, and with such wonderful success, that it cannot but give one a singular entertainment. He meets, suppose, with a rational divine, and speaks never a word of reason to him; and yet away he flies like lightning, as if he had seen that old sophister, the devil. Nay, he fancies sometimes that he sees a whole regiment, whom he calls the "rational regiment[o]:" but that's all one, he hews them down as if they were but so much grass; and in two words his worship hath got the victory. More than this, while he is in this career, and imagines one part of the castle (i. e. the book) to be taken and demolished, he wonders the other did not fall to the ground of itself, or vanish rather out of sight[p]. For, saith he, "I have proved at large, about the beginning of my book, that this is the right sense, and yet you continue wedded to your own exposition," &c. As if his answer had appeared before the book he encountered was all in being; or as if upon his combat with the beginning of the

[n] Preface, p. 18, 19. [o] Page 68. [p] See p. 197.

book, the rest should have disappeared, and the letters turned as white as paper, for fear that he should see them. What, are you at it again, after I have so chastized you? Dare you look me in the face again with that exposition, which I have battered and banged you for? Methinks you should have remembered the blows you received; and, knowing the weight of my arm, not come within the reach of it any more. But, O stupidity! I find "you continue wedded to your own exposition," nay, "keep a woeful hugging and dangling" of the bastard, after I have dashed its brains against the stones. To this purpose the man mused, as you read in the place now quoted. Whereby you may see he hath a crack in his brain so wide that one may put two or three fingers into it.

N. C. I am very sorry for him, I think he is an honest man.

C. You need not trouble yourself at all about him. He is as merry as a cricket for all this: and enjoys himself most sweetly in the thoughts of his noble achievements.

N. C. But he hath stumbled so scurvily, that he hath wounded himself very much in my opinion.

C. Never fear, he is so full of mettle that he will scarce feel it, though he should receive such a blow on the jaws as was given Don Quixote, which left him but two teeth and an half; all the rest being as plain as the palm of my hand.

N. C. And I must tell you, that would be a sore affliction: for a mouth without cheek-teeth, as my author says, is like a mill without a millstone. Those grinders are precious things, much more to be esteemed than diamonds.

C. He is so jocund that he values them not; but would think himself as good a man, though he should live upon pap, and be fed with a spoon. Besides, I must let you know, that he hath a great vial full of balsam, altogether as powerful as the famous balsamum of Fierabras[q].

N. C. What is that? I understand not your hard words.

C. It was the best balsam that any knight-errant ever had. For the virtue of it was so great, that should a man chance to receive such a bang upon his sides as buried two or three of his ribs in his body; nay, happened to be cloven in twain; so that one half of him fell on this, the other on that side of his saddle; yet a draught or two of it, if he were carefully set together

[q] [Shelton's Don Quixote, p. 69.]

again, would make up the breach entirely, and straightway render him as sound as an apple. Such a precious composition our Don Philagathus is provided withal, which consists of such ingredients as these; 'It is or may be; some perhaps; I had almost said; for any thing I know; I know nothing to the contrary; if I mistake not;' and some other such like words; whereby he can salve any thing, though you imagine the cure never so desperate. As for example, when W. B. is charged with preaching that "God is departed from the nation, but will return," &c.[q], presently he produces his bottle, and drops out one or two of those words, saying, " it may be Mr. B. detests treason as much as yourself, though carelesss brachygraphers may"———

N. C. What are those?

C. We have talked so much of monsters, that you take them, I perceive, for some strange creatures who abused W. B. They are those that take sermons in short hand; who, saith he, may fasten some unwary expressions upon him now and then; and such it may be as never fell from his mouth, &c. And now all is well, and W. B. as whole as a fish. Though others think for all this, that it may be he doth not detest it, and it may be those words did fall from his mouth, and the brachygr— (the hard word sticks in my throat) it may be did not abuse him; or rather it is certain they did not: otherwise he might have healed himself before this, in a better manner than this quack can do, by assuring us in two or three downright words, that no such thing fell from his mouth.

N. C. I think, to say the truth, this is a pitiful salvo.

C. It is just such another, when to excuse the sauciness of some men's prayers, he pertly and confidently replies, "I know nothing to the contrary, but that your ministers do miscarry in their prayers as oft or oftener than the Non-conformist do[r]," and then he hath done the feat, and set them as straight as an arrow. As if I should say, I know nothing to the contrary, but that Philagathus his wife beats or scratches him every day, and makes him wish himself a bachelor again, though never so stale.

N. C. I beseech you throw away this vial of balsam, which is no better than a tar-box, and very much offends me.

[q] P. 190. [r] P. 97.

C. And will never heal, you should have added, his error about St. David, who, do what he can, was not the man that killed Goliah, but a younger and lesser saint than St. Patrick. He must find some other drug to cure ignorance or distraction of mind: and he was certainly then in some such raving fit as that, wherein he met with Pontius Pilate, and took him for a believer. Nay, he was in good earnest; and brings many arguments to prove that he had "a real and strong persuasion that Christ was the Son of God, and Saviour of the world[s]." Do you hear, saith he, you the author of the Friendly Debate, who "have been preaching two years" (as hath been said[t]) why men should believe? Do you know what a believer is? Have you learnt to understand your Creed? I will prove that Pontius Pilate was as good a believer as any you will make, according to your doctrine. To this purpose he dreamt in that fit.——

N. C. But he hath rubbed his eyes, you must know, since that, and sees he was mistaken[u].

C. Are the "ordeal, the hot coulters, the plough-shares, the *Noli me tangere's*," and all the dangerous things he speaks of vanished too[x]?

[s] Pp. 65, 66.

[t] P. 121. ["You say, you do now more exactly understand the reason why you are a Christian, rather than of any other profession.

"It were strange you should not, in case you have been taught, or teaching it (as hath been said) two years together, (as if all the congregation had been infidels, and guilty of no other sin but that,) else you would be like those 'silly women' mentioned 2 Tim. iii. 7, who were 'ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.'"]

[u] Preface, p. 35. ["But whilst I speak of confuting errors in another, I must take heed of leading others into an error or two, which I fear lest this my answer may be the occasion of, if I do not prevent it. I have somewhere asserted and laboured to prove, that Pilate did really believe Christ to have been the true Messiah: I now declare to the world, that I am willing to retract that assertion, and do hereby retract it; yet whereas I brought it to prove that one who hath no saving faith may have a steadfast persuasion that God sent Jesus Christ into the world; that I think is plain enough from the instance of Judas, though that of Pilate fall to the ground."]

[x] P. 2. of the book. ["He that answereth your book must undergo the Ordeals, and chuse his way among hot coulters and plow-shares (and that you know full well) for that it so much abounds with *Noli me tangere*, things that are dangerous to make any reply to. &c."]

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N. C. Yes, they are sheer gone: he fears them not, for they were only in his imagination [y].

C. Then he begins to come to himself, as Don Quixote did before he died: and though he be as yet but half awake, (for he only remembers that he "somewhere asserted Pilate to be a believer," he cannot tell well where,) yet he may in time recover his perfect senses, and recant all that he hath said: especially if some friend will be at the pains to rouse him; as I have reason to believe that he was beholden for this little illumination to some honest Sancho or other; who alway talked more soberly than Don, and would never believe the windmill to be a giant, nor the innocent muttons to be monstrous devouring pagans, coming to fight against the Christian faith. When the enchantment is finished, it is to be hoped he may be in as good a mind; and so we will leave him, and prosecute his innumerable follies no further,

N. C. You will do him and me too a great kindness; for I am weary of it.

C. But if some schoolboy about the town should take the toy in his head, to finish the history, how can I help it? Or if some young freshman in the university shall take him to task, and belabour him as the Yanguesian carriers did Don Quixote with their truncheons, in the vale of packstaves; or toss him in a blanket, as the playsome clothiers did Sancho, till mere weariness constrained them to give over: he must thank himself for it, who would needs be so boyish, and play with words in such a childish manner, that it would sorely endanger the posteriors of a lad in the king's school at Westminster, who should be caught at such despicable sport.

N. C. I hope you will be so civil as not to set any young wag upon his back.

C. No indeed, I love not the sport so well; but if he continue at it, or any other imitate him, then I would desire that gentle youth, who shall entertain us with the history of such

[y] P. 37 of the preface. ["I have since found that I was mistaken in what I have hinted in the beginning of my book, viz. in thinking that the Debate could not be answered, as to all things, without the violation of some laws that are now in being, which would necessitate men to give no answer but in part," &c.]

adventures, that when he sets before us the onions, the anchoves, and other sauces, which Philagathus commends[z], he by no means forget the parsnips[a], a rare kind of sauce, which hath this admirable property, that if they be eaten by Non-conformists, and prove windy in their guts, the Conformists shall crack and stink for them.

N. C. Foh! I doubt he will jirk him terribly for this conceit.

C. I have a fancy comes into my mind of a more proper punishment for him.

N. C. What should that be?

C. The same which the Cavalier del Febo suffered when he was taken in a snare.

N. C. I understand you not.

C. A secret author of no small credit tells us, that they gave him a clyster of snow water and sand, which made such work in the poor knight's entrails, that it had gone very ill with him, had he not been succoured in that great distress by a wise man, and his very great friend.

N. C. He, being a doctor, can cure himself; but I pray for my sake pass by these things, the bull, the calf, the milch-cow, the dairy, and all the rest[b].

C. There he would tell you lies the very cream of the jest.

N. C. I beseech you let cream and cheese go too; and now look upon him as a sound man, that is restored to his right understanding again.

[z] Page 50.

[a] Page 52.—"Private persons expect some sauce, as might be parsnips; yet such windy things must be eaten temperately by Non-conformists, for fear of such cracks as you are, that will publish them with an ill report."

[b] Preface, p. 28. ["I have heard that collections were making for your books (the continuation especially, which is full of reading) severall years together by those bees, who were to bring their hony (if it were hony) to the hives; or if we compare your continuation to a cheese (of which there is much in it) it must go for a Cheddar, one made by an Assembly of dairy folkes, joyning their peices together; whereas mine, alas, was but the milk of one poor cow, feeding but in short pasture, and in a winterly condition."] And book, p. 30. ["Aaron speaks (Exod. xxxiv. 24.) as if he did but cast the peoples gold into the fire, and out came a calf, (as it were unexpectedly and miraculously): so let the Non-conformists cast their sayings upon the fire of your passion and prejudice; and presently you spye the calf, yea the bull."]

C. I have done, and wish from all my heart he may never hear more of this from any body else.

N. C. If you have done and will be serious, I will ask you a few questions, which methinks concern you very much.

C. Let's hear them. You shall see how solemn and composed I will be.

N. C. You cannot deny but that he discourses very orderly sometimes, and it is thought hath touched you to the quick. What say you, do you not feel yourself sore with the wounds he hath given you?

C. You begin to be pleasant now that I have done.

N. C. I think you have infected me a little, but I intend to propound some things very soberly to your consideration, wherein he is said to have confuted you: hoping you will give me as sober an answer.

C. I promise you to consider every thing as gravely and as impartially as I can, to answer you also without any puns, which he calls jests, in which I dare not vie with him; and, to speak plainly, it is a thing much below me; besides, that his wit is so despicable, as I told you, that there are boys of seventeen, and of no great parts neither, who are much superior to him. I will endeavour also to speak pertinently to the business, and not ramble as he doth. We will have no great volume neither, for I know he can write books with most men for a wager; a Martyrology[c], I make no question, as big as Mr. Fox's, and that in a short time, and with no mean show of learning; for as for the stories, it is but taking up all the reports he meets withal in the streets, and sending messengers to all the coffee houses, and letters into all parts for the country tales, and that work is despatched. And then for a show of learning, there is nothing need be done (as a friend of the author of Don Quixote's History told him) but only to bob into the book some Latin sentences, which he knows already by rote, or may easily get without any labour. As for example, when he treats of liberty and thraldom, he may cite that, *Non bene pro toto libertas venditur auro*[d]; (you understand it, I suppose, or at least believe it is scholar-like.) If he have occasion to mention death, he may have recourse to that, *Pallida*

[c] See Page 237.

[d] ["Aurea non toto libertas venditur auro," is a fragment of Ennius, as recorded by Gesner.]

mors æquo pulsat pede[e], &c. a notable sentence, and very well known ever since Horace's days. If of the inconstancy of friends, Ovid is at hand with his distich, *Donec eris fælix, multos*[f], &c. If of love, he is ready to befriend him with his *Hei mihi quod nullis*[g], &c. I need not recite the rest, nor tell you that there is an honest book called the Grammar, that will furnish him with *Diruit, ædificat*[h], &c., and an hundred more such like rarities. As for other lesser shreds and bits, every school boy hath them at his fingers' ends; the common phrases also (as *ad nauseam usque*, &c.) they are so familiar with this author, and he hath contracted such an acquaintance with them, that they will all run to him at an hour's warning, and will leave me never an one to assist me; therefore I shall of my own accord wave them all, and desire them to stand by, or go into whose service they please, intending to shift as well as I can without them. Now what have you to say? I am not only a single person, as you see, but quite naked and disarmed of all those weapons wherewith he is so well appointed; so that you may hope to prevail if truth cannot defend me; and that I protest is the thing I will contend for, not for victory.

N. C. Come on then; say well and do well. How can you defend so much as the title of your book? "Are you a friend to those whom you cannot endure within five mile of you[h]?" but urge the law against them?

C. You have answered yourself, and would have called him *carnal*, I am sure, should one of us have asked you such a question. Do you that are so *spiritual* understand no other kindness but what is done to your bellies? I love you so well, that I would have you innocent; and am such a friend to you, that I desire to see you at the widest distance from any sin.

N. C. Pray stay, sir, your kindness is much suspected. If I should propose some such question to you as Christ did to Peter, "*Simon, lovest thou me?* you durst not say, *Thou knowest I love thee*[i]."

C. No indeed.

N. C. Did not I tell you so?

[e] [Horat. Od. 1. 4. 13.]
[f] [Ovid. Trist. i. 9. 5.]
[g] [Qu. "Hei mihi quod monitis," &c.—Amor. ii. 19. 34.?]
[h] Page 4 of his book. [Horat. Epist. i. 1. 100.]
[i] Ibid.

C. I think I may conclude without any offence, that you are not yet so knowing as to search the heart. Your Philag. indeed supposes our very souls lie open to you, else why doth he endeavour to satisfy me[k], that "he doth not know himself to have ever received the least injury from me in deed, or word, or thought?" But you must pardon us if we be of another mind, and cannot appeal to you as St. Peter did to Christ. If you will judge of us by our words, then I can more than say, I can protest, that even those Debates were writ in kindness to you, and he ought to have thanked him that told you of your faults, had you any mind to amend them. I protest also that I had no respect to any particular person in that passage which he thinks so "full of deadly poison[l]," and therefore it was the aching of his own tooth that made him snap at me. But why do I spend the time in such trivial things as these? The prefaces to both my books might have satisfied any unpassionate reader what my intention was. But he very fairly takes no notice of them, least they should have made him throw away a great deal of the civil language he had to bestow upon me. And for as good a reason, I make no doubt, he overlooked the continuance of our debate, because it would have undone a good part of his book, which is there already answered[m].

N. C. I must not let you pass thus with the reputation of good nature. It was not kindly done of you, to bring in the Non-conformist "uttering such words as make the king to be a tyrant[n]."

C. As imply you should have said. But I pray tell me, what shall be done to this false-tongued Philagathus, who tells us in another place very boldly, that I "bring in the Non-conformist speaking treason, even saying that the king is a tyrant?" Will you never leave this trade of lying?

[k] Preface, page 1.

[l] Page 4 of the book. [The passage referred to is the following; "*C.* Why, what law of Christ is there that requires him to live in London, or at least within five miles of it"?—Friendly Debate, part i. vol. v. p. 270.]

[m] As about the non-execution of laws; sharpness, scandal, and many more too long to number.

[n] P. 8 of his book. ["But more anger still on your part: for in the third page you charge the Non-conformists with uttering words that makes the king to be a tyrant. You bring them in speaking what you list, (for it is you that speak thorowout that book, not they;) and then you charge them with speaking what is next to treason, if not treason itself."]

N. C. You must pass by that.

C. If he had not told the world an hundred lies more, I should not have taken notice of it. As to the thing he charges me withal, I did but set down those words, which more besides me have often heard; and supposing they were rashly spoken, without consideration of what they implied, let them go with that confession. What greater candour could he desire? and what reason was there for his pains to excuse the Non-conformist for judging the king a tyrant, save only that he was glad to snatch an opportunity to praise, as well as he could, the mercy and clemency of his majesty towards them? But I believe I shall make him wish he had held his tongue, and spared his ill-favoured and ill-contrived rhetoric. For first he only tells us that the "sober Non-conformists are far from thinking the king a tyrant[o]." It seems there are some so mad and desperate as to be of the contrary opinion. And how many who can tell? or what may be the issue of it?

N. C. For the love of God be not severe against that slip. Or let the sober men make an amends for their defects, since it is possible they love his majesty more than you.

C. And it is possible they may not love him at all. Was there ever such a wretched orator to plead any man's cause in so great a matter as this? Would any man of wit have apologized for his friends with his 'it may be's,' 'it is possible for any thing I can tell,' and such like words, with which his book abounds?

N. C. Whatever his words are, he doubts not, as you may see, but that Non-conformists have a greater sense of his majesty's mercy than Conformists.

C. Why so?

N. C. Because they have been so great offenders.

C. Did ever any man hear such reason? Do we find that they to whom much is forgiven commonly love very much? Are there no ungrateful wretches in the world? or, hath it not been the constant complaint, that the most are insensible or forgetful of benefits? And doth not one refusal of men's desires often blot out the memory of all former grants of grace and favour?

[o] Ibid. p. 8.

N. C. You forget our Saviour's words which he quotes.

C. As he doth a number of other Scriptures nothing to the purpose: *They to whom much is forgiven will love much*, if they be truly penitent, as that woman in the Gospel was; but who shall answer for all these men's repentance, and that it is never to be repented of?

N. C. Come, let this alone.

C. But pray let us see whether this very man do not say those things which plainly strike him out of the number of the sober Non-conformists.

N. C. Will you make him say or imply the king is a tyrant?

C. You shall hear. How can they be martyrs, and *killed all the day long*, and the king be free from that imputation? Do they suffer any thing but according to the laws? And whose are the laws, I beseech you, but the king's? Can the parliament make laws, or any body else, but only the sovereign? See now how this rash and desperate man hath entangled himself! "To say the laws are tyrannical," he confesses, "is treason or next to it, because it implies the king to be a tyrant[o]." And yet before he hath done he says in effect, they are tyrannical; when he tells us "the Non-conformists do think that they, or some of them have been martyrs by us, and are until now killed all the day long, nay, crucified by us[p]:" and that "it were no difficult thing to write a doleful martyrology of their sufferings, and such as it may be would make my heart to ache[q]." Would not a stranger think, if he read this, that they lived in some Diocletian's days? Doth he not write as if some Pagan prince, as furious as Alifamfaron, reigned over us, in whose days there are so many martyrs as would make a volume? nay, whose cruelty is so monstrous, that he prolongs their torments, and will not despatch them quickly?

N. C. Pray do not make your advantage of the word martyrs, he only means sufferers for their consciences, as he tells you in the place last cited.

C. Why then doth he use that word, if it be not to procure glory to you and hatred to us? Cannot he speak in safer language, that needs none of his expositions? And what do you think the people understand by it, in whose mouth he first puts

[o] P. 8. [p] Vide p. 229, 230. [q] P. 231.

these phrases of martyrs and martyrologies, and then at last tells them in Latin what may be excepted against them? What doth he himself mean, when he tells of such sufferers as *are killed all the day long?* or how shall the king avoid being thought another Pharaoh, if, as he supposes, they are "in an house of bondage[r]?" insomuch that, as he tells us with open mouth, "both king and parliament are clamoured upon up and down the nation for undoing the families of many hundreds of godly ministers[s]." Is not this a sober Non-conformist, and a most excellent apologist for his brethren? I pity him with all my soul, and wish I knew how to apologize for him. The most that I can say is, that these are words of course wherewith you were wont to rail in former times, and he hath not yet forgotten the old language. "We rejoice," said the general Assembly[t], "that Christ at last hath created a new thing in that land, in calling together, not as before, a prelatical convocation to be taskmasters over the people of the Lord, but an assembly of godly divines, minding the things of the Lord." And the Independents said the same to these godly divines, or rather made them worse than those ungodly Egyptian bishops.——

N. C. Pray forbear such odious words.

C. Can you make any other construction of what they write? But as I was saying, the Independents upbraided them that they could not "rest satisfied with being free as their brethren, but laboured to become lords over them[u];" which is just, said they, "as if the Israelites after the Egyptian bondage had become taskmasters in the land of Canaan one to another. But that it is more in them, who have been better instructed

[r] P. 148. [s] P. 236.

[t] Letter of the General Assembly to the Assembly of Divines, August, 1643. [Dated "Edenburgh the 19 of August," and "subscribed in the name of the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scotland, by the clerke of the Assembly.

Ihonston, Cler."

Read in the house of Commons Sept. 12, and printed by order of the house, together with "A Letter from the Assembly of Divines in England to the Generall Assembly in Scotland."—4to, Lond. 1643.]

[u] Toleration Justified, in Answer to the London Ministers' Letter to the Assembly, 1646. ["Tolleration justified, and Persecution condemned, in an answer or examination of the London ministers letter."—anon. London, 4to, 1646. See pp. 1, 2.

The Letter of the ministers of the City of London to the Assembly against toleration has been before referred to, vol. v. p. 325.]

by our Saviour to do to others as they would that others should do to them." Thus you talked in time past, and if you had forgotten this language, we would never have remembered it now. But since it is still at your tongue's end, and you persuade one another you are still in an house of bondage, we must desire you to be more reverend to your sovereign, and use him a little better than you do your fellow-subjects.

N. C. Doth not he acknowledge his "clemency and benignity, and call him upon that score the breath of our nostrils so far forth as we breathe, or hope to breathe in a free air[x]?"

C. If you read his words, he hath so many limitations, that they spoil all. They account him, saith he, "in that respect," to be "as it were the breath of their nostrils," "so far forth" as they breathe or hope to breathe in a "free air." Would to God he would go to school somewhere, and learn to speak plainer, or rather to hold his tongue. For this, and some other things, many suspect that all these fair words are but like Mercury's pipe, to lull Argus asleep. If you breathe not in a free air, or if you have not hope of it, if he be not kind to you, and do not as you would have him; then away goes the breath of your nostrils in a whif, according to this writer. And I must tell you, that notwithstanding all the clemency he here talks of and seems to be thankful for, he plainly affirms before he concludes that there are those out of whose heads this conceit can hardly be beaten, that "they had never enjoyed the peace they have, but that God gave us trouble and interruption by the plague, fire, and sword[y]," and he adds, "but a word to the wise." You understand his mind, it's like, better than I, who can make no sense of it but this; that they are beholden to plague, fire, and sword, not to his majesty, for the peace they have enjoyed.

N. C. You make very harsh interpretation: sure nobody hath such thoughts.

C. This is no new thing, but it hath of old been the way of such dissatisfied people to seek how they might work upon our distress: and then, notwithstanding all their good words, to pretend a necessity they should be favoured. Thus, I remember in queen Elizabeth's days, they made long discourses,

[x] [P. 8.] [y] [P. 222.]

to show how they prayed for her majesty in the business of 88: though, as Dr. Sutcliffe[z] replied, "their tumultuous praying and prating in those times did rather discourage than encourage any." And then at that very time "did Martin frame his seditious libels, and then others preached seditious sermons; nay, Martin senior professed that when the enemy was ready to assail us, there were an hundred thousand hands ready to subscribe the supplication of the puritans at home. 'Which,' saith he, 'in good policy (we being in fear of outward force) might not be denied nor discouraged[a].'"

N. C. No more of Martin, I entreat you. We had too much of him the last time, and indeed have too much of this.

C. He may thank himself, who, like Chaucer's cook, would needs be busy where he needed not, taking much pains for which neither side will think themselves beholden to him. The observation of Solomon should have been remembered by him, which might have kept him from meddling with things he could not manage: *that, as a thorn goes into the hand of a drunkard, so is a parable in the mouth of a fool,* Prov. xxvi. 9. "For a drunkard," saith a famous person[b],

[z] Answer to a certain Libel-supplicatory, &c. Printed 1592. p. 54. [cap. 3. 4to, Lond. 1592.]

[a] [In an authentic paper preserved by Strype, which he concludes was drawn up by archbishop Whitgift himself, or by his special instruction, being in his secretary's handwriting, entitled, "Proceedings of certain unlawful ministers, tending to innovation and stirrs;" the following statement is made, for which reference is made in the margin to 'Martyn' (one of the Mar-Prelate writers.)

"One of our late libellers braggeth of an hundred thousand hands: and wisheth the Parliament to bring in this reformation, though it be by withstanding the Queen's Majesty." —Strype's Whitgift, ii. 18.

"You are too broad with Martin's brood, for he hath 100,000 that will set their hands to his articles, and shear the Queen."—Pap with an Hatchet, written by Thomas Nash, (or Lilly) in reply to Martin Mar-Prelate. Compare Heylin's Two journeys into France, &c., p. 336.

In 1592 the Barrowists "were reckoned to amount to 20,000 by Sir W. Raleigh, in a speech of his in the last parliament."—Strype, Whitgift, p. 191. Quoted by Keble, note on Hooker, Pref. viii. 13. vol. i. p. 191.]

[b] Bishop of Galloway in his Defence, 1614. P. 32. ["The Bishop of Galloway his Dikaiologie: contayning a just defence of his former Apologie, against the iniust imputations of Mr. David Hume," p. 24. —4to, Lond. 1614.

William, son of John Cowper, a merchant in Edinburgh, was born in the year 1566, educated at Dunbar school, and entered at the university of St. Andrew's in the thirteenth year of his age. He commenced M. A. in 1582, after

" taking a thorn into his hand to strike his neighbour, hurts himself with it; and a fool pierces himself with the words wherewith he thinks to prick others."

N. C. It is thought he hath pricked you to the quick in his

which he proceeded to England to prosecute his studies, teaching in Mr. Guthrie's school at Hoddesdon, and preparing for the practical duties of the ministry under Mr. Broughton a year and a half. Returning to Scotland he was licensed to preach in 1586, and began his ministry at Bothkennar in Stirlingshire in the same year.

In 1592 he was removed to Perth. He rose to distinction in the church, filling the office of moderator to the General Assembly at Linlithgow, in 1608, and being made dean of the chapel royal. Up to this time he had been a strenuous opponent of episcopacy, having signed the protestation presented to the parliament at Perth, July 1, 1606, against the restoration of bishops: and having expressed similar sentiments in a letter to George Graham, minister of Scoone, afterwards bishop of Dumblane. (Preserved by Row. Hist. p. 255.) A few years later he occasioned much scandal by his acceptance of the bishopric of Galloway, July 31, 1612, on the death of Gavin Hamilton; to which he was consecrated in Glasgow cathedral Oct. 4. in the same year. Keith (Scottish bishops, p. 280.) wrongly gives the date 1614. (Row, p. 259. and editor's note.)

To meet the obloquy he had incurred by this conduct, Cowper wrote a defence of himself, which he caused to be printed in London, bearing the title of "The bishop of Galloway his Apologie." It is a 4to tract consisting of four leaves only, now very scarce, having no separate title or date, and is subscribed, "Yours in the Lord, Wiliam Cooper, B. of Galloway." "After his Apologie came home to Scotland," Row remarks, "and that there were so many excellent answers made to it by way of refutation, he repented that ever he had sett out that Apologie, for after that he was mocked and abhorred of all good men." (p. 257.) By these answers he refers no doubt to the "tripartite apology" here mentioned, the writer of which is unknown; as well as to the attack made by David Hume, minister of Godscroft, in an "Admonitory Letter" addressed to Cowper. The bishop republished this letter in separate paragraphs with copious remarks of his own, under the title of "The bishop of Galloway his Dikaiologie: contayning a iust defence of his former Apologie against the iniust Imputations of Mr. David Hume." Cowper was nominated by the General Assembly in 1616 to write against the papists, and many of his controversial as well as devotional works are still extant.

On king James' visit to Scotland in 1617 Cowper was opposed to the introduction of the English liturgy and ceremonial at the palace of Holy Rood, and on Whitsunday, June 8, refused to receive the sacrament which was administered in accordance with the Anglican form. His opposition however was not of long continuance. His character labours under the imputation of subserviency to the court, arrogance, and malversation of patronage. His death took place Feb. 16, 1619; and he was buried in the church of the Grey Friars at Edinburgh, where an inscription was written over his remains. (Calderwood, vii. 247, 349.)

According to Row, who speaks of him in a most hostile spirit, he

next exception against your exposition of the demonstration of the spirit and of power.

C. I have heard indeed that many of you think he hath foiled me there: nay, given me a deadly wound that cannot be healed. Alas! good men. I pity his ignorance very much, and their credulity. "If bold Bayard," to use the words of a learned prelate[c], "were armed with David's spirit and fortitude, who could stand before him? But if his whole strength consist in wording and facing only, what can it avail an ape to

died in a fit of despair, and had many warnings of his death. "He dreamed (he was full of apprehensions and groundless imaginations all his life) that he was a lame pig, (*lame* earthen, and *pig* pitcher, Gael.) and that a golden hammer lighted on him and broke him all to pieces: this was when he was standing for trueth. Having communicated his dream to a brother, he expounds to him his dreame, saying, Brother, beware that the golden hammer of a bishopric break not you and your profession in shivers: for if it fall out so, it will be said

Malleus en fragilem confregerat aureus urnam.

Inglished thus:—

The golden hammer broke the brittle kan:
The bishoprick in peeces dash't the man."

A short memoir of himself, written Jan. 1, 1616, appended to which are some meditations on the approach of death, and a brief paper in defence of the Perth articles of 1618, was published shortly after his decease by an unknown hand.]

[c] Bishop White, Answer to a nameless pamphlet, 1637. P. 18. ["An Examination and Confutation of a lawlesse pamphlet, intituled, A briefe answer to a late Treatise of the Sabbath-day: (Theophilus Brabourne's) digested dialogue-wise between two divines, A and B, by Dr. Fr. White, L. Bishop of Ely." —4to, Lond. 1637.

Francis White was the son of a clergyman at St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, educated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, rector of St. Peter's Cornhill, and chaplain to king James I. The countess of Buckingham having been converted to Romanism by Fisher, about April 1622, White was invited by the duke her son to attempt her recovery to the Anglican communion, and held two conferences with the Jesuit, at the second of which the king was present. A third, Laud's celebrated conference, was held in the same month, with which White was also associated. The king imposed upon White the further duty of meeting Fisher's arguments upon nine points proposed by himself. This task he discharged in a folio volume, entitled, "A Replye to Jesuit Fisher's Answere to certaine questions propounded by his most gracious majestie king Iames;" to which is appended Laud's first brief account of his controversy with Fisher, fol. Lond. 1624.

In the year 1622, he was made dean of Carlisle, and Dec. 3, 1626, consecrated bishop of that see; from which he was translated Jan. 22, 1628, to that of Norwich, and Nov. 15, 1631, to Ely. He died at Ely house, Holborn, in February 1637, and was buried with much pomp at St. Paul's Cathedral.]

conceive himself to be as strong as a lion?" Though he make a show, and fall on as if he would tear all in pieces, he will soon discover his weakness, when you come to grapple with him. I will close with him therefore, if you please, and try the force of this confident gentleman. And I will pass by his misrepresenting my words, because it is a thing so usual with him, that he must have a pardon for it of course.

N. C. He will never believe it, unless you show it, at least now that you first charge it on him.

C. If you will have it so, then observe that he tells you: I "doubt that minister is not spiritually enlightened, who expounds those words otherwise than of the wonderful gifts of the Holy Ghost[e]." Which is false: for I speak there[f] of some other words of the apostle, viz. the Spirit's searching the deep things of God, which the natural man cannot discern. But, though it be a bad omen to stumble on the very threshold; yet this is a trifle in compare with the rest that follows. For first, there is not one of those authors he cites, as far as I can discern, (except the first, whom we will examine by and by,) who understands by *power* any thing else than the gift of miracles: and that was the thing I am there speaking of, (though he, as his manner is, slips it over,) *powerful*, not *spiritual* preaching. By *Spirit*, indeed, some interpreters understand something else besides the rest of extraordinary gifts which I mentioned.

N. C. Why do you say "some?" The "stream of interpreters" runs contrary to you.

C. I know he saith so, p. 10, and it is a remarkable instance of his ignorant boldness. For where, I pray you, doth this "stream" begin? If you go up toward the spring-head (if I may so speak), and follow the stream all along from the apostles' time (as high as we can find it), the current will prove to be against him. But his stream begins at Peter Martyr, who is the most ancient writer that he hath perused. An excellent person indeed; but we ought not to go to him as the fountain of our knowledge, nor think ourselves learned when we can allege his authority. For this will be to make ourselves as ridiculous as T. W.; who, preaching about the day of judgment, thus concludes his use of persuasion to Christians, to believe

[e] P. 9. [f] P. 5. of Friendly Debate. [part i. vol. v. p. 272.]

this truth. "Peter Martyr tells us, that some of the heathen poets have written, that there are certain judges appointed (Minos, Radamanthus, and others) to examine and punish offenders after this life [g]." Whereby I perceive Peter Martyr is the top of these two men's learning, both for the ancient truth and the ancient fables. And yet I believe T. W. is not well skilled in Peter Martyr, but added his others of his own head; for we never read but of one judge more, whose name, if you will know it, was Æacus; and before I have done I shall make this man also as sick of Peter Martyr as he was when he vomited (save in your presence) in my very face.

N. C. But what say you to Dr. Featly, who leads up the front of the battle?

C. I see his name, but where shall I find his words?

N. C. In the Assembly's Annotations on the Bible.

C. The authors of those, he tells us, not without a brag, were non-conformists, p. 55. Now I am sure the doctor was none, and therefore either here or there he hath overshot himself. I am afraid he will fall in love hereafter with that figure which is so odious to him; and if you please, we will allow him the benefit of it, and let him make himself whole with one of his hard words called Synechdoche. Let us hear what doctor Featly says.

N. C. "He preached so that his doctrine wrought powerfully in the hearts of his hearers[h]." This he gives us for the apostle's meaning.

C. But second thoughts are usually better than the first; and he immediately adds, (which this man suppresses,) "or, by the *demonstration of the Spirit and power*[i], he means the evident confirmation of his doctrine by the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the signs and wonders which he wrought among them." And this indeed is the ancient exposition, to which he

[g] Morning Exercise Methodized, Sermon 25. p. 615. 1660. ["The Morning Exercise methodized: or certain chief heads and points of the Christian religion opened and improved in divers sermons, by several ministers of the city of London, in the monthly course of the morning exercise at Giles in the Fields. May 1659." with a preface by Thomas Case. Bishop Patrick doubtless had his own reasons for assigning the specific authorship of this sermon to Mr. Watson, of which the volume itself gives no notification.]

[h] [Philag. ubi supra.]

[i] [1 Cor. ii. 4.]

was pleased to preface with that of some of the modern writers. For Origen———

N. C. Will you take no notice of doctor Hammond, whom he also quotes?

C. There is no need if, as this man tells us, his exposition be the same with Origen's, unless it be to show how lamely he reports it. For his opinion is, that by the *demonstration of the Spirit* may be meant, not only the proof of Christian religion from the old prophecies, (which I must tell you was by an infallible Spirit bestowing an extraordinary gift called *prophesying*, and mentioned by me in my short paraphrase,) but also the descent of the Spirit on our Saviour at his baptism, accompanied with the voice from heaven, together with the Spirit's descending afterward on the apostles, and by their imposition of hands on others also. This, together with the power of doing miracles, he tells you, may be looked upon as the demonstration of the truth of the Gospel, and be the thing that is here meant. I can see therefore no difference between him and me. As for Origen, I shall go for his opinion only to himself; and I remember very well that he tells us over and over again, there is a demonstration belonging to the Christian religion which is proper and peculiar to itself. "A demonstration more divine (as he speaks[i]) than that of the Greeks by logic and syllogistical discourse, (in other places he adds, or by rhetoric,) and it is this which the apostle calls the *demonstration of the Spirit and of power*. Of the *Spirit*, by prophecies which were sufficient[k] to work faith in him that met with them, especially in those things which concern Christ:" and of *power*, by the prodigious and "astonishing works which were certainly done, as appears from this argument among many others, that there are some footsteps of them remaining among those who live according to the will of the Word." Where by *prophesy* if you understand barely the ancient Scriptures, it is plain they were not sufficient to work faith in those that met with them, who were first to be persuaded by other means to believe them to be the diviner revelations. And therefore it is most reasonable to comprehend under that word the new revelations, or

[i] Lib. 1. contra Celsum. [§ 2. tom. i. p. 320 E.]

[k] Ἱκανὰς πιστοποιῆσαι τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα, &c. [Ibid.]

the infallible spirit of prophesying in the apostles, interpreting the holy prophets in any language whatsoever; which, accompanied with miracles and all the other gifts, was a demonstration beyond all other of the truth of their doctrine. If we look further into him, we shall better understand him; for in the third book against Celsus[1] he repeats the same again, and more plainly than before. "The preaching," saith he, "at the first sounding of Christian religion was with a power of persuading[m] and bowing men's hearts but not such an one as was among those that professed the wisdom of Plato, or any other men who had no more than human nature. But the demonstration by the apostles of Jesus, being given from God, was credible by the Spirit and power[n]; by which means their word, or rather God's, ran speedily and swiftly." And again in the beginning of the sixth book[o]: "It is not sufficient that the thing is true and worthy of credit, which is spoken, unless there be a certain power given from God to him that speaks, &c.;" which consisted not in mere words sure, but in deeds; the Spirit of God working in the hearers' hearts, by the means of those miraculous gifts. You may find this place cited twice more in his *Philocalia*[p], where he expounds it to be a celestial, or rather supercelestial power, whereby their preaching was demonstrated to be true. All this makes it plain that he understood the word *demonstration* in a proper sense, for an evident proof of Christian religion, and that it was nothing else but the supercelestial gifts wherewith they were endowed. And by this you may see I had some ground for my confidence, having observed these things long before I wrote my book; but if you proceed further to St. Chrysostom, he contracts the sense, and determines the words wholly to miracles. "Tell me," saith he[q], "who is there that seeing the dead rise, the devils driven out, would not receive the faith? But because there are cheating wonders, (as those of jugglers,) St. Paul removes this

[1] P. 152. edit. Cantabr. [§ 68. p. 492.]

[m] Ἐν πειθοῖ.

[n] Ἡ δ' ἀπόδειξις ἐν τοῖς Ἰησοῦ ἀποστόλοις θεόθεν δοθεῖσα, πιστικὴ ὑπὸ Πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως.

[o] Alleging the same words. [§ 2. p. 630 C.]

[p] Cap. 1 and 4. [p. 13. 4to, Par. 1619. e lib. iv. de Princip. opp. tom. i. p. 163.] et cap. 4. [p. 66. e Comment. in Joann. opp. tom. iv. p. 93 C.]

[q] [In loc. Hom. vi. § 2. tom. x. p. 45 A.]

suspicion; for he doth not simply say *power*, but first *the Spirit*, then *power;* signifying that the things which were done were spiritual[r]." Œcumenius[s] writes to the same purpose; and Theodoret[t] plainly makes them both one; "The wonder-working of the Spirit[u] witnessed to the preaching: and the apostle most appositely joined with the weakness of their suffering condition, the power of the Spirit." And so St. Hierom[v], "he would not dispute with them, lest they should think he came to teach them some new philosophy, but he shewed them wonderful works and miracles." To whom you may add St. Ambrose[x]. "Since foolish things," saith he, "dressed up with words, (though weak in virtue,) appear as if they were wise; God would not have his preaching commended by the testimony of words but of power; that the foolishness of the word (as it was judged) might demonstrate itself by the deeds of wise men, being founded after a spiritual manner."

N. C. It will tire us to follow the stream any further, and I see already which way it runs.

C. I may save myself the labour, if this bold undertaker will believe Master Calvin, (whom he much commends, but cares not to imitate,) who, as became a knowing and an honest man, expressly acknowledges that *most* restrain these words to miracles[y]. Why do you shrug?

N. C. I see what is like to become of my good friend Philagathus.

C. Never trouble yourself. He can prove, if need be, that *most* signifies *few* or *none*. Musculus[z] indeed tells us, that this word *power* in the evangelical history is in a manner alway used for miracles: and under these two words he comprehends all that the Spirit wrought in and by the apostles, and their preaching. Which, methinks, is excellently expressed by Arias Montanus[a]: "He proved what he said by the manifest power

[r] Beza follows this exposition, making Spirit and power one thing expressed by two words. [Part ii. p. 103. Nov. Test. Gr. Lat. fol. Gen. 1589.] So Estius also among the Papists. [p. 201.]

[s] [In loc. tom. i. p. 431 D.]

[t] [In loc. tom. iii. p. 175.]

[u] Θαυματουργία.

[v] [In loc. tom. xi. col. 905 E.]

[x] [Pseudo-Ambros. in loc. tom. ii. append. col. 117 F.]

[y] Demonstrationem Spiritus et pot. quam *plerique* ad miracula restringunt. [In loc. p. 123.]

[z] [In loc. p. 23.]

[a] [Elucidationes, &c. in loc. 4to, Antv. 1588.]

of the Holy Ghost given by Christ to those that believed, and by the efficacy of healings, and other divine signs." Nay, his great friend Peter Martyr, whom he makes us believe he consulted, is pleased to say little less than Mr. Calvin, that there are very many who restrain these words to miracles and prodigies, which Paul wrought[z]. What he thinks of their opinion you shall hear presently. Let us first hear what Face hath to say to me. "The stream of interpreters run another way[a]:" "It is the sense wherein most divines do construe it[b]:" "You have the confidence to oppose the body of interpreters[c];" and give us an "uncouth and less acknowledged interpretation[d]:" "an interpretation that deserved not to be once mentioned in opposition to others[e]." Bravely said, bold Bayard! and like a blind Bayard that fears no colours! Stand to't stoutly, and rub thy forehead hard; for within that skull of thine is more contained than in all the world beside. A whole body of interpreters is lodged there, which Mr. Calvin himself never saw. There is a depth of learning that nobody knows, running in the wide channel of thy brain.——

N. C. You had better have said the wide crack in his brain.

C. We have done with that merriment. And you may rather suspect a crack in his conscience. For how durst an honest man presume to abuse the world on this fashion? Who but a man of a debauched conscience would repeat a thing so often, and with such assurance, of which he had no competent knowledge? How will you excuse his hypocrisy who commends his own moderation and modesty in this and another book, and yet takes upon him publicly to contradict and control another without any ground? nay, to disparage him all he could, and charge him with vain confidence[f] and peremptoriness, when he himself had no other support, but wrote gross untruths out of his own imagination? Methinks he should hide his head for shame, and not appear in the open streets, unless he be of the

[z] Permulti sunt, qui hæc ad miracula contrahant et prodigia, quæ Paulus edebat, &c. [In loc. fol. 22 a.]

[a] Sober Answer, p. 10.

[b] Ibid. [c] P. 11.

[d] P. 122.

[e] Pp. 197. 279. "the general current of interpreters."

[f] "Sir, this vain confidence of yours doth justly provoke me," &c. p. 11, and p. 279. "bewail your peremptoriness," &c.

sect of that philosopher in Lucian[g], who professed to teach men above all things "to be impudent and bold, to bark at every thing without distinction, to throw away all modesty, and blot all blushing quite out of the face. For this is the art, said he, to arrive at glory in a more compendious way than by education, study, and such like trifles. If thou beest an idiot, a mason or bricklayer, it is no hinderance why thou shouldst not be admired, if thou hast boldness enough, and canst rail with a good grace."

N. C. He is none of those, I'll pass my word for him, though he be a little too forward.

C. A little too forward! very gently spoken, and like his great moderation, when he acknowledges any fault in his friends. If he be capable of amendment, I will make him less forward, for I have not yet done with him.

N. C. You will be too tedious.

C. I cannot help it. I must make a thing as plain as A B C to him, or he will never see it. I pray desire him to consider where his eyes or his honesty were, when he told us that "Peter Martyr and Marlorate both do find fault with them who restrain the meaning of that place to miracles, and speak as if they did miss the main scope and intent of the Holy Ghost in that text[h]." Let him wash his eyes and look once more (if he ever looked at all) into Peter Martyr, and blush——

N. C. Why should you question his consulting Peter Martyr?

C. Because he is so far from passing any censure on those who are of this opinion, that after he had told us, "Very many restrain these things to miracles," he adds immediately, "which perhaps is not beside the truth[i]." This makes me think that your forward philosopher made a show of greater learning than he was guilty of, and that he went not so high as Peter Martyr, where the stream is against him, and a very great one too; but contented himself with Marlorate alone, as if he were

[g] [Diogenes the Cynic.] In his Sale of Philosophers. [*Οὐ γάρ σοι δεήσει παιδείας καὶ λόγων καὶ λήρων, ἀλλ' ἐπιτόμος αὕτη σοι πρὸς δόξαν ἡ ὁδός· καὶ ἰδιώτης γὰρ εἰὰν ᾖς, ἤτοι σκυτοδεψὸς ἢ ταριχοπώλης ἢ τέκτων ἢ τραπεζίτης, οὐδέν σε κωλύσει θαυμαστὸν εἶναι, ἢν μόνον ἀναίδεια καὶ τὸ θράσος παρῇ, καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι καλῶς ἐκμαθῇς.*—cap. xi.]

[h] Page 9.

[i] Permulti sunt qui hæc ad miracula contrahant, &c. *quod fortassis non est a vero alienum.*

some sea into which the stream of interpreters emptied itself. He indeed thus reports the sense of Peter Martyr, "Many restrain these to miracles, but the former sense agrees better with the purpose of Paul[k]." But he ought not to have trusted this abridger of books, who, as he tells us nothing out of St. Ambrose and Œcumenius, (which are two of the authors he gathers out of, and are of a contrary mind to him,) so he wrongs Peter Martyr, who doth not say there is another sense that better agrees, &c., but only adds after the words last cited, "But I more willingly take in that energy whereby the Spirit spoke through his holy breast[l]," &c. What think you, is this a man fit to write books, and inform you in the truth, who takes things on trust, and at the second hand? How many things, may you justly conceive, doth he obtrude on you in the pulpit for certain truths, which are notorious falsities, who thus in print belies authors, and runs away before he knows their sense? Nay, openly tells you, that "the most" say a thing; when "one of the best expositors in the world, in the confession of all men[m]," if you will believe himself, affirms that the most say quite contrary?

N. C. You must consider that he wants books, as he tells you in the preface.

C. Then he ought not to have been so peremptory, as if he had read all authors: and what he bids me do[n] is become his own duty, who ought to do a severe penance for his presumption, his vain ostentation of learning where he had none, and his deceiving the poor people with mere wording and facing (as was said before) against a notorious truth.

N. C. I am sorry he did not repair to some bookseller's shop, which, I suppose, are all furnished with Calvin, Musculus, and Peter Martyr.

C. How should he write such a book in six weeks' time and less, if he had been at that pains? He hath a better shop for his purpose in his own brains, where he can furnish himself with all sort of ware without any trouble at all. There are

[k] Permulti hæc ad miracula restringunt, sed prior sensus instituto Pauli melius quadrat.

[l] Sed ego lubentius complector *ἐνέργειαν* qua Spiritus, &c.

[m] They are his own words of Mr. Calvin, p. 121.

[n] "Bewail your peremptoriness," &c. speaking of this place, p. 279.

comments and histories good store, and a certain worm of such an admirable property, that it doth not so much feed on them, as feed them and nourish them continually. And the truth is, I do not see what good those authors you mention would have done him, had he gone to consult them. For either he is so giddy-headed, or loves so much to pervert men's sense, that he scarce ever conceives any thing aright, but abuses others as well as me. Marlorate himself cannot find fair dealing with him, who speaks in milder terms than he, as you have seen; and being but a reporter of other men's sense, ought not to have been alleged at all distinct from them. But he had a mind to make a noise with as many learned names and words as he could find, having little else to credit himself withal. For why, I beseech you, did he give us Erasmus his gloss on the place (if you can believe him) in Latin only, when all the rest is English? For my part, I believe he could not construe his words, nor understand the true meaning of them, but put them in to vapour withal. You may know, if you please, that they are not his gloss upon the place, but only upon one word, not at all to our business. For they are not in his Paraphrase, but in his Annotations, where he is not expounding the words *spirit* and *power*, but that which we render *demonstration:* which he would not have so translated; but with the vulgar *ostension*, or rather *ostentation*, i. e. *showing* and *declaring*[o]. So the apostle calls it, saith he, "forasmuch as the apostolical Spirit is in the thing itself represented and declared." What is this to his purpose? I make no doubt he himself could not tell, but, to make a vain show of learning, down it went without any meaning.

N. C. Pray English it for us.

C. So I have, and this is the meaning, as far as I can judge, that the spirit of the apostles was sufficiently shown and made manifest by itself; and there needed no other proof to declare it to be divine. Which makes so much to my purpose, (for how could it show itself to men's satisfaction, but by the miraculous gifts?) that if he had understood it, he would have thrown it away. And let it stand aside, if you will, for another reason

[o] Paulus *ἀπόδειξιν* appellat, cum ipsa re præstatur ac declaratur Spiritus apostolicus. [Annot. in loc. Opp. tom. vi. col. 667.]

which he might have found in Beza, an ordinary book, who confutes this exposition of the word as not apposite to the place[p]; it properly signifying, saith he, "a proof which renders a thing evident, or demonstrates it from certain and necessary reasons." Such were the supernatural gifts of the Holy Ghost: but the making men of our belief, and persuading them to receive what we say, is no certain and necessary proof that we speak nothing but the truth. No man can affirm that, who considers any thing; and therefore the apostle speaks of such a sensible demonstration or proof, as I mentioned; without which they could not know certainly that there was a divine spirit in the apostles. So the word is plainly expounded, Acts ii. 22. *Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved among you*[q], *by miracles, wonders, and signs, which God did by him,* &c. From whence I gather, that the thing whereby he approved himself to them, or demonstrated he was of God, was the very same whereby the apostles demonstrated his religion, viz. miracles, wonders, and signs; all the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

N. C. But do not the Dutch annotators expound it otherwise?

C. They seem to understand by *Spirit*, the secret operation of the Spirit in men's hearts, though by *power* the same that I do[r]. In which they follow Erasmus in his paraphrase[s]: and Theophylact[t] hath something to the same effect, though he presently betake himself to the interpretation of St. Chrysostom before named. But how an inclination to believe a thing, or a persuasion wrought in me of it, should be a *demonstration*, i. e.

[p] Ἀπόδειξις.

[q] Ἀποδεδειγμένον, 'demonstrated to you to be of.'

[r] ["Demonstration of the spirituall power which was joyned with his word, outwardly by miracles, and inwardly by the operation of the Holy Ghost, 2 Cor. iii. 3."—"Dutch Annotations upon the whole Bible, together with their own translation of the text ordered and appointed by the Synod of Dort," 1618; published by authority, 1637: translated by Theodore Haak, on a requisition from a body of English puritan divines, and dedicated to the Protector," fol. Lond. 1657. These commentaries, together with those of the Italian Diodati, were recommended by parliament to the divines who were selected to compile the new body of notes commonly known as the Assembly's Annotations, and were adopted by them as the basis of that composition.]

[s] ["Non ostentatione doctrinæ, sed Spiritu ac virtute Dei, qui afflatu miraculisque nostro licet incondito sermoni vim addebat."—Paraphr. in loc. Opp. tom. vii. col. 864.]

[t] [In loc. tom. ii. p. 131 A.]

a proof that the thing is true which I am persuaded of, or inclined unto, is, as I told you, past my understanding. And therefore, having such good company, I shall believe, notwithstanding all his barking, that they were the extraordinary visible effects of the Spirit, either in our Saviour or his apostles, or others who believed, which were the *demonstration*, by the means of which the Holy Ghost convinced the understandings, and bowed the wills of unbelievers to become Christians.

N. C. I thought Grotius only had been on your side: and Philagathus tells us, he "perceives, if Grotius be for you, as if it were God himself, you are ready to say, Who shall be against you?... As if you were bound to swear whatsoever Grotius saith[u]."

C. I remember his words; and they are another notable demonstration of the hypocritical modesty, that is, the shameless boldness of this man; who will venture to say any thing, merely out of his own head, which he thinks may disgrace me; and endeavour without any proof to make the world believe that I pin my faith on Grotius's sleeve, and make him instead of a God. This he repeats I cannot tell how often, (as he shall hear anon with a witness,) and, I will repeat it too, only out of that great forge, where the rest of his book was wrought, his own imagination. For I protest sincerely, it is more than I know, if that be his interpretation which I gave you: nor did I in all my life, to my best remembrance, consult with him about it. Though, I must tell you, if I had, I should in Mr. Baxter's judgment have consulted one of the five most judicious commentators that ever wrote on the Scriptures[x]. But as judicious as he is, in his opinion, I would have you know that I would never have followed him, without more reason than his bare affirmation. The naked truth is, that the very propriety of the words, and the drift of the apostle's discourse carried me, without any help, to this exposition. *Spirit* every body knows who hath studied signifies commonly extraordinary gifts. If he will not be at the pains to examine it, I will quote him an authority for it, which he often vaunts of; and that is Master

[u] P. 10.

[x] Beza, Grotius, Piscator, Musculus, Deodat, "five of the most judicious commentators, I think, that ever wrote on the sacred Scriptures." Second Postscript after his Disputation about right to the Sacraments, p. 539. [4to, Lond. 1657.]

Baxter: who tells you, that "he who will observe carefully the language of the Holy Ghost, shall find this word *Spirit*, or Holy Ghost, is most usually in the New Testament taken for the extraordinary gifts of that age[y]." As for the word *power*, you heard what Musculus said. But beside, I have noted in my small observation, that when our Saviour was sent into the world, he was *anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power*, Acts x. 38, and that he told his apostles, *as the Father sent him, so he would send them*, John xx. 21. From whence I concluded that they were to be anointed also with the Holy Ghost (or the Spirit) and with power, as he had been. And so they were; for as at his baptism *the Spirit of God descended on him like a dove*, (Matt. iii. 16,) so on the day of Pentecost, which was the day of their baptism, (Acts i. 5,) *they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, prophesying and speaking with tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance;* and presently working a great miracle upon the cripple, and *with great power giving witness of his resurrection*[z]. This I thought was the *demonstration of the Spirit and of power*, whereby our Lord was approved and demonstrated in his lifetime to be the Son of God: and by which afterward they proved his resurrection from the dead, and so the truth of his religion. *Spirit* I take to comprehend the gift of tongues, prophesy, interpretation of tongues, and all the rest, except doing miracles, which in Scripture is called by the name of *power*. Thus I observe they are distinguished, Gal. iii. 5, *He that ministereth the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the law?* &c. where all gifts besides miracles are called the Spirit. And the author to the Hebrews saith, that God did bear witness to the apostles' preaching, *both with signs, wonders, and divers miracles*, and *also with gifts or distributions of the Holy Ghost* according to his own will. These, and such like considerations, were sufficient to persuade me to incline to that sense of the words which I gave you. But when I attended to the scope of the apostle's discourse, I had no doubt left in me: nothing so well agreeing with it

[y] Unreasonableness of Infidelity. [Disc. 2. p. 11. "The Spirit's internal witness to the truth of Christianity," on 1John v. 10.—8vo, Lond. 1655.]

[z] [See Acts ii. 4, 17, 25; iii. 2,&c.; Acts iv. 33.]

(whatsoever this man prates) as that interpretation. For the *Spirit* and *power* is that which proved the truth of the apostles' preaching better than any syllogisms or artificial orations could do, which he therefore calls a *demonstration*, in opposition to those ways of persuasion which deserved not that name. Now what should that be which was the reason and cause of belief; since it is certain, the Spirit did not inwardly persuade men to believe without any reason? Could some men's belief of the doctrine prove that others ought to believe? They might still justly ask, how those men came by their faith; what was the cause and ground of it? If they said the Spirit persuaded them, how could they tell there was such a Spirit, or that a divine power wrought in them, unless they saw it by its effects, which were the demonstration to unbelievers? If you say, it was known by the change of men's lives, the exception against that, as no sufficient proof of Christianity, is, because many who believed were not throughly changed, but still lived ungodlily, even in the Corinthian church: there was some change also wrought in several men by mere philosophers; and among the Jews, before the preaching of Christ, there were many very good men and women. If by *Spirit*, you will at last say, is meant the ancient prophecies, (without the extraordinary interpretation by the Holy Ghost, which appeared many ways to be in the apostles,) that will not do neither, as you have heard, unless you will imagine the apostles preached to the Jews only: for that would have been to allege one unknown thing for the proof of another; and as if we should offer those for sureties, for whose credit we need certificates and pledges. The question, I say, would still have remained, how do you demonstrate those prophecies to be divine revelations on which we ought to rely?—

N. C. No more words: I am satisfied.

C. And you are satisfied, I hope, that this is a man not worthy to be credited, and that instead of Philagathus, a name borrowed I think from Mr. Dent's Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven, he deserves to be called Antilegon[a]; a mere caviller

[a] The name of another person in that dialogue. ["'The Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven: wherein every man may cleerly see whether he shall be saved or damned. Set forth Dialogue-wise, for the better understanding of the simple; by Arthur Dent, preacher of the word of God at South-

and contradicter, that loves to wrangle and scold, and gainsay right or wrong. The very spirit of the ancient sophisters is in him, whom Plato calls by that name of contradicters and opposers[b]. He seems to me to be such a master in the faculty, that he can shut his eyes when he pleases, and fall a quarrelling with any thing that comes in his way. But I hope after this discovery of his folly, he will cease to prate and outface, and labour to prove what he saith: otherwise I have some hope that none who read this will give him any credit, unless it be perhaps some "goslings of his own brooding[c]." Be not angry, for I assure you I have not the least spark of it, nor was he able with all his scurrility to provoke me to kindle against him, all the time I read his book.

N. C. You boast a little too much.

C. I must say it, that he and you may know how much I contemn such opposers, who may provoke one to laughter, but not to anger. No, not though they should be so unmannerly and clownishly despiteful as this rude scholar of that cynic philosopher I named is, who professes to have vomited his gall, or, as he calls it, delivered his stomach in my face.

N. C. It sticks in your stomach sure, you mention it so oft.

C. He loves repetitions, which makes me lay it in his dish again. But, as I was going to tell you, it immediately brought to my mind these words of Mr. Burroughs[d], and that was all the hurt it did me: "There is an odious disease in nature, casting up the excrements at the mouth, which is no less noisome than dangerous, and therefore the physicians call it *Miserere mei Deus.* Thus exulcerated minds affected with the like malady in morality, being surcharged with superfluity of choler and malice, and not able to contain, break forth into

Shoobery in Essex." First published with an epistle dedicatory to Sir Julius Cæsar, one of the masters of the requests; April 10, 1601.

It appears to have been a highly popular work, since the twenty-fourth impression was published in the year 1637.

The interlocutors in the dialogue are designated "Theologus a divine, Philagathus an honest man, Asunetus an ignorant man, Antilegon, a caviller."]

[b] In sophista. Ἀντιλογικὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι φαμέν. [p. 232 B.]

[c] They are Bp. White's words to a nameless pamphleteer, p. 118. [See p. 49, above.]

[d] Vindication against Mr. Edwards, p. 3. [Quoted in part i. vol. v. p. 489.]

distemper of words, and pour it out in unsavoury language. Such we must leave to a *miserere;* and if they will not pray of themselves, we must do it for them, and say, 'Lord have mercy on them.'" That is all I have to say about this to your choleric Antilegon. And if you have a desire, since they say some hold him for a wit, that he should continue to discharge himself in this manner for the service of the cause, I am so little concerned about it, that you may put forth another petition, and never trouble me, in the language which some of you used against another gentleman; "that he may have free leave and liberty to run at the mouth (though it be not natural that excrements should come up stairs) as long as he pleases; to scribble still without check or control, because (as it is humbly conceived) all the danger of him is want of vent; and the more he is prohibited, the more perhaps he will do that which he is forbidden by lawful authority; and the more he will think himself considerable, if opposed by them whom he rails at[e]."

N. C. Why do you then meddle with him?

C. You forced me to it by your continual talking and urging of me; otherwise I assure you I should have despised him and let him alone.

N. C. I confess I had a mind to hear what you could say about this *demonstration of the Spirit and of power*, because it was commonly said you forsook the general current of divines in your exposition.

C. Just so Heshusius dealt with good Melancthon, whom he boldly accused of blasphemy, and said, he treacherously and profanely played or made sport with the Scriptures, because he preferred the most ancient writers of the church before his authority[f]. And you have not forgot, I suppose, what some said of Mr. Baxter, because he left the modern opinion concerning the sin against the Holy Ghost, though he endeavoured

[e] "To the supream authority of the nation the humble petition of certain peaceable people against," &c. 1659. [Against William Prynne, dated "in the year of Mr. Prynne's latest excrements, and in anno Domini 1659." This curious petition is contained in a broadsheet in a volume of Proclamations, Declarations, &c. in the British Museum.]

[f] So Paulus Eberus tells us in his preface before his Comments on this Epistle to the Corinthians.

to establish a better in the room of it. But if it will do them any pleasure still to bawl and make a noise, I will give myself no further trouble about this matter, in which I have been too long already. And therefore I will not give myself the like liberty in ripping up every one of his gross errors and vain brags, which if I should carefully spread before your face, so that you might plainly discern them, it would make a volume five times as big as his. Which is such a fardel of ignorance and impudence, of disingenuity, spite, and evil surmisings; of such false dealing, downright lying, pervertings of my meaning, wrangling without cause, vanity, presumption, abuse of holy Scripture, idle shifts and excuses for faults, that I never yet saw the like in so great abundance in any book in my life, nor I think ever shall.

N. C. A very high charge, proceeding it will be thought from your vain confidence and the height of your pride, for which he hath given you so many buffets.

C. I feel them not; nor have any thing the worse opinion of myself than I had, though I think he hath told you of my pride an hundred times. This is no more than his predecessors in this art of reviling have charged their neighbours withal, when they deserved better usage. There was one, for instance, that would needs prove from Mr. Baxter's writings, (as this man labours to do from mine,) that he was "hypocritically proud." So he himself tells us[g], and you shall have my answer at present in his words[h]. "I will, by the help of God, search my heart for this sin of pride, and desire him to do the like, and see that he be well acquit from usurping God's prerogative, and from slandering his brother. 2. How came I to be so unhappy that only those that know me not load me with this charge, and never any of my brethren told me of it to my face? 3. It will be worth such men's labour to search how much pride may lie in their impatience of contradiction; and being

[g] Appendix to the 5 Disp. of Right to the Sacraments, p. 484. [4to, Lond. 1657.]

[h] Preface before his Confession of Faith. ["Richard Baxter's Confession of his faith, especially concerning the interest of Repentance, and sincere obedience to Christ, in our justification and salvation, written for the satisfaction of the mis-informed, the conviction of calumniators, and the explication and vindication of some weighty matters." —4to, Lond. 1655.]

such, that a man knows not how to speak to them, for fear of being contumelious in withdrawing, or not giving them the honour they expect. I remember how St. Austin excused a friend of his to a man of such a spirit, and with a fear lest after all his caution he should seem contumelious himself in that apology. 'I hear thou complainest of Memoratus a brother, that he answered something contumeliously to thee, which I beseech thee not to account a reproach, when as I am certain that it did not proceed from a proud mind. For I know that brother of mine; if he speak any thing with greater fervency for his faith, and for the charity of the church, than thy gravity would willingly hear, that is not to be called contumely, but confidence and assurance of the truth of what he said. For he desired to reason and confer, not to fawn and flatter[h].'" In such a confidence, which I feel still unshaken in my mind after all his batteries, I will proceed, take it how he please, to make good my charge, by giving only some notorious instances of all those things, and several others, as they occur to my thoughts: for "we need not drink up all the sea to know that it is salt," as Irenæus speaks; nor is it fit to trouble the world with too long a discourse about one man's follies. And if you please we will begin with his ignorance.

N. C. It will be a very ungrateful discourse.

C. Not more to you than to me, who heartily wish there were a way of curing ulcers without unripping them first and laying them open. But I look upon this man as so empty, and yet so confident and self-conceited, that there is no way to do him good but by laying him naked before himself. And I doubt not also but to make my discourse very profitable to others who will give it the hearing; for he that corrects one may mend an hundred.

[h] ["Audivi quidem de memorato fratre te fuisse conquestum, quod nescio quid tibi contumeliose responderit: quod, quæso te, ne illam contumeliam deputes; quam certum mihi est non de superbo animo processisse. Novi enim fratrem meum, sed si quid in disputando pro fide sua, et pro Ecclesiæ charitate dixit fortasse ferventius, quod tua gravitas nollet audire, non illa contumacia, sed fiducia nominanda est. Collatorem enim et disputatorem, non assentatorem et adulatorem se esse cupiebat." — S. Aug. Epist. xxxiii. tom. ii. col. 62 F. Whether by 'frater memoratus,' the proper name of the individual is designated seems open to doubt. It was not so understood by the Benedictine editors, who have printed the word without a capital letter.]

N. C. Proceed then.

C. You have had some taste already of his skill. St. Taffee will be a witness of it as long as he lives. But to take him down still lower, and keep him from meddling hereafter with things beyond his reach, I shall give you a more full demonstration of his ignorance, and make it manifest that of a scholar he is the worst horseman that ever bestrid a book, (you will give me leave to allude to his own rhetoric,) having rid himself clean out of the saddle. And since divinity seems to be his prime profession, we will begin with a principal point of it; and that is justifying faith and good works. About which things he tells us how excellently Mr. Baxter hath wrote[i]: and because he hath done so well, imagines they are all sound in those points; when as he himself, good man, either doth not know what Mr. Baxter saith, or else is not of his mind. From whence I conclude, that a man may as easily be an Antinomian and not know it, (whatsoever he saith to the contrary,) as he hold dangerous opinions about faith and not know it.

N. C. What are they? I know none.

C. He tells you not only what his own, but what the Non-conformists' opinion is about justification by faith, in these words: "We say only faith justifies as an instrument, though not that faith which is alone[k]." Now Mr. Baxter, I assure you, is none of those, but must be exempted out of his *we*. For there being two things which this boldface affirms, first, that only faith justifies; and secondly, that it justifies as an intrument: he will say neither of them for any good, but looks on them as dangerous positions.

[i] P. 18. ["The generality of Non-conformist divines are not Antinomians, whatsoever you think of them: witness the greatest execution that ever was done upon that opinion, done by two of them, viz. Mr. Anthony Burges, and Mr. Baxter; one of which hath slain his thousands of that opinion, and the other his ten thousands; or rather, both of them their ten thousands: so that a professed Antinomian in these days is scarce to be found. Never did man more labour to distinguish faith from presumption, by showing the necessary concomitancy of good works with justifying faith, than Mr. Baxter hath done, who hath exploded Antinomianism in his writings, as if it were worse than popery; and yet after all this, you would make the world believe that Non-conformists are generally Antinomians."]

[k] Page 19.

N. C. You jest sure, or else philosopher is in a bad case.

C. It is as I tell you. For to say that faith only justifies, is to say that God doth not say true, who tells us, we are *not justified by faith only.* This Mr. Baxter repeats over and over again[l]: but I must cite the very words, or else I fear he will wrangle. "The question is," saith he[m], "in what sense we are justified by works, and *not by faith only.* You answer in a direct contradiction to St. James, saying, It is by faith only. So dare not I directly say, It is not by works, when God saith it is; but think I am bound to distinguish, and show in what sense works justify, and in what not, and not to say flatly against God, that "we are not justified by works under any notion, but only by the faith that works[n]." "A denial of God's assertions is an ill expounding of him."

N. C. This I confess is plain.

C. He speaks as home to the other part, and not only denies that faith justifies as an instrument[o], but saith, "it is besides, nay, against the Scripture, to say that faith justifies as an instrument[p]."

N. C. I did not think that philosopher had clashed with Mr. Baxter, and held errors of such a nature.

C. Nor he neither; for he doth not use to think, but only imagine. If he had read and considered his books, he would have found, that "those who say that faith justifies as a true instrument[q], do most certainly make it to justify as an action of man: and in saying that it justifies as an instrument, yet not as an act, or by actions, they speak most gross contradiction; seeing an instrument is an efficient cause, and action is the causality of the efficient."

[l] In his Disputation of Justification, and in his Letter.

[m] Ibid. p. 192. [4to, Lond. 1658.]

[n] Which is Philagathus his assertion.

[o] Confession of Faith, p. 88, 89. ["Conclus. 7. I never went about to give works or duty any part of that interest in our justification, which our divines do frequently give to faith, viz. to be the instrument of our justification. For indeed I deny so high an honour to both.

"Conclus. 9. Nay, one main reason which constraineth me to differ from my brethren, and to deny that faith is an instrument of justification, is because I dare not give so much of Christ's honor to man, or any act of man, as to be an efficient cause of pardoning himself."]

[p] Ibid. p. 295.

[q] Qua Instrumentum, p. 95.

N. C. I do not well understand the danger of this.

C. He tells you[r], "It makes man his own justifier, or the next cause of his justification, and by his own act to help God to justify him; for so all instruments do help the principal cause. And yet by a self contradiction this opinion makes faith to be of no moral worth, and so no virtue or grace: yea, (I think) it lays the blame of man's infidelity on God." For the assertors of it have a device to make it a "passive instrument[s]," from whence follow these absurdities.

N. C. I will not trouble my brains about it; but I see I may omit a question which he asks you, viz. "Do you not think that good works are the instrumental cause of our justification as well as faith[t]?"

C. I must tell you, in brief, that all the questions he propounds to me in that place, are such as he would never have asked if he had but attained a smattering knowledge in Mr. Baxter's writings; whom he commends, just as he discommends me, without understanding him. For he would have taught him that "neither faith, nor any work of ours are causes of our justification, either principal or instrumental[u]."

N. C. But there is one question he asks, wherein he "prays you to speak out, for it is suspected there is a snake in your grass[x]."

C. A maggot in his brain.

N. C. And that is, Are not faith and obedience both one and the same thing?

C. He hath a resolution in Mr. Baxter: "Our first faith is not the same with obedience to Christ, (how should it?) yet it essentially contains a resolution and covenant to obey him[y]." But there is no end of these impertinent questions. You will ask me next, how I prove myself not to be a papist.

N. C. No, I will let the rest alone, because I see what you will say; and this indeed was not the main thing that you and I first intended to debate. Yet there are some questions about

[r] Disput. of Justification, p. 224.
[s] [Pp. 214, 6.]
[t] [Philag. p. 19.]
[u] Confess. of Faith, p. 31. [chap. 3. § 1.] and other places. Disput. of Justific. p. 75.
[x] [Philag. p. 19.]
[y] Confess. of Faith, p. 38, 39. [§ 2.]

this matter in another place, to which I would gladly have though it be but a brief answer.

C. Where shall we find them?

N. C. There where he comes to your description of faith, page 63.

C. I remember the place: where I find him in the same posture that the bishop of Galloway did his reprover; "vexing himself with his own anger, tumbling and weltering in the puddle of his tumultuous thoughts, whereof he cannot rid himself; bragging most vainly, but producing nothing that may be accounted worthy of an answer[z]." For I having told you that the faith our Saviour speaks of in those words, John vi. 29: *This is the work of God, that you believe on him whom he hath sent,* (viz. justifying and saving faith,) is an effectual persuasion that Jesus is sent of God: he very gravely tells me that I "deny faith to consist in assent or persuasion," (which are the same thing,) and so contradict the men of my way. Was there ever such a giddy-brained man as this set a cock-horse, who posts away without his errand, and tells the world I deny faith to be an assent or persuasion, when I tell him it is? Doth he not deserve to have his fingers rapped, or to be soundly scourged, that takes pen in hand to confute a book, and never minds, or else understands not what he writes against?

N. C. But you say faith consists not "in a bare persuasion," &c.

C. True, that saving faith which I speak of doth not consist in a bare assent to the truth of the Gospel, but yet it is an assent, though it be something more. Assent is the general nature of faith, but there is a difference between faith that is saving, and faith that is not saving, which I there expressed by the word *effectual.* And here again he blunders and keeps a pudder to make a plain thing obscure.

N. C. You will not say it was plain, sure.

C. Yes, but I will: though nothing can be so plain and clear which this man's confused thoughts shall not trouble. The difference I made between this faith which our Saviour speaks

[z] Defence, p. 169. [See p. 47, above.]

of, and a bare persuasion that he came from God, was this; that it is a persuasion of that truth with its fruits and effects; which I expressed in these words, "becoming his disciples, sincere profession of his religion, and living according to it." For, unless our minds being convinced of the truth it have this effect upon our wills, to make us consent to obey it, and sincerely purpose to do according to our persuasion; and unless also, if we live, we make good this purpose, and both profess and perform obedience to the gospel; we do not the work of God which our Saviour speaks of, nor have that faith which will bring us to everlasting life. This he might have found affirmed by Mr. Baxter in as round words as mine, if he had spent that time in reading and meditating, which he spends in scribbling. "It is all one," saith he[a], "in my account to believe in Christ, and to become a Christian," &c. "To be a believer[b], and to be a disciple of Christ in Scripture sense is all one; and so to be a disciple and to be a Christian: and therefore justifying faith comprehends all that is essential to our discipleship, or Christianity, as its constitutive causes." To which he adds this proposition, "Those therefore who call any one act, or two, by the name of *justifying faith*, and all the rest by the name of *works*, and say that it is only the act of recumbency on Christ as priest, or on Christ as dying for us, or only the act of apprehending or accepting his imputed righteousness, by which we are justified, &c., do pervert the doctrine of faith and justification; and their doctrine tendeth to corrupt the very nature of Christianity itself." I could add a great deal more with as much ease as I can write, but that I think this sufficient to be replied to his long babble about the nature of faith, and we must not suppose the world at leisure to read the same thing over perpetually. If it do not satisfy him, let him enjoy the vain conceit of his own skill; nay, let him crow over me, and bear himself with the same pertness (to use an expression I have somewhere met with) that a daw sits cawing and pecking upon a sheep's back; he will be but a jackdaw for all that.

N. C. You grant, then, that there may be a persuasion, where it is not effectual.

[a] Appendix to Disput. of Right to the Sacraments, p. 509. [p. 499. ed. 2. 4to, Lond. 1658.]

[b] Disput. of Justific. p. 77, 78.

C. Who doubts of it? But it is not saving faith; which was the thing we were speaking of. As he might have observed, had he not kept such a cawing to himself, that he could not hear us.

N. C. He makes account the questions he asks you there are unanswerable.

C. He doth so. And not to dissemble, they seem to be no less subtle and profound than the admired Cryptic question of Chrysippus; if you ever heard of it[c].

N. C. I know not what it means.

C. I will tell you then, if you will answer me. Do you know your own father or mother?

N. C. Yes, sure.

C. Suppose then I should bring one veiled into your company, and should ask you whether you know him, what would you say?

N. C. That I know him not.

C. But it is your father, and therefore if you know not who it is, you know not your own father.

N. C. It is a notable fetch.

C. Just thus your champion assaults me. Do you know, sir, what faith is? Yes, say I, he finds the question answered in my book; but he disguises, muffles, and puts it into a great many strange shapes, as well as his wit will serve him; and asks me again, Is this it you call faith? To which he answers for me No, and then concludes most smartly, Thus you see, you know not what faith is, for this is it you called faith. A most profound disputer, I protest. At the next sale of philosophers[d], when you hear them cried about the street, I pray inquire after the price of him; it is possible some may venture to give three farthings for him, especially when they hear with what excellent qualities he is endued; for be it known to all, he hath

[c] Lucian in his Sale of Philosophers. [ΧΡΥΣ. Τί οὖν; ἦν σοι παραστήσας τινὰ ἐγκεκαλυμμένον ἔρωμαι, Τοῦτον οἶσθα; τί φήσεις;

ΑΓΟ. Δηλαδὴ ἀγνοεῖν.

ΧΡΥΣ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτὸς οὗτος ἦν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σός· ὥστε εἰ τοῦτον ἀγνοεῖς, δῆλος εἶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν σὸν ἀγνοῶν. —cap. 22.]

[d] He pretends to be one, p. 246. ["Sir, if a man may pretend to some philosophy, or love of wisdom, though not to be a sophy or wise man, I think I may lawfully pretend, if not to be, yet unfeignedly to desire and endeavour myself to be one of those peaceable men whom you have there described."]

the best skill of any man I know, in making Galamaufry's and Hotchpotches, in larding of English with bits of Latin, and in making of slaps and sauces for discourses. He is furnished with a whole shopful of shreds, a magazine of tales, and may set up an office for apologies, which he hath at his fingers' end, be your fault what it will. He can shuffle, and wrangle, and scold, all these in perfection; and besides, he hath a bold face, and can lie at no aim; and if you should chance to lose him, you may know him from all the men in the world by certain marks he hath about him. For where you find a man at all turns, putting you off with 'it may be's,' 'it is said,' 'for any thing I know,' 'all, or some,' and such like words which I before noted; lay hold of him, that's the man. Besides, he hath either robbed another, or else you may know him by the 'ordeal' and 'plowshares,' Pelion' and Ossa,' the 'pomps,' and the 'indelible character.'

N. C. I cannot imagine what you mean.

C. They that have read a book about the rebuilding of London, know well enough; for there[e] they meet with all these, just as we do here in this: by which you may know that he hath such a set of words and phrases as will be sure to discover him. And now I speak of pomps, you shall give me leave to show you what a vain pretence this ignorant man makes to learning. The ancient Christians, he tells you[f], "having found the great inconvenience of stage plays, and increase of wickedness by them," put a word on purpose into the baptismal vow to deter people from going to them, and that is the "pomps of this world." For "some glossaries say, that stage plays were formerly called pomps, if you will believe bishop Usher," whom, saith he, "I have some where found quoted for this." And so have I, in the book about the rebuilding of London[g], where the author saith positively, bishop Usher hath observed that the ancients inserted a passage against stage plays in the baptismal vow, viz., "that we should renounce the pomps of the world:"

[e] P. 178, 217, 332, 335. ["London's Resurrection, or the Rebuilding of London encouraged, directed, and improved, in fifty discourses, by Samuel Rolls, minister of the Gospel, and sometime fellow of Trinity Colledg in Cambridge: published by Thomas Parkhurst, at the sign of the Golden Bible on London Bridge, under the gate."—8vo, 1668.]

[f] P. 179, of Sober Answer.

[g] P. 217.

"Now pomps (said he) did of old signify stage plays." But where the bishop hath observed it, or said it, he tells us not; so that in effect he quotes his own authority, when he tells us here, "I have found him somewhere quoted," and draws this conclusion out of his own imagination, that though we allow plays in a due measure, yet the old Christians did not, but obliged those that were baptized to renounce them.

N. C. And what say you to it?

C. I have told you he speaks out of his own idle head, and there is not a word of truth in what he says, for pomps never signified any such plays as ours.

N. C. Will you not take bishop Usher's word?

C. I will see it first and have it under his hand, for I cannot trust this vain talker, who doth not understand, I plainly see, what he reads. To pretend to know all that bishop Usher ever writ or said would be vanity in me; but I will not believe it till I have better authority than his, that he ever gave his sense of the word pomp. Some plays, or rather games and public sights[h], he or any body else might say were by a figure called pomps: but the ancients distinguished them, and to speak exactly, we must say, that the pomps of the world were not those things which the Romans called *ludi* and *spectacula*, which we should render sports, sights, or games; but that stately procession which was made before one of them. For *pomp*, you must know, is in its first signification nothing else but the *sending* of something, and the carrying it also from one place to another[i], more particularly the carrying something to be shown and exposed to public view through the streets. But the word most properly belonged to that splendid and magnificent procession (as I may call it) which went before the races and combats in the Roman circus, which were the most famous sports among them. So Tertullian assures us[k]; who likewise informs us more particularly of what that pomp consisted. In the first place, there was a long row of the images of their gods publicly

[h] We render *ludi* by the word *plays*, but we should rather say, shows or common sights made for the people's entertainment, and consecrated to some deity, called *spectacula*.

[i] Thence Mercury was called Πομπαῖος, because he carried down and transmitted souls to Hades.

[k] Circensium paulo pompatior suggestus, quibus proprie hoc nomen *pompa* præcedit, &c. [De Spectac. cap. vii. p. 75 D.]

exposed and carried in the streets; then of the images of men of noble families, at whose charges those sports were made; then followed a great number of chariots and waggons of divers sorts, (which have much troubled the brains of critics,) then the seats or thrones of their gods, then their crowns, and their robes and ornaments; together with all the sacrifices which were to be offered, and all the sacred implements belonging to them; after which came their colleges of augurs, their priests, and their civil officers. This, in short, was the pomp, as every body knows who hath read his book *De Spectaculis,* chap. vii. Where he tells us, that this was the principal part of the old idolatry, there being such a great number of their gods (too many for me now to mention) carried in this great and solemn procession at Rome; which was the reason, I conceive, that it was imitated in the provinces distant from the city. Where, though it was performed with less care and solemnity, as he tells us, yet that did not make the crime less to accompany it. For wheresoever the pomp of the circus was, (these are his words,) though there be but a few images carried about, there is idolatry in one; and though there be but one chariot drawn, it is Jupiter's wain. Let the idolatry be set out sordidly, or in a better garb, it makes no difference, for all is upon the account of the same crime. All this considered, I take these, till I am better informed, to be the pomps renounced in baptism, which Christians were by no means to attend and go along with, or, as Apuleius speaks, to 'continue the pomp[l].' For it was to do an honour to false gods; and being present at these, they might be in danger to be enticed to downright idolatry by the bravery and magnificence of the show; which was so great, that all splendid and stately things, whether in speeches or actions, have been since called by the name of *pompous.* I know there was a pomp at their triumphs, and at great funerals[m], and other times, but these which I have named were the pomps which believers promised to forsake. And I find it objected to them as a crime by Cæcilius, a heathen, in the dialogue of Minutius Felix, (who follows Tertullian in his very words,) that they abstained from honest pleasures, (as he called them,) not enduring

[l] Continuare pompam. L. 11. Metamorph. p. 242. edit. 1650.

[m] See Pricæus in l. 2. Apuleii Metam. p. 120.

to see their spectacles, nor to be present at their pomps[n]. To which he replies in the end of his book, "We abstain from unlawful pleasures, your pomps and spectacles, whose original we both know to have been from your religion, and whose hurtful enticements we condemn[o]." And immediately he instances (as if they were the principal entertainments to ensnare them) in the madness of the people at the Circensian sports[p]. These were so inviting, that notwithstanding their renunciation, we understand by St. Cyprian, (who transcribes a great deal of Minutius,) some Christians not only went to these public spectacles, but also pleaded for their so doing; saying, "Where do we find them prohibited? What place of Scripture speaks against them? Nay, is not Helias called the *chariots of Israel*, &c.? and did not David dance before the ark? and do we not read of psaltries, timbrels, and harps, &c.? The apostle also speaking of our spiritual combat, borrows examples from the wrestlings and races, &c., which are at these spectacles. Why may not one of the faithful therefore behold that which those holy men might write?" Thus they laboured (as you do now in other cases) with words and phrases of Scripture to defend their dangerous practice. To whom he replies, among other things, "Helias being the chariot of Israel is no argument that you may go to behold the Circensian races, for he never ran in any circus[q]." And, at last, to strike all dead, he tells them "the Scripture prohibited all these spectacles when it took away idolatry, the mother of all their public sports[r]; from whence all these monsters of vanity[s] and levity came. For what spectacle is there without an idol? what show without a sacrifice? what public combat that is not consecrated to the dead? What should a faithful Christian do among these? &c. Let him know

[n] Non spectacula visitis, non pompis interestis, p. 15, edit. Heraldi, 1613. [Octav. cap. 12. in Bibl. Vet. Patr. per Galland. tom. ii. p. 387 A.] Where Rigaltius notes how ancient this form of renunciation was.

[o] Quorum et de sacris originem novimus, &c. p. 54. [Ibid. p. 403 A.]

[p] For those he understands by ludi curules.

[q] L. de Spectaculis. [The treatise De Spectaculis is not the genuine work of Cyprian, but appended to his writings; see p. 2. ed. Fell.]

[r] Omnium ludorum matrem. [p. 3. Compare Tertull. Apol. cap. 38. p. 30 D; De Spectac. cap. 4. p. 74 D.]

[s] That is a word he uses more than once, for these 'spectacles,' which is joined with 'pomp' in the baptismal vow.

that they are all the inventions of demons, and not of God." And then as he had done before, (speaking of Helias,) so he again mentions the Circensian spectacles, and tells us they were the eldest of all, being consecrated by Romulus himself to Consus, the god of counsel, for helping him to take away the Sabinian virgins. He that would more fully understand how apt these pomps might be to enchant vulgar minds, and consequently how necessary it was the sight of them should be prohibited to Christian people, may read the rare description which Apuleius (in his Milesian Tales[t]) hath left us of the great pomps[u], wherein the mother of the gods was carried, together with all the chief ornaments of the most powerful deities[x], and the fine sights which went before it. Nothing was so grateful to the people as this, because they could please their gods, they thought, and themselves both together: the pomp being so contrived, that it was a mixture of devotion and mirth, and the works of the most stately religion[y] were presented to them among cheerful ceremonies and merry spectacles[z].

N. C. I am sorry these pomps came in our way, for they have diverted us too long from that which we were speaking of: viz. faith in Christ. Hath he not made it plain you have abused us, in saying, we take "faith to be no more than a relying on Christ for the forgiveness of sins?" p. 67.

C. No: he hath neither made that nor any thing else plain, unless it be his own ignorance, or something worse. I have abused nobody; but the poor people miserably abuse themselves (by the means of such men as he) who are generally of that persuasion.

N. C. But they were taught other ways (as he tells you) by the Assembly, who say[a], that "faith in Jesus Christ is a saving grace, whereby we receive and rest upon him alone for salvation, as he is offered to us in the gospel," that is, as prophet, priest, and king[b].

C. I remember the greatest part of these words are in the

[t] L. xi. p. 243, 244, &c.

[u] Anteludia magnæ pompæ.

[x] Potentissimorum deorum exuvias.

[y] Opera magnificæ religionis.

[z] Inter hilares ceremonias, et festiva spectacula, &c. p. 242.

[a] [P. 14 of the first edition of the Shorter Catechism, ordered to be printed, Nov. 25, 1647.]

[b] Sober Answer, p. 67.

shorter Catechism: but, why did he not tell us so? And who gave him authority to add those words in the conclusion, 'that is, as priest, prophet, and king?' I am sure they are not there.

N. C. That is a small matter. The Assembly themselves warrant that addition, who explain their meaning, (he tells you,) by quoting for it Isa. xxxiii. 22, *the Lord is our judge, our lawgiver, our king, and he will save us.*

C. I cannot tell whether I should stand amazed at the ignorance, or the impudence and falseness of this (writer, I cannot call him, but) scribbler.

N. C. Why, what is the matter now?

C. The Assembly quote no such place as that which he mentions, but expound their meaning by referring us to another text in the same prophet, Isa. xxvi. 3, 4, where there is mention *only of trusting in the Lord.* Will you never leave this trade of cheating, by adding and taking away from books, according to your humour and fancy? To what will those men's impudence arrive hereafter, who, while things are fresh in memory, are so bold as to take this license?

N. C. Why should not I believe him as soon as you?

C. Believe neither of us. But go and search yourself the eldest and most authentic editions, printed either here in England, or by the approbation and the act of the General Assembly in Scotland, and you shall meet with no such Scripture as this which he thrusts upon us: nor any at all out of the Old Testament, but only that which I have mentioned, Isa. xxvi. 3, 4. I have seen several, which I shall not stand particularly to name[c]. There is none, I suppose, can be of greater credit with you, than that set forth together with the larger Catechism and Confession of Faith[d]: recommended with a solemn preface by a great many ministers, and this gentleman among the rest, to the use of private families. This gives you the places of Scripture in words at length, but this which he quotes is not to be met withal among them. Nor is it in a late edition of the shorter Catechism, 1667, printed after the same manner.

[c] The first of those was 1649, which cites the place now named.

[d] In quarto 1658. [The texts quoted are Heb. x. 39; John i. 12; Isa. xxvi. 3, 4; Phil. iii. 9; Gal. ii. 16.—p. 154. The text in question, however, is cited with reference to another question, 'How doth Christ execute the office of a king?'—p. 158 of the edition printed in 1649 in 12mo.]

N. C. Do you think he put it in out of his own head?

C. I know not what to think. But a man that had a list to imitate his vile way of writing might say, it is possible, for some reason that is suggested, that he was accessary to the fraud.

N. C. Fie upon it! Do not leave it to us to imagine reasons.

C. But he doth[e], as you shall hear, when he talks of my being no enemy to sacrilege after this very fashion.

N. C. And will you follow him in such wicked courses?

C. No. I only told you what a man might do who studied to pay him in his own coin. And to deal more fairly with him than he deserved, he might add this reason for his conjecture. I met a good while ago with one edition of that Shorter Catechism, printed by A. Maxwel 1660, into which somebody hath foisted this place of Scripture which he mentions, in the room of the other which the Assembly affixed to their definition. Now how he came to be best acquainted with this edition, or prefer it before all others, (even that large one with his own hand to it,) one cannot well conceive, might a man say, unless it be for the same reason that people love their own children better than any else. But for all this I conclude nothing. Let me only ask which way you will conclude in this case? Did he know there was this alteration made in the texts of Scripture, and that this which he quotes was not in the edition to which he hath given his approbation under his hand, or did he not? If not, then he is not so well skilled in your divines as he pretends, nor fit to talk of these matters; he is a stranger to his Catechism, and recommends that to the people's remembrance which he forgets himself. If he did know, then I ask how he durst tell us this in the name of the Assembly, and say they prove their proposition by this place, when his conscience told him they did not. Is it not an high degree of wickedness to countenance, or endeavour to continue such a fraud? May not all your party justly buffet him for abusing the Assembly, and making them write that which they never meant? For he expressly tells us, "they quote this place, Isa. xxxiii. 22," which, as it is nothing to the purpose, so was not chosen by them to back their doctrine withal.

[e] Page 82.

N. C. It was some mistake, you may be sure.

C. Not in him that put out that edition, whoever he was; for he industriously changed the Scriptures, to bend their words to his own sense.

N. C. I think the title-page of that edition tells you, that the proofs in words at length are either some of the formerly quoted places, or others gathered from the Assembly's other writings.

C. It's well observed; for it is a confession of a change, according to another man's judgment, and not their own. And this Philagathus, if he had been the man he would be taken for, would have carefully noted. And since he was speaking of the Assembly's opinion, he ought not to have alleged any proofs of it, but those which they quoted themselves for it; especially considering that he wholly relies on that place of Scripture to show their sense. As for him who made the alteration, he did not deal sincerely and as became an upright man. For where shall we find this new proof in their other writings? They never wrote any thing else about these matters but the larger Catechism and the Confession of Faith, and there is no such Scripture alleged in either of those when they speak of this business. And now I mention the larger Catechism again, of which the lesser is an abridgment; one would think it had been more fit for him to fetch the explication of their words, and take their meaning from thence, rather than from the corrupt glosses put upon the shorter. For they could better express their own mind themselves, than any of their disciples. Now if you go thither, you shall find they determine faith to the promises as its object, and make it a resting on Christ and his righteousness for pardon of sin, and accepting our persons, without any mention of any respect to him as a Prophet or King. Let us read the words: "Justifying faith is a saving grace wrought in the heart of a sinner by the Spirit and word of God, whereby being convinced of sin and misery, &c. he not only assents to the truth of the promise of the Gospel, but receives and rests upon Christ and his righteousness therein held forth, for pardon of sin, and for the accepting and accounting of his person righteous in the sight of God for salvation[f]." Judge now whether I wronged you in that which I

[f] [Larger Catechism, p. 188.]

said concerning faith, which it is plain you have been taught to think is nothing else in effect but this, to rely upon Christ for forgiveness of sins. And should your child ask you the meaning of those words in the shorter Catechism, and say, "How is Christ held forth or offered to us in the Gospel?" I pray tell me what answer you would return. Would not you, who are exhorted to read those books and instruct your family out of them, reply to him in this manner: Child, the larger Catechism, which you must learn next, informs you, that he is "held forth as our righteousness," and so you must "receive him and rest on him for pardon and accepting of your person as righteous, according to the promise of the Gospel [g]?"

N. C. I think I should teach them in that manner. But I remember withal, that in their Confession of Faith, chap. xiv., they tell us something else, viz. that the "principal acts of saving faith are receiving and resting on Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life by virtue of the covenant of grace [h]."

C. True. But you know that this is not so much read as the other, and is more fitted for divines than you; nor are any of you wont to read it, till you have the former persuasion rooted in your hearts. Besides, they do not speak here of faith as justifying, but of the principal acts of saving faith: and you know they use to make a difference between these two. They put also relying on him for justification in the first place; and more than that, in the eleventh chapter, which is concerning justification, they tell you, that "faith receiving and resting on Christ and his righteousness is the alone instrument of justification [i]." And therefore the common opinion is, that it justifies as it hath a respect to the blood of Christ and his righteousness. But I have a more mighty argument to prove that this is the orthodox sense of that Assembly, which is from the parliament itself: who in their ordinance of October 20, 1645 [k], giving "rules and directions concerning suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in case of ignorance or scandal," deliver this definition of faith which a communicant is to be instructed in, "It is a grace whereby we believe and

[g] [See Larger Catechism, p. 189.]

[h] [Page 24 of the first edition, printed by order of the house of Commons, Dec. 7. 1646.]

[i] [P. 42.]

[k] [Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 210.]

trust in Christ for remission of sin and life everlasting, according to the promise of the Gospel[k]." And by this faith alone he is to know Christ and his benefits are applied. This is the more to be observed, because they made this ordinance, considering the wonderful providence of God, in calling them to the great and difficult work of reforming and purging his church and people, as you read in the preface; and because this definition is again repeated in the "form of church government, to be used in the Church of England and Ireland, after advice had with the Assembly of Divines[l]."

N. C. You pack a great many things together, which I had forgotten———

C. You may see by that I have studied your Catechism as well as ours, though I have not told you my name. By which he may know, that I am old enough to show, if I pleased, how deeply Antinomianism is rooted in your people's hearts, notwithstanding all that Mr. Baxter and others have done to pluck it up. For such men as he, who talk rawly and negligently of divine things, help to maintain and support it. Nor do I see any reason to alter my opinion, that many of you are Antinomians, and do not know it[m]; just as I told you the last time that you are wont to rail very often, (like this Hotspur of yours,) even when you say you abhor it.

N. C. I abhor those reflections you made upon what was done and said by some men in the late times, and I think he hath schooled you to purpose for it. Are you not sensible how oft you broke his majesty's gracious act of pardon? And will you think yourself a fit reprover of others for the breach of his laws, when you do not observe the chiefest and most beloved of them yourself?

C. I must confess that this man hath more of a pedant in him than any one I know, and very "magisterially" stands over me with rod in hand[n]. And when he hath laid on as many lashes as he could, then he takes breath, and says, "Now, sir, go on with your lesson, and please you[o]"———and so I

[k] And that you know is to those who believe.

[l] Aug. 29, 1648. ["Agreed upon by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament," p. 29.—4to, Lond. 1648.]

[m] Continuation of the Friendly Debate. [Vol. v. p. 532.]

[n] [P. 122.]

[o] P. 123.

will; a great deal further than he ever expected to hear. And I have such a lesson now for him, as will make him give over the trade of schooling, if he have any wit in his head, till he be better learned.

N. C. Speak out then.

C. You need not fear it: for I stand in no awe of his correction. I rather pity him, when I think what a taking he will be in; after he finds that indemnity will do him no more service, than to say, in speech, beware your Br———. This you must know is the cuckoo song, which we hear over and over, till we are tired with it, Indemnity, indemnity, indemnity. It is ten times at least repeated in his preface, and I have not leisure to tell how many times in the book. And yet for all this, we must be so civil, as to believe that he is not in love with tautologies[p]. No, by no means. Though his whole preface be little else but his letter turned into an epistle[q], (if you know the difference,) a vain repetition of the same things, and ofttimes in the very same words; yet we must rather suspect our own blockishness than his love of tautology to be the reason of it. He is no parrot, he would have you know[r], that hath but a few things to prattle, and says them often over. He hath the act of indemnity to talk of, and then the act of oblivion; then the act of oblivion, and after that the act of indemnity; and then indemnity again, and so forward, &c.: which calls to mind (I cannot help it) the story of Scarpaccia, (which we find in a certain Italian hospital[s], not now to be named,) who had a conceit that he was king of cuckoos; and so to every one that spoke to him good or bad, he would always answer with great readiness, "Cuckoo, cuckoo, cuckoo." And being demanded why he answered not to the purpose, he replied again, "I am king Cuckoo, Cuckoo, Cuckoo."

N. C. Methinks you are beside your book.

C. Not at all. Look into his preface, p. 7, and there he

[p] P. 230. "Being not in love with tautologies, I shall," &c.

[q] "Although my whole book be nothing but a letter to you, yet I shall add an epistle," &c. [pref. init.]

[r] Though he tells us very often of the parrot, N. C., p. 168, 266, 286.

[s] [Hospidale dei Pazzi incurabili, di Tomaso Garzoni, disc. 24, p. 62. Opere, 4to, Ven. 1617. Translated into English with the title of 'The Hospital of Incurable Fools,'—4to, Lond. 1600.]

tells you, I have "laid the axe to the root of the act of indemnity." Turn over a new leaf, and you take him at it again, p. 8, "those pioneers (the two Debates) have been undermining that great wall of defence," viz. the act of indemnity. And he hath not done with it yet; I "knock," he saith, "so hard upon the act of indemnity," p. 10. Once more, p. 11, I "make nothing," he tells you, "of the act of indemnity;" "having razed the foundation (as it is in his book p. 249,) of the act of indemnity." He thinks sure we have little to do, but are as idle as the boys in the street, who gather about a parrot to hear it talk: otherwise he would not have troubled us with such a pen and inkhorn preface, consisting of two and forty pages; when he had so little new to add.

N. C. He tells you[t], that he thought "letter upon letter might be as necessary as *precept upon precept, line upon line,*" twice over, which are the prophet's words, Isa. xxviii. 10.

C. He profanes the holy Scripture throughout his whole book, by using its words on every common and trivial occasion. But let him repeat it a thousand times, till he hath made his own head ache as well as his reader's; I shall remain as innocent, and you as guilty as before; only he himself will appear more boldly ignorant. For he is like those men who write of countries they never saw, who commonly tell a great many tales. I have great cause to be confident that he never read this act seriously about which he talks so much, but only poured a flood of words with a great noise out of his own unfurnished brains. With these he hoped to make his credulous readers, like those who live near the falls of Nilus, deaf to any other information, though never so certain.

N. C. You cannot think him so bold, as to charge you with breaking an act, the matter of which he did not understand.

C. Then he is a dishonest man, if having read it and understood it, he would not confess the truth, which is this. Within two or three days after his majesty's return, he desired the parliament which then sat speedily to despatch an act of indemnity which he had promised. After it had passed the Commons, he went to the Peers[u], and expressed his impatient

[t] Preface, p. 1.

[u] Speech in house of Peers, July 27, 1660. ["concerning the speedy passing of the bill of Indempnity

desire to have this act presented to him for his royal assent. Accordingly upon Aug. 29, 1660, this act was passed, as "An act of free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion [x]." And in the preface to it, these two intents and purposes of it are expressed. First, that "no crime committed against his majesty, or his royal father, shall hereafter rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any one to the least indamagement of them, &c." Secondly, "to bury all seeds of future discords, and remembrances of the former." Accordingly the former part of the act is for indemnity, and provides for men's safety by acquitting, releasing, and discharging all persons from all crimes, (save those excepted afterward,) committed from Jan. 1, 1637, till June 24, 1660. And then the other part (which concerns our present business) is for oblivion, in these words [y], "To the intent and purpose, that all names and terms of distinction may be likewise put in utter oblivion, be it enacted, that if any person or persons, within the space of three years next ensuing, shall presume maliciously to call or allege of[z] or object against any other person or persons, any name or names, or other words of reproach, any way tending to revive the memory of the late differences, or occasions thereof, that every such person, so as aforesaid offending, shall forfeit and pay unto the party grieved, if he be a gentleman, ten pound," &c. This clause the lord chancellor at their adjournment, Sept. 13, 1660, commended in his majesty's name to their and all men's remembrance. Now mark the ignorance and the malice of this Philagathus, as he falsely styles himself: his bold ignorance, in that he would have the world believe I have "violated," nay, "horribly violated [a]" this law as it is an act of indemnity, (for in that style he speaks,) when I have not so much as a power to punish any man, though he were not acquitted and discharged. His malice, in persuading you, that it is the drift of my book to provoke the magistrates "to break

and Oblivion,"—p. 43 of a volume entitled, "A Collection of his Majestie's gracious letters, speeches, messages, and declarations, since April $\frac{4}{14}$, 1660,"—4to, Lond. 1660.]

[x] [Statutes at large, 12°. Car. II. c. 11. vol. V. p. 226.]

[y] [Sect. 24. p. 230.]

[z] The particle *of* is to be left out, as appears by the chancellor's speech made afterward, where he recites these words.

[a] P. 7 of the preface.

it in pieces in their anger, as Moses did the tables of stone[b]:" when it hath no design in those passages which have so nettled him, but either to show that they act not according to their declared principles in times past, or that they have not so behaved themselves as to deserve the name of the only or most knowing and godly people, which they commonly assume to themselves: in which I will show you by and by, how they break this, as well as other of his majesty's laws. But first let us mark again, how rashly and impudently he charges me with the breach of this law, as it is an act of oblivion, (which must be distinguished from the other, though they lie confused, as all things else, in his head:) and how he manifestly discovers he never read it, or with no care to understand it. The act saith, we shall not object against any person, any name or names, or other words of reproach, under such a penalty. But this man saith with a bold face, "it is expressly provided in the act of indemnity, that the crimes therein mentioned as forgiven, should no more be objected to any man under a certain penalty," p. 249. The same he saith in another place without any stick[c]; and that those "old things" must never more, according to that act, be so much as rehearsed[d]; which is less than objected. And more than this, he affirms, that we may not so much as speak of any ordinance of parliament which was formerly made[e]; and therefore, like a man of an exceeding nice and tender conscience, he dares not so much as "seem to know or remember that ever there were any such ordinances" as I mention[f]. A special way to answer me, by saying nay, by knowing just nothing. But judge now of the modesty and sincerity of this man, who makes bold (as he speaks) to take me to task for the breach of a law, whose words he never recites, nay, always puts other words of his own making in the room of them. And judge of his discretion and understanding, who can let it enter into his thoughts, that the law prohibits us so much as to remember what was done in the late times. Suppose we hear them call us shortly the old and the implacable enemy; must we not so much as seem to call to mind that this was the style of those days? If they begin to talk of the

[b] Ib. p. 6. [c] P. 88. [d] P. 142. [e] P. 254. [f] These are his very words. [ibid.]

holy cause, and the good old cause; must we, according to this new doctor, seal up our lips, and make as if we never heard of such a thing before? What! may we not so much as write a true history of what is past? This is the thing, no doubt, they would be at. We must forget, as I told you at our last meeting[g], all that is past, and now believe you cannot err, nay, were always innocent. This will be a fine way to keep posterity in ignorance, that you may do the like again, and never be suspected, till it be too late to prevent it. A most admirable contrivance (for which he will be well rewarded, if he can make it good) to turn us into mere fools, by dispossessing us of our reason, together with our passions. Then you may do what you will with us, and the nation shall deserve to be your slaves, if after they have been robbed of so many precious things, they suffer you to despoil them of their memories, and deprive them of the benefit of their dear bought experience. But be serious, I beseech you: if all that hath been done, writ, or spoken, must be buried in perpetual oblivion, how durst the king's prime physician[h] dedicate and present to his majesty himself (and that not long after this act was passed, and yet fresh in memory) an account and smart reproof of the late commotions in England, in which he lays open the base arts, the fraud, cruelty, hypocrisy, breach of faith, ambition, covetousness and pride, which were then so rife among you? Why was this book licensed by one of the secretaries of state[i]? And why did not this busy Philagathus, who dedicated part of a book to that physician, with some others[k], twitch him a little, and whisper this in his ear; Good sir, pardon me, I beseech you, you are my great friend, but you have horribly violated the act of indemnity? Why did he not in his great zeal at least inform him of this, that he had wronged that great saint in the army, whom here he so much commends[l]; but the doctor saith, "was a wily

[g] Continuation of the Debate, p. 66.

[h] Dr. Bate his Elench. Motuum nuperorum in Anglia. [First published anonymously and without dedication at Paris, in 12mo, 1649; and reissued after the restoration in an enlarged form, with a second part appended, and dedicated to king Charles II. in 1661, 1663, and 1676.]

[i] Sir William Morice, April 6, 1663. ["Imprimatur, 6to Aprilis, 1663. Will. Morice."]

[k] Physical Contempl. on Fire, &c. 1667.

[l] P. 152 of Sober Answer. ["I doubt not but some such saints or

man[m], attent to his own private profit, and betraying the presbyterians to serve himself?"

N. C. Pray let such things pass without further reflection.

rather devils there are in all armies, and always have been: but you know full well that some who went for saints in that army were not such as you have described, particularly M. G. Skippon, the remembrance of whose piety, as well as valour, his very enemies do crown. But you are at your old synecdoche, to lay the faults of some upon all the rest."]

[m] ["Inter quos primas tenent duo potissimum viri, P. Sk. et St. M.: ille Majoris Generalis munus vel præfecti in exercitu sustinens, hic Minister et presbyterianorum oraculum. Vafer uterque, et in rem propriam attentior sub moderandarum rerum et conciliandarum partium prætextu, presbyterianos ludendo, *ἀκεφάλων* rationes haud parum promoverunt, privatis eadem opera consulentes utilitatibus."—] Elench. pars prima, p. 76. [P. 70. ed. 8vo, Lond. 1676.

The first of these initials, it is not difficult to see, indicate Philip Skippon, who raised himself from the ranks by his good conduct and abilities during the campaign in the Low Countries. His first commission in this country, at the outbreak of the civil war, was that of captain of the artillery garden, with the duty of instructing the citizens in that branch of military practice, then that of major-general of the city militia. By the authority of the two houses of parliament he was appointed in 1643, against the wishes of Essex, to the new office of serjeant-major-general of the army, in which he found many opportunities of distinguishing himself in the course of the war. Clarendon allows him to have been a man of order and sobriety, and untainted with any of those vices which marked the army generally; but illiterate, and imbued while in Holland with disaffection against the church of England.

The second name intended is that of Stephen Marshall, who, as the most prominent of the presbyterian leaders throughout the period of the civil war, has been subjected to both extremes of adulation and obloquy. He was a native of Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge. His first living was Wethersfield in Essex, which he abandoned for the rich benefice of Finching-field in the same county. From this he was suspended for non-conformity, and silenced for a while; but restored in 1640, when he became lecturer of St. Margaret's church, Westminster, frequently preaching before parliament, and being consulted by them on matters of religion. Wood classes him with Calamy and Burgess as the first instigators to taking up arms against the king. He was one of the writers in the famous Smectymnuan controversy with Bishop Hall. In the year 1641 he was appointed chaplain to Essex's regiment, and two years later one of the Westminster Assembly, in which he was a most active and influential mover. In the successive transactions with the king he was prominently employed, attending the commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge in 1644, was one of the committee of accommodation in 1645, in the following year was delegated with Caryl to attend the king at Newcastle and Holmby House, and took part in the last negotiations in the Isle of Wight which preceded the king's execution. In 1654 he was appointed by parliament one of the committee to draw up the catalogue

C. I would not so much as have mentioned this, if it had not been to show either how ignorant this man is, who knows none of these matters, and yet will be a writer of books; or how full of hypocrisy, who pretends his spirit was so moved that he could not but buffet me for the wrongs I have done them, and yet can flatter another who hath dealt more severely with them.

N. C. Show yourself merciful too, and say no more of this to him.

C. The greatest kindness I can do him is to shew him, if it be possible, that he is not the man he takes himself for. If he will not be convinced, yet do you blush to think that any one among you should write thus idly, while others speak and act such things as will call what is past to our mind, (unless you knock out our brains) whether we will or no. We must think a spade to be a spade[n], and, if need be, call it so. The things stand upon record in the books as yet unburnt, which you would have us forget; many of those out of which I quoted some passages are still in your houses. Why should we blot the images of things out of our memories, which are stamped in paper not yet blotted nor torn in pieces? Or, why should we forbear to mention that which you do not forbear to read? When queen Elizabeth put out her injunction, that her subjects should not call one another heretics or schismatics[o], it was not

of fundamentals, to which toleration was to be extended, and about the same time one of the triers of candidates for the ministry. He died in November 1655, and his remains were interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, to be dug up with ignominy together with those of Cromwell, Ireton, and others, at the Restoration.]

[n] [This familiar proverb originated in a saying of Philip king of Macedon. Τῶν δὲ περὶ Λασθένην τὸν Ὀλύνθιον ἐγκαλούντων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων, ὅτι προδόται αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλοῦσι, σκαίους ἔφη φύσει καὶ ἀγροίκους εἶναι Μακεδόνας, καὶ τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντας.—Plut. Apophthegm. p. 177. It is also quoted as from some unknown comic poet by Lucian, Πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν, cap. 41; and Ζεὺς τραγῳδός, cap. 32.]

[o] ["Item. Because in all alterations, and specially in rites and ceremonies, there happen discord amongst the people, and thereupon slanderous words and railings, whereby charity, the knot of all Christian society, is loosed; the queen's majesty being most desirous of all other earthly things, that her people should live in charity both towards God and man, and therein abound in good works, willeth and straightly commandeth all manner of her subjects to forbear all vain and contentious disputations in matters of religion, and not to use in despight or rebuke of any person, these convitious words, Papist or Papistical Heretick, Schismatick or

sufficient for a guilty man to say to him that convinced him of schism and called him schismatic, You regard not her majesty's pleasure, you make nothing of her commands: no, when some troublesome persons pleaded this, I find the answer was[p], that "the queen's injunctions did not protect factious mates, but good and quiet subjects, such as you will not shew yourselves to be." That's my answer now; keep the laws, and, by my consent, you shall never hear of your breaking them heretofore. Be more humble and modest, and we will never remember you of your pride. Do not talk as if you were infallible, and knew all God's secrets, and we will not tell the people how you have abused them———

N. C. Not talk any more, I hope, of the act of indemnity.

C. Stay a while, I have not said all my lesson, but the hardest part is still to come. For suppose, my good neighbour, that the words of the act had been as he affirms, that we must not mention any crime, or any thing that was ever done, which you see is not true. To what purpose doth he tell me of it, unless he first prove that it is but three years since June 24, 1660? If he can do this, he will be as great a man as he thinks himself; otherwise, he is an impudent reviler, in proclaiming me so often and so loudly a most high and grievous offender against a law which is out of date, and which, if it were in force, I had no way broke; and yet, now that I bethink myself, he must prove that it will never be more than three years since 1660, otherwise he is a shameless liar in saying the act requires that their crimes should be no more objected, and never more rehearsed, as you have heard. And after he hath overcome this difficulty, (as he hath a strange faculty in stretching,) there is another still to conquer, and that

Sacramentary, or any such like words of reproach. But if any manner of person shall deserve the accusation of any such, that first he be charitably admonished thereof, and if that shall not amend him, then to denounce the offender to the ordinary, or to some higher power having authority to correct the same."—Injunctions by queen Elizabeth, 1559, art. 50. Sparrow's Collection, p. 80. Wilkins' Concilia, iv. 187.]

[p] Sutcliff's Answer to a certain libel, Supplic. 1592. p. 131. [Compare p. 47. above. "None of the queen's subjects" complains Penry, "should call one another hereticke, nor schismaticke; but we are so called, and puritans too, by certain libellers."—Annexed to the Petition of certain articles and questions.]

is, to prove that I wrote maliciously, else the former Herculean labour will do him no service. For if I wrote not to satisfy any passion, much less revenge, nor to do any man any mischief, (as I protest I did not,) but only to prevent such calamities as we have already suffered, to benefit posterity, to reform those who are still top full of the old ill humours, to humble those that break the laws, and to undeceive the simple; then it was alway lawful, even during those three years, to remember you of what was past, and now it is become necessary. To conclude this, there is another labour to undergo after all these, (though they are enough, one would think, to make his heart ache,) and that is to contradict himself, who is so far from accusing me of malice, that he is persuaded I was "rather carried about by others more choleric, than by myself, with so rapid a motion[q]," as he thinks I have been. And more than that, he resolves by the help of God not to judge me at all[r], for which there is very good reason, if you mark what follows in these words; "yea, I think I have judged you as little as any man under my circumstances, if at all." Since he knows so little of himself, yea, of his own book, that he cannot tell certainly whether he hath done a thing or no, he ought not to think that he knows much of others, and to be very careful how he judges. And if he will hold that good resolution, or stand to what he hath confessed, then he hath thrown all his words against me into the wind, which come flying back into his own face, charging him, if not with spite, yet with ignorance, headiness, and unexcusable folly.

N. C. But you may for all this have offended against the intention of the act, for his majesty declared that he desired all names and terms of distinction should be put into utter oblivion.

C. It is well observed. "All names and terms of distinction," but he doth not say all things that were done should never be called to mind; especially when you revive the memory of them in spite of our hearts. But I can tell you more, if it will do you any good: his majesty desired there might "no note of distinction" remain; and it was his end in forbidding us

[q] Preface, p. 39.

[r] P. 276. ["Our duty that are weak, sir, is not to judge you that are strong; and by the help of God I will be one of those that shall not judge you. To your own Master may you stand or fall."]

" for three years to call men by any name, or names, or other words of reproach," that " all differences might be forgotten." But you would needs keep up " notes of distinction," and so still continued our " differences."

N. C. Pray be more moderate in your assertions.

C. I cannot abate a word of what I say. For his majesty told you in another place what would be the best way to make us one, and the best instance you could give of declining all " marks of distinction," (i. e. an effectual means of putting former things into oblivion, which you are now so desirous of), and he entreated you also to make use of it; but you would not comply with his desires, and by that means kept alive our difference.

N. C. I remember no such thing.

C. Be not angry with those who do. I remember very well that in his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs[s] he " heartily wished and desired," that " because of dislike to some clauses and expressions in the Common Prayer," you would not " totally lay aside the use of it, but read that part against which there could be no exception: which would be (mark his words) the best instance of declining those marks of distinction which we so much labour and desire to remove:" now how many do you think there were who took this healing course, though they make such a stir now about the burying of differences? Were you not mighty careful to take away " marks of distinction," when that very thing, which, in his majesty's judgment would be so apt to remove them, was so little regarded? And how did you endeavour then to take away all remembrances of things past, i. e. to fulfil the intent of the act of oblivion, when you would not remove this great note of distinction which had been made? And yet I find, not long after this[t], that some of you desired the bishops to lay

[s] P. 14. [Dated Whitehall, Oct. 25, 1660. Collection of letters, speeches, &c. p. 100.]

[t] Petition for peace, &c. [p. 1. of " A Petition for Peace; with the Reformation of the Liturgy: as it was presented to the right reverend bishops, by the divines appointed by his Majesties commission to treat with them about the alteration of it. London, printed *Anno Dom.* 1661."

This petition was drawn up by Baxter, and has appended to it his complete scheme of liturgy and of occasional offices, which was submitted to the commissioners at the Savoy conference on the part of the presbyterians.]

by all "former and present exasperations and alienating differences;" as if they were bound to comply with the end of the law, but not you yourselves. But I have not done with you yet.

N. C. I wish you had: for here's enough.

C. No: I will quite stop his mouth if I can. The chancellor by the king's command told us[u] what kind of names and terms of distinction were to be put into oblivion, and desired that nobody would find new names and terms to keep up the same or a worse distinction. "If the old reproaches," saith he, "of Cavalier and Roundhead and Malignant are committed to the grave, let us not find more significant and better words to signify worse things." How well you have observed this exhortation we all know, who call yourselves the godly, the people of God, the saints, the Christians; as if we were the wicked, the enemies of God's people, and no better than pagans. These are marks of distinction with a witness, against which his majesty there gave you, by him, a particular caution. And I can mention many other "affected cognizances and differences," to use my lord Bacon's words[x], whereby you seek to correspond among yourselves and to differ from others, which is directly contrary to the design of that clause in the act of oblivion.

N. C. Pray forget them for once, if it be but to avoid tediousness.

C. Observe then only this, which will show you the impertinence of your prating *Philag.*, that he reflects very sharply in that speech upon some things past and gone, and tells them that there were still certain persons who infused jealousies into the people's hearts, and studied to alienate their affections, "by talking of introducing popery, and of evil councillors, and such other old calumnies:" which, it seems by this, it was lawful to put them in mind of, even within a few days after these crimes were pardoned. He expressly recites also some of the usual talk[y] in the late times whereby the people were deceived, (as

[u] Speech at the adjournment of the Parliament. Sept. 13. 1660. p. 15. ["His Majesties most gracious Speech, together with the Lord Chancellors, to the two Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the thirteenth of September 1660; printed and published at the desire of both Houses of Parliament, and with his Majesties allowance: John Brown, Cleric. Parliamentorum," fol. Lond. 1660.]

[x] [Of Church Controversies, vol. vii. p. 54.]

[y] Speech at their dissolution, Dec. 29, 1660. p. 19. [Collection, &c. p. 138.]

that "God would never restore a family with which he had such a controversy," &c.,) and remembers them how the church had been "buried many years by the boisterous hands of profane and sacrilegious persons under its own rubbish[y]:" and that a deep "deluge of sacrilege, profaneness and impiety had covered it, and to common understanding swallowed it up, though now it appeared again above the waters[z]." And the next year, at the opening of the new parliament[a], he lets them know that some, instead of repenting any thing they had done, repeated the same crimes; particularly some "seditious preachers" reproached the laws established, "repeated the very expressions, and taught the very doctrines they set on foot 1640." Now what says your *Graculo* to all this? What a pity is it that he was not sent for to advise withal when he penned this speech! He would have told him when he came to these words: Hold, my lord, not a word of what hath been done since 1637. You must not repeat the doctrines or expressions then in use, though others do. It is against the Act of Indemnity, which you violated too much the last year. For we must not so much as seem to know, or remember that any such things ever were as "sacrilege, profaneness, impiety and rapine[b]." These old things must never more be rehearsed.

Thus this man hath in effect tutored and schooled him, and by consequence his majesty himself; who by his mouth, as he would persuade us, hath spoken against his own gracious act of indemnity. But will you please to hear what the king himself spoke in person at that time[c], for it is very considerable. After he had told them how much the act of indemnity secured the happiness of the nation, he desired them "in God's name" notwithstanding to "provide a full remedy for any further mischief," and to "pull up those old principles which might make new offenders by the very roots." It seems then they are not to be forgotten, though they be pardoned. We may think that it is possible; they only lie hid and do not appear,

[y] Ib. p. 20. [p. 140.]

[z] Ib. p. 21. [p. 141.]

[a] May 8, 1661. [p. 15. These expressions occur in the speech of the lord chancellor Hyde to the Lords, and knights, citizens, and burgesses of the house of Commons.]

[b] That is also mentioned in his speech. [p. 140.]

[c] Speech at the opening of the Parliament, p. 5. [Ibid.]

but are not yet extirpated out of men's hearts. And therefore it is lawful to go about that work; which cannot be done unless we first discover them, and then show the rottenness of them, and let the people see how much they have been cheated by them. I could add a great deal more out of other papers, but I think it time to make an end; having sufficiently shown that all that this man and his partakers talk about these matters is only smoke and vapour, which will not abide the touch; and that they deal with the act of oblivion as they do with the divine writings. If they get a word by the end, they make a great noise, and cannot tell when to have done with it, never minding the sense. As they cry "Free grace," and "The covenant of grace, the covenant of grace," so they cry "The act of oblivion, the act of oblivion." But look into either of them, and consider them well, and you will find they are no such thing as that which they mean by them.

N. C. Let the world judge between you: for I will meddle no further in this matter.

C. It is the greatest favour I would desire of you all, that you would sit down calmly, and, after both sides heard, indifferently judge between us. You would soon see, I make no doubt, that his book, and not that which he writes against, is "a fiery invective[c]." But the mischief of it is, that many of you will never read what we write. You will only hear of one ear, and believe what a man of your party says, and then all is your own. For which partiality if you judge not yourselves, God will. Among those also who will read our writings, there are so few I doubt that consider, or that are able to make a trial and discern when a cause is well maintained, and when not, (as Mr. Baxter[d] speaks,) that "he who will confidently pour out words, how far soever he digress from the truth or mark, is as soon believed as he that gives the soundest reason."

[c] As he pretends, p. 26 of the preface. ["I doubt not but my moderation may be more serviceable to church and state than that fiery invectiveness wherewith the 2 debates are written; for such dogged bites as the Debater hath given the N. C. doe often produce nothing but a Hydrostobrac, a disease which causeth persons so bitten to dread and run from those clear and christalline streams, which otherwise they could bath themselves in: I mean, they set the people at a greater distance from compliance with their governours."]

[d] Preface to his Confession of Faith. [Quoted above, p. 65.]

But then let such a man pretend zeal for religion, (which is the cause of all this stir,) let him bawl and cry aloud, and say his adversary is an enemy to it, or hath laid a train to blow it up, and that he is come forth with great hazard to himself to prevent that mischief, and "shall be a martyr if he die in the quarrel[e]," he will be sure to be admired and held in great veneration by the ignorant people. When he hath once filled their ears with the sound of these things, his work is done to purpose; and it will be hard to get a word we have to say to enter into them. Especially if the man who hath engaged the affections of unwary souls in this manner join a show of mortification, contempt of the world, dislike and hatred of all sin, together with his zeal for the cause of God and godliness. "When they see men go simply in the streets," saith the bishop I named the last time[f], "and bow down their heads like a bulrush, wringing their necks awry, shaking their heads as though they were in some present grief, &c., when they hear them give great groans, and cry out against this and that sin, (not in their own hearers, but in others, especially their superiors,) and finally make long prayers: when, I say, the multitude hear and see such kind of men, they are by and by carried away with a marvellous great conceit and opinion of them: and with such shows have many pharisaical teachers drawn the multitude after them, who have not their senses exercised to discern between good and evil, but judge only by the outward appearance."

N. C. God send you and me a right judgment in all things.

C. We must not only pray, but labour for it; by subduing our passions, and laying aside all prejudices, so that we may with indifferent and equal minds consider and try all things, and be inclined by nothing but truth.

N. C. It is a hard matter to keep ourselves from being biassed by something or other. And the goodness of any man is apt, I confess, not only to draw and incline my affections to him, but to make me of his belief.

C. Are there no good men, think you, who want judgment, and are of a weak understanding? Must you believe all they

[e] As this man tells us, p. 26 of the preface.

[f] Speech at Lisnegarvy. [pp. 34, 5. See vol. v. p. 465, note.]

say, because you know they will not deceive you? They may be deceived themselves. They may be ignorant; and then be transported by their zeal, as this man is, to talk of things they understand not.

N. C. I will not easily believe him without strict examination, whatsoever credit I give to others.

C. You had need be the more careful, because the confidence which some men use may make you too much presume of their knowledge: as I doubt this man's boldness in his assertions and in his rebukes will deceive many. He beseeches me, for instance, with no small scorn, to reconcile two passages in my first book, which he saith "are as opposite one to the other as the east and west, or (to make a greater sound) the Arctic and Antarctic poles[g]:" both which, you must think, he hath seen, as he passed through all the signs of the zodiac of their sufferings. One is in p. 95, where I say, that according to the covenant, you ought to have some form of divine service, because you bound yourselves to reform according to the best reformed churches. The other is p. 123, where it is affirmed, that you took Scotland for the best reformed church, and therefore they must be the pattern. "Now I pray, sir," saith Philagathus, "what liturgy had they wont to use in Scotland? or when was the church of Scotland for the use of a liturgy? If they were always against and without a form of Divine service, (by their good will,) how are men bound by the covenant to use a form of Divine service every time they meet, by being bound to reform according to their pattern?" And he concludes with a piece of Latin, importing that a liar ought to have a good memory[h].

N. C. That might have been spared: but I think he hath charged you shrewdly.

C. I think the stroke will return with a vengeance upon himself: and he will find he hath wounded his own credit, and not mine. But, I confess, the reading of this made me sigh to think that the nation should be thus abused by every forward and daring man, who hath so good an opinion of himself as to write books, and become a public instructor of others. If wise men will not take care to remedy it, they must be content to

[g] P. 274.

[h] [Oportet esse memorem.]

see themselves as well as us overrun with folly. And what remedy is there, but that no man be the judge of his own abilities, but every work pass the approbation of discreet and judicious persons? This was never more necessary than now, when those undertake to inform and teach the nation, who have not so much knowledge as the prophesying ape, with which Giles of Passamonte[h] went about to cozen the country.

N. C. What was that?

C. It had this notable faculty, that it could tell nothing at all of what was to come, but knew something of what was passed, and a little of things present; otherwise it would never mount up to Giles his shoulder, and chatter in his ear. But this Phil. of yours frisks and grins in my face, and grates his teeth apace, and looks upon me as a scurvy liar; and yet confesses himself ignorant of what is passed; and that when he mounts up himself without any bidding to talk of it. Thus the poor people are cozened; and this man cozens their conscience, while such as the other only pick their pockets of twelve pence apiece.

N. C. "Why, what liturgy were they wont to use in Scotland? or when was the church of Scotland for the use of a liturgy? Were they not alway without and against a form of Divine service[i]?"

C. You need not repeat his words: I was going to tell you that it is endless to write to such a scribbler, who will ask that question again which hath been already answered. Did I not tell you in our last Debate[k] that "the Scottish form of prayer was printed here in England in the beginning of the late wars?" But he is not at leisure to read books. He is a writer, forsooth; and cannot spare so much time from this great employment as to read the book he writes against. For had it pleased him to be at this pains, there he might have heard of the strange thing which he imagines nobody ever saw, the Scots form of Divine service. But he will think, perhaps, that I wrote like himself, without any care at all; and transcribed that passage out of my own imagination, and not from the sight of my eyes. For your better information, therefore, you may

[h] [Don Quixote, by Shelton, p. 162.]

[i] [Philag. ibid.]

[k] Continuation of the Friendly Debate. [vol. v. p. 657.]

know that there being some persons at Frankfort in queen Mary's time, who would admit no other form of prayers but that in the English book, Mr. John Knox (a principal reformer in Scotland afterward) joined with those who quarrelled at it. But it appears by the story that he was not against a form of Divine service, no, nor against all things in the English book: but as he had an high esteem of the composers of it[l], so he approved in great part of the work itself. A brief description indeed of it being sent by him and Whittingham to Mr. Calvin, and his opinion of it returned Jan. 22, 1555, Mr. Knox and four more[m] were ordered to draw forth another order of Divine service, which was the very same with that of Geneva. But part of the congregation still adhering to the book of England, after some conference they composed a new order by the advice of Mr. Knox: "some of it taken out of the English book, and other things added, as the state of the church required; and to this all consented," as we are told in the discourse of the troubles of Frankfort[n]. A little after, Dr. Cox coming thither answered aloud, as the manner is here, which bred a new contention. And, to be short, the English book was again established and continued (though afterward they left off the use of the ceremonies) and Mr. Knox went to Geneva. There I find he was when queen Mary died, being one of those who subscribed the letter to the church at Frankfort[o], desiring that whatsoever offences had been given or taken might be forgotten, and

[l] Witness the commendation he gives Cranmer, whom he called, "that Reverend Father in God." ["God gave such strength to the penne of that reverend father in God, Thomas Cranmer Archbyschop of Canterbury, to cut the knottes of develyshe sophistrie lynked and knyt by the devels Gardener and his blynd bussardes, to hold the veritie of God under bondage," &c. and again, a little after he says, "Furthermore, why seekest thou the bloud of Thomas archbishoppe of Canterbury, of good father Hugh Latimere, and of that most learned and discrete man Doctor Ridlaye, true bishoppe of London?", &c.] Admonition to the professors of the truth in England, *an.* 1554. p. 51. ["A Faythful Admonition made by Iohn Knox, unto the professors of God's truth in England, whereby thou mayest learne howe God wyll have his churche exercised with troubles, and how he defendeth it in the same:"—8vo, imprynted at Kalykow the 20 daye of Julii, 1554.]

[m] [Whittingham, Gilby, Fox, and T. Cole.]

[n] Reprinted here, 1642. P. 30, 31. [and reprinted in the Phœnix, vol. ii. p. 71.]

[o] December 15, 1558. [p. 181.]

that all might lovingly agree when they met in England. Not long after he went into Scotland, where some had begun a reformation. More particularly it had been concluded by the lords and barons, a little after their first covenant, December 3, 1557 [p], that "it was thought expedient, advised and ordained, that in all parishes of the realm, the Common Prayer should be read weekly on Sundays, and other festivals, publicly in the parish church; with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conforming to the order of the Book of Common Prayer. And if the curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same; if not, or they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read it [q]." In this settlement Mr. Knox found them, and though the queen "discharged the common prayers, and forbad to give any portions to such as were the principal

[p] In which they who forsook popery engaged themselves to each other by a common bond. [The tenor of the first covenant, which formed the basis of that subsequently introduced into England, and adopted as the national profession of faith, is as follows:—

"We perceiving how Sathan in his members, the anti-christs of our time, cruelly do rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the Gospel of Christ, and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certaine of the victory in him: The which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the Majestie of God, and his congregation, that we (by his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God, and his congregation: And shall labour according to our power, to have faithfull ministers, truely and purely to minister Christs Gospel and Sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them; the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives, against Sathan and all wicked power that doth intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy Word and congregation we do joyne us; and so do forsake and renounce the congregation of Sathan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof. And moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithfull promise before God, testified to the congregation, by our subscriptions as these presents. At Edinburgh the third of December, *anno*, 1557. God called to witnesse.

Sic subscribitur.
A. Earle of Argyle.
Glencarne.
Mertoun.
Archibald, Lord of Lorne.
John Erskin of Dun.
Et cætera."
—Knox, p. 110.]

[q] History of the church of Scotland, ascribed to Mr. Knox, book i. p. 110. [fol. Lond. 1644. Calderwood, i. 326.]

young men who read them," yet they continued to be read[r]. And what was thus began by a few persons, was afterwards completed by a more public decree. For, by a general assembly holden in December, 1562, it was ordained that " one uniform order should be observed in the administration of the sacraments, according to the order of Geneva." That is, as I understand it, the very same which Mr. Knox and the rest had used when they were there. And two year after, December, 1564, it was again ordained that " ministers in the ministration of the sacrament should use the order set down in the Psalm book[s];" to which now that form, I suppose, was annexed. Nor did Mr. Knox think himself above these forms, but made use of them, as appears from hence; " that being desired before the council to moderate himself in his form of praying for the queen, he related to them the " most vehement and most excessive manner of prayer that he used in public;" and, after he had repeated the words at length, concluded thus: " this is the form of common prayer, as you yourselves can witness[t]." The same history also records " a form of public prayer used in the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, upon the peace made with France[u]:" and another form[x] at the election of superintendents. He also that wrote the " Moderate Reply[y]" to the

[r] Ibid. book ii. p. 170. *an.* 1559.

[s] Both these I have out of the Disputation against the Assembly at Perth; and they are alleged to prove there should be no kneeling at the Sacrament, because their old order did not prescribe it. [The pamphlet, which is anonymous, is directed against the General Assembly convened by royal mandate at Perth, Aug. 25, 1618, with the following title,

" Perth Assembly: containing
1. The proceedings thereof.
2. Proof of the nullitie thereof.
3. Reasons presented thereto against receiving the five new articles imposed.
4. The oppositenesse of it to the proceedings and oath of the whole state of the land, *an.* 1581.
5. Proofes of the unlawfulnesse of the said five articles, viz. 1. Kneeling in the act of Receiving the Lord's Supper. 2. Holy Daies. 3. Bishopping. 4. Private Baptisme. 5. Private Communion."—

4to, n. p. 1619. See p. 33.]

[t] Ib. book 4. p. 380. *an.* 1564.

[u] July 8, 1560. p. 245. [Misprinted for 252.]

[x] P. 287. [See 'The Forme and Order of the Election of the Superintendents and all other Ministers at Edinburgh, March the 9, 1560. John Knox, being then preacher,' pp. 284—8.]

[y] *An.* 1646. [" Presented to the high court of Parliament the 26 of May 1646, containing severall reasons why many well affected citizens cannot assent thereunto, published according to orders."]

city "Remonstrance against Toleration[y]," presents the remonstrants in the last leaf of his book with "a form of thanksgiving, used in the church of Scotland, for their deliverance from the French by the English, *an.* 1575." But why do I mention these particular prayers? There was printed, as I said, 1641, "The Service and Discipline, and form of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, used in the English Church of Geneva, received and approved by the church of Scotland, and presented to the High Court of Parliament that year." And though in that there are now and then such passages as this, "The minister shall use this confession, or the like in effect[z];" yet they are not to be found in the ancient books. I have been long owner of a form of their Divine service, printed at Edinburgh, *cum privilegio regali*, 1594, and bound up with the Psalm book spoken of before; and there is no such allowance given in any place of the book. The confession is enjoined in these words: "Ane confession that sall ga befoir the reading of the law, and befoir every exercise." And if you read the first Book of Discipline, presented to the lords of the secret council of Scotland, May 20, 1560, and by them confirmed[a], you shall find they make some things utterly necessary, and others only profitable for the keeping the kirk in good order. Among the first sort are these, that the word be truly preached, the sacraments rightly administered, common prayers publicly made. These things be so necessary, say they, that without the same there is no face of a visible kirk. And that they mean the form of prayer be agreed upon, appears by what follows in the end of that chapter[b]: "In private houses we think expedient that the most grave and discreet persons use the common prayers at morn and night, for the comfort and instruction of others." More particularly when they treat of discipline[c], they advise, in case any man be excommunicated, his friends should travail with him to bring him to knowledge of himself, and a commandment given to all men to call to God for his conversion:

[y] [See part ii. vol. v. p. 451.]

[z] [Pp. 12, 19.]

[a] Though never confirmed by act of parliament; Mr. Knox complaining that some in chief authority called the same Devout Imaginations. [See Calderwood, Hist. of the Kirk, vol. ii. p. 42. Row, p. 17.]

[b] All this you may find in the ninth head, concerning the policy of the kirk.

[c] In the seventh head.

and that for this purpose, "a solemn and special prayer be drawn, for then the thing would be more gravely done:" they are their very words. By all which it is apparent what the constitution of their church in the beginning was, and that later times have swerved from the decrees of their forefathers. So the doctors and professors of Aberdeen[d] (and they no mean men neither) tell those who came to urge the covenant on them: "They, who have subscribed to it, misregard the ordinances of our reformers, prefixed to the Psalm book, concerning the office of superintendents or bishops, funeral sermons, and set forms of prayer, which they appointed to be publicly read in the church." This was a thing so well known, (though this bold-face gives me the lie for supposing it,) that Ludovicus Capellus[e] had reason to write these words: "At the Reformation the sacred liturgy was purged from all superstition and popish idolatry, &c. and so there were several forms of holy liturgy pure and simple, made and prescribed all about, by the several authors of the Reformation, in Germany, France, England, Scotland, the Netherlands, &c. Departing as little as possibly they could from the ancient forms of the primitive church,

[d] In their Duplies, 1638. p. 37. [Shortly after the Covenant was taken by the nobles, ministers, and others at Edinburgh, March 1638, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant were commissioned to visit Aberdeen, and to use every effort by preaching or otherwise to obtain the adherence of that city and university. The attempt involved them in a controversy with the principal professors, which forms the subject of the following pamphlet: "General demands concerning the late covenant, propounded by the ministers and professors of divinity in Aberdene to some reverend brethren who came thither to recommend the late covenant to them, and to those who are committed to their charge, together with the Answers of those reverend brethren to the said demands, and Replyes of the Aberdeen professors and ministers:" viz. Drs. Forbes, Scrogie, Leslie, Baron, Sibbald and Ross. Appended to it were the Declaration of the earl of Hamilton, disclaiming as the king's commissioner the Covenant illegally adopted, and the Answers of the latter brethren (Henderson and Dickson) to the Replyes. This was followed up by "Duplyes of the ministers and professors of Aberdene to the second Answers of some reverend brethren concerning the late Covenant," bearing the same signatures as the former document. 4to, 1638. The whole controversy was reprinted in a quarto volume by order of Parliament by John Forbes, at Aberdeen, 1663.]

[e] Thes. Salmur. pars 3. p. 658. [Theses Theologicæ in acad. Salmuriensi variis temporibus disputatæ per Amyraldum, Capellum et Placæum, 3 partt. 4to, Salm. 1641—1651.]

which the reformed churches have used hitherto happily, and with profit, every one within the limits of their own nation and territories. Till at last there very lately arose in England certain morose, scrupulous, nice, and delicate, that I say not plainly superstitious persons, to whom the liturgy of their church hitherto used seemed fit for many, though most slight and frivolous causes, not only to be disapproved, but plainly abrogated." Bishop Hall——

N. C. Enough, enough, you will be as long and tedious as the Common Prayer.

C. If that were shorter you would find the greater fault, and if I used fewer words he would keep the greater coil. He is not one of those whom a word will suffice; he will struggle and keep a stir even when he is overthrown; and he must be oppressed with proofs and arguments, or else he will not cease to quarrel and contend. I shall add therefore the words of bishop Halle, who, justifying a stinted form of prayer against the Separatists, saith; "Behold, all churches that were or are in the world are partners with us in this crime. O idolatrous Geneva, and all French, Scottish, Danish, and Dutch churches! All which both have their forms with us, and approve them." The same you may find in a divine of your own[f], who tells us (in the Life of Mr. Capel), that "he was clear in his opinion for the lawfulness of the use of set forms of prayer, according to the tenet of all our best and most judicious divines, and according to the practice of all churches, even the best reformed, saith M. Rogers, now and in all former ages. So saith Mr. Hildersham: yea, and Mr. Smith himself saith upon the Lord's Prayer, (though as then he was warping, and afterwards wandered far in the ways of separation,) that it was the practice of the ancient church, and of all the reformed churches in Christendom; of the churches immediately after the apostles, nay, (saith he) of the church in the time of the apostles, as may be probably gathered out of 1 Cor. xiv. 26. This hath also been the practice of the best lights that ever were set up in the churches of Christ. It is very well known that the flower of our own divines went on in this way, when they might have done other-

[e] Apology against the Brownists. [Sect. 36. Works, vol. ix. p. 442.]

[f] Mr. Sam. Clark, Collection of the lives of ten divines, p. 255. [4to, Lond. 1662.]

wise if they had pleased, in their prayers before their sermons." To this testimony (which may serve also for other purposes) I would cast in more, but that you complain of weariness already.

N. C. I had rather take your word than be troubled with them.

C. And will you take Mr. Impudence's word against all these authorities? What say you? Was there never a time when they used a form of prayer in the church of Scotland? Were they alway without, nay, against a form, when they were left to their own choice? Did their queen force them to common prayers when she forbad the use of them? What do you think? Must we believe all these strong proofs and solid testimonies, or will he rub his forehead and say, like himself, Believe me before them all? In good time, Sir. Let him play never so many tricks, let him frisk about and tumble up and down, and endeavour to make your sport, that you may forget the question you came about: you will have more wit, I hope, than to let him deceive you any more. Remember, while the ape dances on the rope, that's the time which is taken to cut the purses of the spectators. But I think he may put all that he hath gained by his chattering and skipping about in his eye, and see never the worse. Or rather, he hath brought an old house, as we say, over his own and others' head. For by flying to this refuge, which proves a refuge of lies, he confesses the force of my argument, that they break their covenant when they meet without a form of prayer; seeing the best reformed churches have used a form, even that of Scotland not excepted, after whose pattern, I will prove, if you please, more fully, that they engaged to reform.

N. C. We have no leisure now for such discourses.

C. Then I will let it alone, and proceed to give you another proof of his ignorance in things past, though he have not half the modesty of Giles's ape. If you look into p. 243 of this book, he saith, "The Non-conformist will make bold to tell us (he should have spoken only for himself, who we know is bold enough) that we use them more hardly than ever ourselves were used; for though some of you," saith he, "were sequestered, yet none of you were silenced, or commanded not to preach, or molested merely for preaching, as such." One would think this

man should have good assurance for what he affirms thus boldly, (to use his own language,) and yet the direct contrary is upon record, and to be seen in print. For by a declaration of Nov. 24, 1655[g], the late protector required not only that no person who "had been sequestered for delinquency, or been in arms against the parliament, or adhered unto, or abetted or assisted the forces raised against them,...should keep in their house or family, as chaplain or schoolmaster, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster;" nor, which is more, "permit any of their children to be taught by such," &c., but "that no person, who for delinquency or scandal had been sequestered or ejected, should, from and after the first of January next ensuing, preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family. Nor should baptize or administer the Lord's Supper, or marry, or use the book of Common Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, upon pain of being proceeded against, as by his orders was provided and directed" for securing the peace of the commonwealth. This severity moved Dr. Gauden to make a pathetical address[h] unto him in the behalf of so many undone persons, which was afterward printed. And at the same time the primate of Ireland came to town on purpose, and went in person to him to intercede for his indulgence towards them. He took also the softest opportunities of mediating for them, for the space of five or six weeks together; but was fain at last to retreat to his country retirement, (and so to his grave,) with little success and less hope, to his great grief and sorrow: using this expression to Dr. Gauden, that he saw some men had "only guts and no bowels[i]."

[g] ["A Declaration of his highness with the advice of the council, in order to the securing the peace of this commonwealth:"—from a folio volume of Proclamations, &c. of the commonwealth, in the British Museum.]

[h] February 4, following.

[i] "Intestina non viscera." Postscript to his Petitionary Remonstrance. ["A Petitionary Remonstrance presented to O. P. Feb. 4, 1655, by J. G. D. D. a son, servant, and suppliant for the Church of England; in behalf of many thousands of his distressed brethren, (ministers of the gospel and other good schollars,) who were deprived of all publique imployment (as ministers or scholars,) by his Declaration, Jan. 1, 1655," with a postscript to the reader; published by Thomas Milbourne, for Andrew Crook,—4to, Lond. 1659. Compare Elrington's life of Ussher, Works, vol. i. p. 275.]

N. C. More words are needless in so plain a business.

C. I think so too. No two things can be more opposite than his declaration and the protector's. For the one requires them not to preach, and the other says they were not forbidden to preach. But this is his usual presumption; he thinks nobody knows that which he doth not know, though, alas! he falls so short of that prophesying ape, that he is ignorant even of things present, which yet he makes bold to prattle of. He would have the world believe that there is but one Non-conformist who hath found some favour upon the account of his great moderation and peaceableness. And who should that be, think you? Hear his own words, and you will give a shrewd guess[k]. "There is one, and there is not a second, (as I know in England,) who hath been taken into some consideration for the greatness of his moderation and known peaceableness of spirit, &c. I say, there is one (but he shall be nameless) that hath found some favour upon that account, &c. I say that one, for ought I know, is the only instance in England, whose moderation, in conjunction with what else might be thought to deserve some abatement of rigour, hath procured him so much favour as will find him bread." By these words, "I say," "as I know," "for ought I know," "I suppose," you cannot but know the gentleman. And if he do not know a thing, who should? You, it may be, believe it upon his word, there is never another who hath been connived at but this very deserving person. And if he tell you on the other side, that "Conformists were only shown a great rod heretofore," (which he speaks of,) but "not one of them that I do know ever whipped with it[l]," what would you desire more to persuade you of the present rigour in compare with the lenity (who would think it?) that was used in those gracious days? Philagathus knows it not; this is sufficient, and you ought not to inquire further. Though some of us indeed who know little must needs be so bold (by the leave of his omniscience) as to say that we are acquainted with many who felt the smart of that rod. And I for my part, who am very ignorant, I confess, in a great many things, know more than one or two that have enjoyed the same indulgence with this rare person whom he speaks of. And when he tells us his name, he shall know theirs, if he desire it.

[k] Page 225.

[l] They are his words, page 256.

N. C. I cannot tell what to say to these things; I wish he would talk less of his own knowledge.

C. But you know what to do, unless you still think he knows all that he talks of. And that is, not to believe him when he tells you of "hundreds of families," nay, "the families of many hundreds[m]," of "so many hundreds[n] of ministers," that have "hardly meat to fill their bellies, or clothes to cover their nakedness." You would think, by his repeating it so often, that he had counted them, but we have reason to think he spoke at random. You must first admit[o] one supposal, and then he will make another, and tell you "it may well be supposed there were 1500[p]," &c., who, as it is probable, having most of them families, have little or no temporal estate; and then he can roundly set down hundreds, many hundreds. A wonderful discovery, and a ready way to make thousands as easy as hundreds at pleasure. Much like that of the complainers in John Lilburn's case, who talked of a hundred discoveries that might be made of the people's miseries; and the reply which one[q] made to them may serve him. "Indeed it is true, they may be made

[m] Page 236.

[n] Page 234.

[o] Page 233. ["Admit Sir, that the cold dew of an ejection fell upon two thousand Non-conformist ministers, at and before Bartholomew-tide...62, (though some say there was five and twenty hundred that were put out first and last) it may well be supposed," &c.]

[p] [It is impossible to ascertain accurately the total number of ministers who resigned their livings on St. Bartholomew's day, rather than submit to the terms required by the Act of Uniformity. Baxter states the number generally at 1800, or 2000.—Life by Calamy, p. 188, by Sylvester, 384.

If we can rely upon Calamy's account of the Silenced Ministers, abridged by Palmer, under the title of the Non-conformist's Memorial, the number must have amounted to fully 2400, including fellows of colleges, though not in orders. Palmer states that a manuscript catalogue gives 2257 names. Kennet, however, (Reg. p. 807,) detects great mistakes in Calamy's enumeration, particularly as regards the diocese of Peterborough. See Hallam, Const. Hist. ii. 38.]

[q] Declaration of some proceedings of Joh. Lilb. 1648, p. 60. ["A Declaration of some proceedings of Lt. Col. Iohn Lilburn, and his associates; with some examination, and animadversion upon papers lately printed, and scattered abroad. One called the earnest petition of many free-born people of this kingdom; another, The mournfull cries of many thousand poor tradesmen, who are ready to famish for want of bread, or The warning tears of the oppressed. Also a letter sent to Kent. Likewise a true relation of Mr. Masterson's, minister of Shoreditch, signed with his owne hand."—4to, Lond. 1648.]

with ease; it is but to sit down and write an hundred particulars, what come uppermost, (or to make supposals as you think good,) taking no care whether they be true or no, and then there will be an hundred such discoveries made."

N. C. He did not make supposals, sure, without reason.

C. Yes; and I will show you anon there is reason against them. But for the present we will let that pass, and see if he can give us better information in greater matters. These are all trifles, you may think, which he doth not mind: but the Covenant——that is a thing he hath studied without all doubt, and knows the bottom of the business.

N. C. Or else he is skilled in nothing.

C. And yet how unfit he is to be your advocate in that cause, appears by the lame account which he gives us of many things belonging to it. Look into his book, p. 259, and there you will find, as if he meant to debate the business thoroughly, and had some weighty matter to impart; he begins with an "O ye," saying, "Good sir, hear how fair the concessions of the Non-conformists are, and then judge whether there be not a just ground and foundation for peace and amity betwixt you and them." Well, I listen, sir, what have you to say? Why, first of all he tells us, "the Non-conformists do hold that the Covenant binds them to nothing that is sinful." A marvellous great condescension, like that, p. 153, where he tells us, the Non-conformists are "in charity with all the saints." They are much obliged to you for your great humility and courtesy. It is a singular favour that you will be pleased to be in charity with them; and his majesty is much beholden to you that you will not think yourselves bound to sin. But his friends would have taught him to have granted more, (only he knows little, as I told you, of what hath been said or done,) and bid him add, that "it doth not bind them to go beyond their place and calling to do good[1];" and so much for that. Let us prick up our ears now, and hear what he tells us in the second place, for he gapes as if he would hold forth some notable point. "Nay, sir," saith he, "the Non-conformists, or many of them, (for he dare not be confident of all,) do think, that if an oath contain never so many good and necessary things, and but one that is

[1] Propos. to his majesty, p. 12. [Compare p. 112. below.]

bad and sinful, that one sinful thing is not to be done for the sake of all the good[s]." Mark how timorously the gentleman walks upon the ice, (which he hath done before now[t],) and what great care he takes that he catch not a fall. He will not pass his word for all the Non-conformists. There are, you may be sure, many of them, he cannot tell how many, who have arrived to such a degree of honesty, that they will not do a sinful thing together with many good things. But some, it seems he fears, are of another opinion, and think they may do a sinful thing for the sake of a great many good. These are brave lads; and I doubt not, whosoever they are, but they will find a great many good things to bring to pass when they have a mind to make another rebellion. But this is not all; he desires we should understand, in the third place, that "the Non-conformists, or some of them, do yield this, that they are not bound by an oath or covenant to that which is impossible to be done[u]." Doth he not advance very much in his concessions, and come nearer and nearer to us, when some of them (for any thing he knows, I must in charity put in for his relief) think they are bound to do even impossible things. Nay, many of them may be of that mind, for he dares not venture so far as he did before. It is not the Non-conformists, or many of them, but only the Non-conformists, or some of them, think they are not bound, if the matter of the oath be something that is impossible. Then, as I said, some, nay many, he gives us leave to think may be of the contrary persuasion. And what desperate people are those! What will not they attempt, who are not deterred by the apprehension of impossibilities in their way? Woe be to us, when these men are angry. But lastly, the good gentleman was in such a terrible taking when he was writing of this matter, or else so loath to come near us, that he dare not so much as say roundly, that the Non-conformists hold a father, husband, master, or prince may make void either the oaths or vows made by their children, wives, servants, or subjects without their consent, in things that are subject to their authority. No, pardon him there, he dare not go so far, he

[s] Page 260.

[t] They are his words, p. 257. ["This being not the first time that I have walkt upon ice, and yet not been thought to fall neither."]

[u] Ib. [p. 262.]

only says, in a confused manner, that the Non-conformists, or some of them, are of this opinion[x]. He seems here to be a little sensible of his ignorance, and so durst not speak with so much confidence as he doth when he hath less reason. For if he had but read a book[y] that used very early to be put into the hands of young scholars, he would have found this case determined very resolutely to those very words which I now used; and then I persuade myself he would have concluded all the Non-conformists to be of that mind. But he resolved to be very wise and cautious, though he spoiled all by that means. He dare go no further in the beginning of his discourse about this matter than to tell us, that "some who cannot renounce the covenant are heartily sorry that ever the taking of that covenant was pressed upon anybody, because the multiplying of oaths of that nature doth usually end in the multiplying of perjuries through men's breach thereof[z]." He gives us leave to think then, according to his opinion, that most are not sorry, or not heartily sorry, but would make no great matter of doing the same again. What though perjuries follow? It is but keeping a day of humiliation, and bewailing all the rash oaths and perjuries, and then they for their part are very innocent, and "washed as white as the snow in Salmon," as he saith they are, by the act of oblivion[a]." But woe be to the poor cavaliers, who could not compound for their estates unless they took the Vow

[x] P. 261. ["Lastly, Sir, it is the opinion of Non-conformists, or some of them, that if a person (be it man or woman) that is not *sui juris*, or at their own disposal, or a wife, or a child, that have husband or father living, shall enter into a covenant or vow to do any thing which was not their duty to do, if they had entered into no such vow, ex. gr. or it might be to pray to God, to keep his commandments, as David saith, 'I have sworn that I will keep thy righteous judgments:' but if the matter of that oath or vow be not in itself necessary and a duty (which no superior can prohibit,) a husband, or father, or other superior, under whose jurisdiction the person that maketh such a vow is, hath power to make it null within such a time: yea, (say some,) if he do it not within such a time, but afterwards, and after securing consent to the vow of his wife, she herself is absolved; only in that case she shall 'bear her sin,' Numb. xxx. 15. But if her husband shall any ways make void them, (that is his wives vows) after that he hath heard them, yea, and established them, (before ver. 13.) then he shall bear her iniquity; that is, the guilt shall lye upon the husband, not on his wife, if the vow be not kept."]

[y] Ames' Cases of Consc. book iv. cap. 22. q. 11. resp. 2. [p. 220. ed. 12mo, Oxon. 1659.]

[z] Page 258.

[a] Preface, p. 32.

and Covenant, as some made bold to tell his majesty in their Proposals, (which were since the act of indemnity, and therefore I may speak of them,) "not presuming," say they, "to meddle with the consciences of those many of the nobility and gentry, and others that adhered to his late majesty, in the late unhappy wars, who at their compositions took the Vow and Covenant; we only crave your majesty's clemency to ourselves and others, who believe themselves to be under its obligation." A greater presumption than that which they would avoid; to remind his majesty how barbarously his friends had been used, (their consciences being squeezed and oppressed, as well as their bodies and estates,) even then when they were pleading for his favour. But my business is only with him. And what do you think of your champion? Hath he not done you rare service in declaring your opinion about oaths and covenants? Will he not make an excellent casuist, and be fit to be put in the chair to read lectures for the satisfying of conscience? Let not the schools lose such a precious engine as this. It is a thousand pities that he should be confined to the trade of making sauces, of giving relishes, and trimming out dishes, (or, if you will have them so called, discourses.) He can untie your knots, and tell where the 'hinge of the controversy' turns[c], (and that in Latin too,) and furnish you with so many *disses*, *diffs*, and *divs*, as shall give great content, and make the fiercest disputers presently shake hands. For you see in four words, he hath laid a foundation of peace and amity between the Conformist and Non-conformist, though he be not yet come so far as to determine positively whether between all, or many, or only some. That you must think is reserved for another lecture. And yet I perceive there are some testy people, who think he hath done no more to make an accord among us, by his solemn handling this case of conscience, than Norandino of Savignano[d] did to the composing of a controversy in Italy.

[b] [The principal heads of proposals for comprehension to Charles II by the presbyterians in the year 1661 are specified by Calamy in his Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 141; and by Neal, iv. 250.]

[c] Preface, p. 40. "I have given you *Cardo Controversiæ* between the Conformist and Non-conformist."

[d] Whom we find in the Hospital of Incurable, &c., 1600, p. 54. [The Hospital of Incurable Fools, an English translation, (4to, 1600.) of Garzoni's Hospidale dei Pazzi Incurabili.—Opere, 4to, Ven. 1617.]

N. C. If he were long about it, pray let us not hear it.

C. No, he had done presently. For there being a great disputation held in the city of Cesena, this lubber passing by chance through the place where all the disputants were met together, cried with a loud voice, "Make room, (which immediately he made for himself with a good quarter-staff,) and give ear to me. I hold this conclusion, that Savignano is not distant from Cesena above ten miles. And next I maintain this other, that Savignano is of the masculine gender, and Cesena of the feminine. And I'll also stand to this, that more people will give ear to me who am but a fool, than to you who would appear to be wise." And last of all——

N. C. Hold you there. He will spoil all again, I much doubt, after he hath spoken so wise a word.

C. It is well noted: and therein the most are fully agreed. But setting aside the quarter-staff, which is a notable weapon to put an end to a disputation, I think Norandino and your Philagathus have much alike abilities for composing differences. Only the Italian had more confidence, and spoke positively: but the Englishman (contrary to his wont) spoke with greater diffidence and distrust of himself; which may be an argument of a little more wisdom.

N. C. I have seen indeed this sentence cited out of Thucydides, that "ignorance makes men bold, and knowledge makes them timorous[e]."

C. There is a great deal of truth in it. But for all that, the bold fellows carry the day: for they are thought very knowing, and those that dare not talk confidently of all things the vulgar account very ignorant. So that, whether out of ignorance, or much policy and knowledge of the people's humour, you may determine your knight hath taken the right course; who very often sets a good face, as we say, upon the matter, and speaks with great assurance, right or wrong: and in this, I think, no man hath a faculty beyond him.

N. C. Good, now let us have no more of this; for I was tired long ago with it.

C. Pray stretch your patience a little further: I will not

[e] [Ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.—Pericles, apud Thucyd. ii. 40. Compare Greg. Naz. Θράσος ἀμαθίας ἔκγονον.—Orat. xxxii. §. 3. tom. i. p. 581 C.]

exercise it too much. Do you not think, by his discourse, that he is very well acquainted with me?

N. C. I should think most inwardly.

C. So would anybody else. For he can tell you my private opinions, my studies, and what I am able to do, as well as if I had taken him into my bosom. Such an ass, it seems, I am to discover and open my heart to a stranger; or rather such a silly piece of impudence is he, as to venture to talk by guess, and alway to take such bad direction as to guess amiss. He tells you, for example, that I am one of those "whose judgment leads them to have a great respect for *scientia media*[f]."

N. C. What's that?

C. You may ask him, if you think he can tell you. It is sufficient for me to let you know, that I have so little respect for it, that I look upon it as an idle invention: so wide a distance there is between his knowledge of me and my knowledge of myself. However, he can tell you greater matters than this, and confident he is that once I expounded the Scriptures according to Mr. Calvin, and now I understand them according to Grotius.

N. C. He only wishes that be not your meaning, p. 121.[g]

C. That is a way he hath of telling you his mind, and conveying the belief of a thing of yours. For he makes no bones afterward to say[h], that I "tell my hearers it is a singular privilege that they have the gospel so plainly expounded to them," i. e. as Grotius and I "expound it, but not as it is expounded by those divines that consult Calvin and Beza, and twenty more such worthy interpreters." He should have taken the courage to make them up seven and twenty[i], which, for ought he knows, is as true as the other. Especially since he is so hardy as to tell you, that I "adore Grotius," p. 269, and "idolize him," p. 279, and trust to him, and "rely upon him, as if he were God himself," p. 10. And all this, though I never so much as named him, nor have any greater acquaint-

[f] P. 219.

[g] ["I wish the meaning of what you said last be not this, and no more but this, viz. that now you do understand the Scriptures according to Grotius, whereas heretofore you interpreted them according to Calvin."]

[h] P. 288.

[i] "You set H. Grotius (for ought I know) against twenty-seven men who are not of his mind," p. 11.

ance with him than with other good authors, nor so much neither, having gained some considerable knowledge, I hope, of the holy Scriptures before I advised with him, or any that he hath mentioned.

N. C. Strange! I thought he had been your oracle.

C. My god, you should have said: and your Philagathus, some great genius who stands at my elbow every time I take down a book, and sees me throw Mr. Calvin aside, but making a lowly reverence, and kissing his works when Grotius comes to hand; or rather kneeling down, as if I meant to worship, as well as read him.

N. C. I cannot tell how to excuse this boldness.

C. Which is so great and shameless, that if he wore a steel vizor, it could not be more impudent. He hath a vile suspicion, he tells you, that Grotius his Notes upon the Canticles did me a great deal of harm; which is a marvel, seeing I never read them in all my life.

N. C. How? not read them?

C. It is as I tell you, upon my honest word.

N. C. And yet he is not content to mention it once, but repeats it again[k].

C. And would put a jealousy into you, that I have such a fire kindled in me, as makes me burn with desire to offer sacrifice to another idol. I am ashamed to set down his words, they are so lewd. Nor can I imagine what should bring such things to his mind, which are so far from my thoughts, but his own filthy inclinations; or what should make him mention some things[l] so often, and in such a manner as he doth, but his love to smutty discourse. He is not content to make mouths at me, (of whom he hath so little knowledge,) but in effect at St. Paul himself, who commends those that preserved themselves holy in a single life[m]. As if he placed perfection in wedlock, or was of that gentleman's mind who taught the people this lesson in the late times[n]: "God needs such a vessel as Christ to put him-

[k] P. 122. 195.

[l] 'Batchelors,' 'prettiness,' 'wives,' &c. See pp. 23, 122, 153.

[m] P. 153.

[n] Some Flashes of Lightning, &c. Sermon upon 1 Cor. xi. 10–12. 1648. p. 172. [Eleven sermons by William Sedgwick. The author was brother to John and Obadiah, sons of William Sedgwick, of London, gentleman; born in Bedfordshire in the year 1609, and became a commoner

self in. Christ needs such a vessel as you to put himself in. God would run every way, settle nowhere, be bounded in nothing, if he did not settle in his Son. The Son would rest nowhere, have no content, if it were not in thee. Men would run every where, rest nowhere, if not bounded by a wife."

N. C. Why do you not let such abominable stuff lie buried in oblivion?

C. I had rather have been ignorant of it, than put to the trouble to detest it. But since it is divulged, and comes in my way, I thought it a piece of very fit dirt to stop such a foul mouth as his withal.

N. C. I wish he had not opened it in these matters.

C. Nor would he, if he had been indued with a little of that virtue which St. Bernard so much commends in his last sermon upon the Canticles: modesty I mean, which he calls, among other things, the "praise of nature, the sign of all honesty, the

of Pembroke College, Oxford, at the age of fifteen, under the tuition of Mr. George Hughes. Having taken orders, he was admitted to the rectory of Farnham in Essex, Feb. 5, 1634. Upon the change of affairs in 1641, he closed with the Presbyterians, put a curate into his living of Farnham, and was made chaplain to Sir William Constable's regiment in the parliamentary forces. In April 1644 he resigned that living, and became a preacher of celebrity at Ely, being commonly called "The Apostle of the isle of Ely." Wood describes him as "a conceited, whimsical person, and one very unsettled in his opinions. Sometimes he was a Presbyterian, sometimes an Independent, and at other times an Anabaptist. Sometimes he was a prophet, and would pretend to foretell matters in the pulpit, to the great distraction of poor and ignorant people. At other times, having received revelations, as he pretended, he would forewarn people of their sins in public discourses; and upon pretence of a vision that doomsday was at hand, he retired to the house of Sir Franc. Russel, in Cambridgeshire, (whose daughter Henry the son of great Oliver Cromwell had married,) and finding divers gentlemen there at bowles, called upon them to prepare themselves for their dissolution, telling them that he had lately received a revelation, that doomsday would be some day the next week. At which the gentlemen being well pleased, they and others always after called him Doomsday Sedgwick."—Athen. Oxon. iii. 894.

His pretensions are satirized in the following lines of Hudibras:

> "When stars do fall, 'tis plain enough,
> The day of judgment's not far off.
> As lately 'twas revealed to Sedgwick,
> And some of us found out by magic."—Part ii. Canto 3. 475.

He was ejected on the restoration, and retired to Lewisham in Kent. He died in London in or about the year 1668.]

first-fruits of virtue, the sister of continence, the preserver of purity, the keeper of our fame, the beauty of life, and the special glory of the conscience[o]." But his whole book is a stranger to this excellent quality, and writ in such a manner, that they who can like it are in a worse condition, in my judgment, than those who love to feed upon coals and ashes. He is come to such a pitch of boldness, that he will undertake to tell you not only what authors I read, but how much I have read in my books: and that, for instance, I had no more wherewith to charge T. W. than what I produced[p]. Which is the greater piece of impudence, because I have sufficient reason to conclude that he hath not read his works himself, and so cannot tell what absurdities I have observed. Nor hath he read W. B.'s later works, though he commend them for the good and savoury passages that are in them. His former[q] indeed "he thinks he hath read;" I say "he thinks (for he repeats it) that he hath read more in them than I pretend to have done." A huge piece of learning! He might have safely left out his "I think," and spoken more confidently; for if he had read but one line, it would have been enough to make good his word: because (whatever I have read) I have pretended nothing at all in that matter, but spoken only of his new sermons. But he will make you an amends for this diffidence; for he hath a great secret to tell you with open mouth concerning the conforming ministers; some of which," he saith, "are known or judged to be arrant Socinians[r]." And how doth he know it, think you? Is it by revelation? Verily, (to use one of his own words,) for any thing that I can perceive, he doth not know it, but only suspect it. And then how dare he, or others, judge them to be Socinians? Mark, I pray, his partition, "they are either known, or judged to be such;" that is, they are judged to be so sometimes, though they are not known to be so.

[o] ["Lampas est pudicæ mentis jugiter lucens, ut nihil in ea turpe vel indecorum residere attentet, quod non illa ilico prodat. Ita expunctrix malorum, et propugnatrix puritatis innatæ, specialis gloria conscientiæ est, famæ custos, vitæ decus, virtutis sedes, virtutum primitiæ, naturæ laus, et insigne totius honesti."—S. Bernard. Serm. lxxxvi. in Cant. tom. i. col. 1567 B.]

[p] P. 51. ["Verily, Sir, since you had no more wherewith to bite T. W. than what you have produced, it had been better for you not to have shown your teeth."]

[q] P. 194.

[r] P. 70.

These are men of a very nice and tender conscience, who take upon them to sit in the judgment-seat, and pronounce sentence of condemnation upon their neighbours, before they understand their cause, or have any assurance that they are guilty of the crime. When such men have power proportionable to their malice, Lord have mercy upon us. If judgment and knowledge be divided in this manner, who is there that may not be voted to destruction? They will clap their hands, and cry as a man goes along, thinking no harm, A Socinian, a Socinian, and straightway the hounds are let loose——

N. C. Use, I beseech you, more civil terms.

C. You have forgot, I perceive, your own phrase, so common in the late times, when you encouraged one another to go a parson hunting. But you will remember it when you have power, and the people, as I was saying, will run like so many dogs to tear the innocent in pieces. For my part, I wish he may be questioned by those who have authority about this matter, that he may either make good his suggestion, or else be branded for a malicious scribbler.

N. C. There is nothing of malice, I am confident, in his words.

C. I crave your pardon if I do not believe you: I have cause to think he knows not one. For among all my acquaintance, I could never meet with a man that knows, or suspects, so much as one single minister to be of that persuasion. And one would think that conformists should be known to one another better than to such triflers as he. Therefore I cannot but look on this as a piece of his disingenuity and spite, (of which I told you I would give an instance.) Socinian he knows is an odious name, and so he would willingly fasten it on some of us, if he could; the better to stir up the people's hatred against all those whom they please to imagine men of that strain. And for the very same cause, I doubt not, he talks of our 'idolizing' Grotius. It is a popular word, as was said the last time we met together, which he hath not yet forgot. Whensoever they would have any thing hated, it is but saying that such and such make an idol of it, and immediately the people will abhor both it and them. Thus they said we made an idol of the late king. And you may easily know with a little recollection who it was that told a gentleman when he said grace, and prayed

God would bless the king, (a little before his death,) 'Your idol shall not stand long:' but they dare not talk of kings now: and yet the people must be persuaded that we have still some idol to worship, and who should it be but Grotius? (a suggestion as false as the father of lies can invent,) together with another image, like that of Nebuchadnezzar's, Dan. iv. 32, "which," saith he, "you too much adore, and would have others do the like[s]." "But it can no more stand before the more select parcels of another statue which you decry, than Dagon could before the ark." No, it trembles and quakes already, "witness your own fears," saith he; the very sound of idol, and image, and Dagon, is able to do the business. It is as strong as a mighty wind to stir up the people's passions, and put them into a hurry against us: especially when they are persuaded the ark is among these men; or if the ark of God be taken, and the ordinances a while removed by the Philistines, (you know the meaning of this gibberish,) it will return again with a vengeance.

N.C. Take heed, good sir, you are too bold with the Scripture. The last time you "walked on the battlements of blasphemy[t]," when you approved of that saying, "a man may talk nothing but Scripture, and yet speak never a wise word."

C. That is another of these men's popular arts, to cry Blasphemy, blasphemy: for then the people think they smell the Apocalyptic beast. They can understand also what the battlements of blasphemy are, though I cannot. Some frightful thing, I warrant you; which makes their hair stand an end, or their heads turn round, if they did not so before. Thus they dealt with bishop Hall, who having said in his Humble Remonstrance, that "episcopacy had continued in this island ever since the first plantation of the gospel," thought good to add these words[u], "Certainly, except all histories, all authors fail us, nothing can be more certain than this truth." Here Smect. cries out very rudely[x], *Os durum!* "Nothing more certain? What! Is it not more certain that there is a God? Is it not more certain that Christ is God-man? Is it not more certain

[s] P. 14. [t] P. 16.

[u] P. 21 of the Humble Remonstrance. [Works, vol. ix. p. 632.]

[x] [Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, sect. 3. p. 18. See an account of the controversy, part ii. vol. v. p. 662.]

that Christ is the only Saviour of the world? Nothing more certain? Must this be an article of our Creed?" &c. And so they run on; accusing these words as "bordering upon blasphemy;" which are no more (as he told them in his answer[y]) than what everybody say "in their hourly discourse, when they would confidently affirm any truth." Nay, so carelessly do they throw out this word against those who oppose their conceits, that we are told by one[z], "To charge the Covenant as contradictory to former oaths, and as tending to apparent perjury, is such a manifest blasphemy against so sacred an oath, as cannot but be abhorred by all sober Christians." These patterns your Philagathus exactly follows; aggravating every thing, though never so harmless, with the like heap of questions, and the charge of blasphemy. He is as like them, as if he had been spit out of their mouths, as we commonly speak, using the same "witless and malicious intimations" (as the bishop's words are): only he seems to have a more viperous inclination, and every where goes about seeking out hairs upon eggshells.

N. C. You must not think to pass this over so smoothly.

C. Why? St. Hierom speaks bolder words, and I never yet heard that he was a blasphemer. "By a perverse interpretation," saith he, "the Scripture becomes of the gospel of Christ the gospel of man, or, which is worse, the gospel of the devil[a]." For which he gives this reason; "The gospel consists not in the words of the Scriptures, but in the sense; not in the surface, but in the marrow; not in the leaves of words and phrases, but in the root of reason."

N. C. But he that talks nothing but Scripture gives no sense, but merely recites the bare text.

[y] [Works, vol. ix. p. 659.]

[z] Anatomy of Dr. Gauden 1660. [P. 13.—"The Anatomy of Dr. Gauden's idolized Non-sence and Blasphemy, in his pretended Analysis, or setting forth the true sense of the Covenant; i. e. of that Sacred Covenant taken by the parliament, the commissioners of Scotland, and the Assembly, September 11, 1643."—anon. 4to, Lond. 1660.]

[a] Upon the first to the Galatians. ["Grande periculum est in ecclesia ne forte interpretatione perversa de evangelio Christi hominis fiat evangelium, aut quod pejus est diaboli." "Nec putemus in verbis scripturarum esse evangelium, sed in sensu, non in superficie, sed in medulla, non in sermonum foliis, sed in radice rationis."—tom. vii. col. 386.]

C. I remember his words, and they are wondrous wise. What doth he recite the text for? Is it not to some purpose or other?

N. C. Yes, sure.

C. Then he gives the words of Scripture a sense by applying them to his purpose. Which yet may be so wide not only from the meaning of the Scripture, but from all reason, that it may be very idle stuff.

N. C. But still there is good sense in Scripture words.

C. He hath made them his words; having separated them from their sense. And it is an easy matter to show you a discourse all in Scripture words and phrases, which you yourself shall call nonsense. Such there were in the primitive times, as we may gather from Irenæus; who tells us of some, that, rather than their own dreams shall want authority, would cite the holy Scripture to give them countenance; though they were no better employed all the time than those that wreathe a rope of sand[b]. For they dissolved the parts and members of truth, by transposing the words from their proper places, and putting them out of their natural order and connexion. They cheated the people with scraps of Scripture set together after their own fancy: and called their imaginations the word of God, because they spoke the syllables and phrases of it. Which was just, saith he, as if an excellent workman should make a picture of a prince, consisting of many precious stones so artificially put together, that they exactly represented his person[c]: and when he had done, another should come and transpose these stones, and set them in another order, till he had made the figure of a dog, or a fox; and then should confidently affirm, that this is the very picture of the king which the excellent artist made. How would you confute such a man? He shows you all the materials; the very same stones which the workman used. There is not one of his own putting in, he hath not made the least addition out of his own brains; and therefore it must needs be the king's picture. For any thing I can see, according to this gentleman's discourse, the simple people must believe him, and, as Irenæus speaks in the

[b] Ἐξ ἄμμου σχοινία πλέκειν ἐπιτηδεύοντες. [Contr. Hær. lib. i. cap. 8. tom. i. p. 36.]

[c] Ταύτην εἶναι τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα, &c. [ibid.]

same place, reverence this filthy fox, which he hath made by misplacing the very same stones, as if it were the true image of their prince. This is a lively resemblance of the practice of those men who (as he goes on) tear the word of God in pieces, and plucking some from this book[d], some from that, accommodate it to their tales and old wives' fables, saying, This is the word of God. There cannot be a more exact description of the age wherein we live, in which (as bishop Hall told Robinson) "you join Scriptures, just as you separated yourselves[e]." And when you have packed together a great number of them according to your fancy and humour, then you think you have spoken the word of God, though sometime never a word of sense. And now I call to mind the author of that saying which he carps at, only he saith *scarce*, and I said *never* a wise word: and that is Dr. Jackson in his book of the Original of Unbelief[f], where he hath a large discourse to show how both the Jew, the Romanist, and the Separatist are wont to dream upon the holy Scripture, and there is no blasphemy in it that I can find. The sum of it is this: musing and dreaming are very near of kin; the fancy in both being apt to weave in every circumstance or occurrent that hath the least semblance or connexion with the principal matter represented or thought upon. For in dreams, the principal sense which should judge, being fast bound with sleep, cannot examine the intimations given by the fancy, and so every thing passes current which it suggests. And in musing, the fancy is so contracted within itself, that it can neither receive instruction from the understanding, nor give it perfect information from representations made by the external senses, and so its follies are not corrected. But let the original of these erroneous imaginations or fallacies be what they will, this is certain, that they insinuate themselves after the same manner into such as dream, and such as rather muse than meditate upon the Scripture. Nor is there any other means to prevent their insinuations, beside vigilant and attentive alacrity to sift and examine every circumstance, by setting our thoughts a-work to countersway our extemporary conceits or apprehensions with all other contrary inducements possible.

[d] Ὄθεν καὶ πόθεν.

[e] [Apology against the Brownists, Works, vol. x. p. 14.]

[f] Ch. 47. p. 425. [Commentaries on the Creed, book v. chap. 47. vol. iv. p. 387.]

He that thinks of nothing but of confirming his own conclusion or apprehension will presently persuade himself, the word of God (especially if he hear it alleged or quoted by another) speaks just so as he thinks, and proffers itself as a witness to give testimony to the truth of his present thoughts. Thus the superstitious palmister, who foretells the changes to be in your life by looking into the lines or wrinkles in the palm of your hand, thinks he hears the foundation of his art in the sound of Moses's words, *And it shall be for a sign upon thy hand*[g], or of Job's, *He sealeth up the hand of every man*[h]. The ignorant priest likewise, that searched for the word *mass* in the holy Scriptures, skipped for joy, and cried, I have found it, when he read those words of St. Andrew, *We have found the Messias*[i]. And I may add W. B., in his musings upon an unbelieving heart, when he came to think that it is rash, sudden, and maketh haste, presently applied those words of David to this purpose, *I said in my haste, I am cut off from thy sight*[k]; and *I said in my haste, All men are liars*[l].

N. C. And pertinently enough; are they not?

C. No: for by haste in the former place, he means his sudden flight from Saul, which he thought could not be so swift as that he should make an escape, but his enemies without a marvellous providence would cut him off. And in the other flight like to this, he had some reason to say that there was no faith in man, when his own son whom he loved, and had so much obliged, and his old and trusty counsellor proved false and rebelled against him. Some other words of David, when he was in the same danger and distress, this Philagathus in his dreaming way of thinking applies to God's deserting men's souls. And generally when they discourse of human reason, they imagine it is that very thing which St. Paul calls *the wisdom of the flesh.* Insomuch that a noted person gives this reason why men should order nothing in the worship of God, because *the wisdom of the flesh is at enmity with God:* and God hath no reason to trust an enemy in moulding his service. All human inventions have a malignity in them, and smell of the fountain from whence they come. He gives this reason

[g] Exod. xiii. 9.
[h] Job xxxvii. 7.
[i] John i. 41.
[k] Psalm xxxi. 22.
[l] Psalm cxvi. 11. Seasonable Truths, p. 218. [Serm. viii. Works, vol. iii. p. 430.]

also why they should invent nothing for ornament in God's service, because *God hath chosen the mean and base things of this world*[m]. This is to run after phantasms, and to triumph in words, as a great man of another nation speaks; to build observations upon three or four (sometimes but one) little syllables, which signify nothing but what custom without any reason pleases, and are of no more value than use gives them. And thus, as Dr. Jackson there observes, brains apt to busy themselves about curious thoughts or scrupulosities generally frame such compositions of sacred lines, as men in a frenzy, or other like grievous distemper, do out of scrabbled walls or painted cloth. The one makes foolish or monstrous pictures of true colours, the other draw senseless and ridiculous inferences out of divine antecedents. And unless I had compared the marginal quotations of some anabaptists and schismatical discourses with the text, and both with the conclusion intended by their authors, I should hardly have conceived it possible for a man "to speak nothing but gospel, and yet to speak scarce a true or a wise word." You may find the same observation in Mr. Bernard[n], (whom we spake of the last time,) who tells us the Separatists that then were, " to the simple would seem to speak nothing but Scripture, when indeed the main point considered, they speak nothing less."

N. C. Pray trace this folly no further.

C. I should not have troubled myself at all with these dreamers, were it not that they are so extremely proud and insolent.

N. C. No such matter.

C. Yes: the most common and ordinary people are so well trained up to a conceit of themselves, that though they will acknowledge one of our ministers to have more learning than themselves, and to have studied longer, (a great piece of humility,) yet they will signify, by the shaking of their heads, how much they pity their ignorance in the mind of God; and peremptorily conclude, that no man that is not of their sect knows so much of the will of God as they do. And the stronger reason (as the forenamed learned divine observes) is brought against them, the forwarder they are to appeal from reason to

[m] 1 Cor. i. 27.

[n] Separatists' schism, p. 26. [Quoted in part i. vol. v. p. 687.]

the Scripture, and that is to be interpreted by the Spirit, and that is in themselves alone: and we are told that learning will do men no service to understand the divine mysteries.

N. C. This is a thing that we are sorry for as much as you.

C. Are you so? Why did not your Philagathus then so much as approve of the reprehension I gave to these men's vain imaginations, nor ingenuously confess that the nation came to be overrun with folly by such means as I related; but skips over all that without so much as touching of it? This is an argument of his disingenuity, and study to serve a party; that, rather than say a word against it, he will let the most sottish people think themselves wise, nay, encourage them to imagine we blaspheme, if we tell them they talk foolishly in Scripture phrase.

N. C. Why do you call them sottish? it is a harsh word.

C. Why may not that be allowed to me which was to Melancthon in times past? who feared not to say, that this is the sottish or ungraceful discourse which is opposed by the apostle to *speech seasoned with salt*[o]. For by *salt* he understands a judgment rightly and dexterously applying the word of God. As in our Saviour's words, Mark ix. ult., he thinks by *salt* is meant the word of God[p] rightly understood, by using judgment and discerning, lest it be transformed into profane imaginations, &c., and the native signification of the words be changed. But Philagathus stands not upon judgment and discretion, the word of God applied by imagination will do as well. His salt is all of another sort, which in truth is but sottish fancy. Let the world be still abused with the pretence of "visions and revelations," what cares he? He had rather indeed they "would let these words alone[q]:" but if they have a list to use them, he is ready to offer his service for their defence. Though the world be cheated by them never so much, he will stand by them, and maintain it that they mean honestly. For what is there that he cannot make good by his "it may be's," and such like tools? It is possible, saith he, that W. B. "might mean not elevating, but humbling visions of God[r]." Say you so, sir? Deal sincerely, I beseech you. Did you read the place? What say you?

[o] Col. iv. 6. See him upon the place.

[p] Verbum Dei recte intellectum, adhibito judicio, seu discrimine, &c.

[q] Page 47.

[r] [Ibid.]

Do not hum and haw, but speak like a man, and say whether did you look or no into that book which you undertook to justify, to see what kind of visions he spoke of? If not, with what conscience durst you become his advocate, and take upon you to maintain you knew not what? Is this your way of writing books? It gives men occasion to think you scribbled this to get a little money, which you hoped W. B.'s friends would present you withal, not caring whether it were true or false. If you did, then I ask you, where were your eyes, that you could not see the instance whereby he explains himself, and that is of St. Peter's beholding Christ transfigured, and saying, *It is good to be here?* Was this an humbling vision with which he was so transported? Or doth he speak only of God's giving counsel and comfort to his people, (as you would have us think,) when he expressly calls them times of raptures and revelations? All this is within the compass of five or six lines in W. B.'s book; which makes me think it could not have escaped him, if he had looked into it. And therefore I am of the opinion, that according to his wonted boldness, he wrote at all adventure, knowing very well the humour of those he had to please, who would magnify and cry up any thing for an answer, though never so silly, nay, never so false. And though the impudent cheat be now discovered, it is possible (to speak in his style) that he hopes to escape well enough. For they can pardon such sins one to another, and shall still be reputed saints, though they lie and deceive, and dissemble the truth. If he had had so much honesty as he makes a show of, he would have looked upon this as a fit place to caution every one against such bold pretences to visions and revelations, which he knows are very dangerous, and not therefore to be winked at, because they are zealous people who talk of them. Nobody seemed to have a greater zeal than Tho. Muncer. He was for reforming even the reformation. He held Luther himself to be too cold: and said his sermons favoured not enough of the Spirit. And by pretending to more frequent and familiar conversation with God, and that he had divine revelations, and that God declared by visions his will to the saints, he got the reputation of a man extraordinarily inspired; and you know what was the end of it. He had a command from the heavenly Father (that was his phrase) to root up and destroy all the princes and magistrates

of the earth, because that Christ said, the *kings of nations;* to abolish also the execution of justice, because we read, *Resist not evil;* and to forbid all oaths to determine controversies, because he said, *Swear not at all, &c.* He had the company also of one Phifer, who used to talk as much of his dreams as the other of his visions; especially of one, wherein he saw an infinite number of rats and mice, which he destroyed: this he expounded to be a commandment from the heavenly Father to destroy all the nobility, who, he said, like so many vermin, did eat up the poor people. And what by their professed detestation of sin, their great compassion to the common sort, their soothing and stroking their followers, by appropriating to them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture, and casting the contrary alway on the heads of those that opposed them, they strangely prevailed. The common acclamations of the people, wherewith they followed these deceivers, were such as these: "Verily, these are the men of God. These are the true and sincere prophets of the Lord." And if any such prophet, or man of God, suffered most justly by order of the law for felony, rebellion, or murder, the multitude were so strangely enchanted, that they lamented the taking away of God's dear servants; and were affected, as if St. Stephen, or some such blessed man, had been again martyred.

All this, and a great deal more, if he did not know, he might easily have informed himself, even out of the little papers printed in the beginning of our wars. If he did know it, he thought good to dissemble it, for fear of offending some choice ones, as they call themselves: though in the mean time the king's crown may be in danger, if the fancy of visions and revelations get into men's heads: then on a sudden, they may think the 'still waters are to be turned into blood;' and that the very moment is come before they were aware of it, that the quiet people are to be put into a commotion. For W. B. in another place tells you[s], that God "prevents men's thoughts in the revelations of the truths of the times. What greater blessing than for a man to be well acquainted with the truth of

[s] Tenth Sermon, of Preventing Mercy, 1667, p. 488. [Bridge's Works, vol. ii. p. 187.]

the times, in opposition to antichrist? Now, says John in the first of Revelation, *I heard a voice behind me*, before I was aware God prevented me, acquainting me with these truths of the Revelations." You know very well, (unless you have forgot our last discourse) what he means by the "truth of the times." It is the witnessing-work, and the witnesses having power over the waters to turn them into blood. The time he told you is near; and here he teaches you to look for a sudden revelation, such as the apostle had when he thought not of it, that is, to follow a strong fancy, when it comes into your head to go about the great work.

N. C. His meaning may be better than his words.

C. So may mine, Philag. supposes. And yet he is very angry with me, merely out of a fear that godliness may be thought to be derided, though I did not intend it. Why then had he not the like zeal against W. B. if he be thoroughly sincere? Why did he not at least tell him that whatsoever he may mean, the people will think he looks for new revelations. Or, why did he not bid the people beware of him? No, not a word of this, I warrant you. What! tell such a man as he of his faults? or teach his people such things as they do not like? How shall they live then, if they be so zealous? Let the world run wild, so they be but maintained, it is no matter.

N. C. God doth sometimes reveal things secret to persons of eminent holiness. Did not bishop Usher foretell the very year and day wherein the Irish rebellion begun no less than thirty year before?

C. Now God help him. He is drawn, I see, to the very dregs. First, he dare not confidently aver the truth of his story: but after his usual manner begins it with, "If I mistake not, bishop Usher[t], &c.———" Now I have shown you that it is no difficult thing for him to mistake: and it is very probable that he is mistaken here. For Mr. Clark (a friend of yours who writ his life, and knew of these matters as much as this gentleman) could tell us no more but this; that "in the year 1624 he said before many witnesses, that he was persuaded the greatest stroke to the reformed church was yet to come, and that the time of the utter ruin of the Roman antichrist should

[t] Page 47.

be when he thought himself most secure[u]." But admit there was such a prediction; what doth it make to his purpose? Doth W. B. speak of such visions and revelations as this in that discourse? Or must his common hearers be supposed to be under "visions and revelations," and know things to come, because one great man foretold once in his days one great revolution? The man himself was a little sensible of the danger of such sermons. But mark how he comes off[x]: "What God seldom doth (as drying up the Red sea) and what he nowhere promises to do, men should seldom speak of as a thing they expect." It seems the Red sea hath been dried up more than once; and so you may say, though but seldom, that you expect the like again, the drying up (suppose) of the sea between Calais and Dover, when you have done your work here, and are to carry the Covenant into all lands. What though it be not promised? you may prattle of it, notwithstanding, now and then; all the danger is if you do it often. Do but beware of that, and you have liberty not only to gape for great things, but to chat concerning them: though how to make their tongues lie still will be hard to tell, when they hear from W. B. not only of a single vision, but of visions, raptures, and revelations. Away, away with this ill-favoured daubing, and these witless apologies! Throw away your plasters, good doctor, for they are too narrow for the sore. The people have been cheated too much already; do not for shame endeavour to continue the imposture. Be contented now to hear that you and your friends are sometimes mistaken, and have misled the simple; and do not peremptorily resolve that you will be in the right, or at least will speak in the apostolical style, that you may be admired; as if, with St. Paul, you were caught up into the third heavens.

N. C. I am convinced that these are not safe expressions; and I wish they would forbear them.

C. And yet Philagathus can patiently hear them talk of 'opening all their windows for new light,' without saying a

[u] Collection of the Lives of ten divines, p. 226. [4to, Lond. 1662. Dr. Clark refers also to his farewell sermon on James i. 25, which does not appear to have been preserved, not being included in his collected works. Some remarks bearing upon the prophetical power attributed to the great primate by his admirers will be found in Dr. Elrington's life of Ussher, prefixed to his works, vol. i. pp. 22, 295–298.]

[x] [P. 48.]

word against it. A wondrous zealous man when he list; and when it pleases him, as cold as ice. Time was when these things were thought to be of most pernicious consequence: and it was one of the reasons given against the toleration which the Independents sought for, that "they professed reserves, and new lights, for which they will (no doubt) expect the like toleration, and so without any end[y]." Let them "move for toleration when once they are positively determined how far they mean to go, and where they mean to stay:" till then it is not seasonable. Thus they discoursed heretofore: but now—

N. C. You must consider that he may be ignorant of these things.

C. Or troubles not his thoughts about them. What though the new lights proved but flashes of lightning? it is all one to him, you may keep your windows still open. And this I remember was one flash of those hot-brained men: that the two witnesses[z] who are to do such wonders are Christ in flesh, and Christ in Spirit. Christ in flesh testifying in weakness and meanness; but Christ in Spirit testifying in more power and glory. And would you know who these are? Behold another flash: they are the saints, into whom the holy anointing runs through the flesh and Spirit of Christ. Christ in flesh hath much of the nature of the Old Testament: Christ in Spirit hath more of the New. But however, it is generally to be understood of the saints, who are the *two anointed ones*, Zach. iv., and the *two olive trees* rising out of the root of God——

N. C. I'll shut my ears, for they cannot away with such stuff.

C. And if Philagathus would shut his eyes too, it would be better for him. The eastern proverb gives him wiser counsel than W. B., not to open all the windows, but to shut them; for then the whole house will be full of light. If he would leave off hearing and telling of stories, and retire seriously into his own soul, it would inform him that he is too forward and bold; and that he ought to know more before he be a writer. Nay, he would find great reason, I believe, to suspect his sincerity, since he deals not his reproofs impartially when he hath

[y] Letter of the London Ministers to the Assembly, Jan. 1. 1645. p. 3. [Referred to in part i. vol. v. p. 325.]

[z] Some Flashes of lightning of the Son of man. Serm. 9. p. 195, &c. an. 1648. [By William Sedgwick. See p. 115 above.]

occasion, but can better endure to hear one man cry, "Open your windows for new light," than hear another only make an innocent reflection on that vanity.

N. C. I think he hath requited your conceit with his story of the link-boy and a man in black, p. 48.[a]

C. Good! He will bring up a new name for our ministers; 'the men in black.' Are not these excellent servants of Jesus Christ, holy men of God, that teach the people nicknames for us? What will please those who can neither endure the men in white, nor the men in black? Or what will reform those who, after they have been admonished of the foulness of this crime in others, and think they were too sharply rebuked for it, commit it impudently themselves?

N. C. He confesses with shame and sorrow that the common people have too much reproached your ministers as they went along the streets[b].

C. So much the more reason for a deeper blush, and greater confusion in his face, that he should still continue the reproaches. But mark, I pray, his base hypocrisy, (for I can make nothing else of it,) who will not forbear, even when he is confessing a sin with shame and sorrow, to make himself merry, and so to take away all sense of it. They should not have reproached them, saith he, "if they met them sober, and their present gesture was not bowing and reeling." What was this but to abate the edge of his reproof, and to make the guilty smile, when he should have made them cry? Reproof did I call it? No. He hath none for so petty a crime as this. It is but a trifle to call a good minister Baal's priest, black devil[c], (as one lately called an excellent person.) For this is all

[a] ["Here's fine abusing of a grave venerable divine; and you think at this time you are very witty; but I could tell you of a link-boy that to my thinking broke as good a jest as that; who offering his service to a man in black that went reeling along the streets in a dark night, (who he was I cannot tell,) he refused it, saying, that he was a light himself. Then, master, quoth the boy, I wish you were hung up at our alley gate, for there it is very dark. But this in answer to your merriment of hanging up the new lights. It should seem the boy was for an old one."]

[b] Page 239.

[c] [This expression, equally with its correlative White Devil, seems to have passed into vulgar use from the Dialogues of Pierre Viret, Calvin's coadjutor at Geneva, "Les Dialogues du Monde demonologique:" the second of which is the Dialogue des diables noirs, and the third the

he hath to say to it. It was and is "very uncomely" to reproach them when they meet them sober, &c. "Very uncomely!" O how mild and gentle the man is grown on a sudden! How cool and soft is his breath after all his blustering, as if he would not molest a feather! He is as tender as that gentleman who told us, "the main thing in which all God's people generally, from the highest to the lowest, have been too unskilful, is denying itself, and contemning those allurements of gain which puff up the mind of men with boasting and vainglory [d]:" or as those that said the Brownists, who had fallen into a damnable schism, (as I told you the last time [e],) were a little overshot in some matters. Alas for them! that they should be such shrewd men at getting money, and so unskilful in self-denial! Verily it is a defect. It is not well that they have gone so far from the church of God. Nor is it a comely thing that his ministers should be reviled. No; it is very uncomely. "They ought to have passed them by civilly [f]:" indeed they ought. But how if they do not? Why, they may be saints for all that, as far as I can perceive, only not so mannerly as he wishes they were. Or if they be not, they may think themselves to be so, notwithstanding any thing this gentleman hath to say, who dares not displease them. And here, if you observe it, he hath given us a notable proof of his disingenuity and spiteful folly, in thrusting into his book so many idle stories, whose authors we know not where to find, and of which he himself hath no assurance. "I could tell you," saith he, "of a link boy," &c. Could tell us! What? more than he hath told us? No. "Who he was," saith he, "I cannot tell [g]." A pretty piece of hypocrisy; to make a show as if he would not

Dialogue des diables blancs.—8vo, Gen. 1561. Of the latter a translation was published by Day and Seres, "The Dialogue of White Devils," to which allusion has been previously made, vol. v. pp. 465, 639.]

[d] Short Discourse concerning the work of God in this Nation, 1659. p. 5. ["A Short Discourse concerning the work of God in this Nation, and the duty of all good people, both governors and governed, in this their day. London, (4to,) printed by R. W., for Francis Tyton at the sign of the Three Daggers in Fleet Street, 1659." A short anonymous tract written by some moderate churchman and royalist in the middle of the year, in prospect of the approaching restoration.]

[e] Out of Mr. Gifford, p. 329 of the Continuation. [vol. i. p. 616.]

[f] P. 240 of his Answer.

[g] Ibid. p. 48.

tell a story, and in that very breath to tell as much of it as he knows. And a fine way of writing falsely, to blot paper with stories taken up in the streets, of he cannot tell whom. One of M. Bucer's Pharisees I see is revived, that "easily believes tales, and having rashly believed them, loves to spread and scatter them abroad[h]." And he is so much the worse, because when he distrusts them, yet he will not stick to report them. I shall not meddle with the private stories, notoriously false, which he hath helped to blow about, (though if he go on at the rate he hath begun, he may be brought in danger of the statute against the spreaders of false news:) you may find another absurd passage in his book, p. 266, which he dares not affirm upon his word. For it was "used," he saith, "if I mistake not, by one of your preachers: and it was this, or to this effect, &c." I have discovered so many of his mistakes, that I can see no reason to believe it. It might be a preacher of your own who spoke those words, or he might not speak to that purpose, but some other. But "they say," (p. 292,) "they are reported," (p. 240,) if fame "may be trusted," (p. 244,) and such like authorities are brought as the strongest warrant he hath for his tales wherewith he abuses the people and slanders his neighbours. You may wonder indeed (as I find a great stickler[i] in the late times notably discoursing) that "religious people are so ready to catch and carry aspersions from man to man, and not have so much honesty and charity as first to be fully satisfied of the truth of that which they report; and that the taking away of men's good name should be thought no sin among them. But truly (saith he) I do not wonder at it; for where notional or verbal religion, which at best is but superstition, is author of that little shadow of goodness which possesses men, it is no marvel they have so little hold of themselves; for they want that innate, imbred virtue which makes men good men; that pure and undefiled religion, which truly denominates them good Christians, and which only gives strength against temptations of this nature." This is the great defect of your Philagathus, who hath so little even of that innate

[h] Continuation. [vol. i. p. 581.]

[i] Fountain of Slander discovered, 1649. p. 8. by W. Walwyn, ['merchant: with some passages concerning his present imprisonment in the Tower of London, published for satisfaction of friends and enemies.']

honesty which is in many men short of Christianity, that he doth far worse things than those which displease him in others. He finds fault with me for looking so far back as 1642, and that when there was a good cause for it, and when I quoted good and undoubted authorities: but he most basely drags in a vagrant story[j], which his ignorant readers may think to be piping hot (as he speaks in another place) out of the pulpit, when in truth it is so old that he knows not the original of it. For the "crocodile of time," and the "dog of the discourse," were laughed at long before he saw the university. With such stories, I doubt not, he is able to furnish us without any number, though we had not his word for it; every boy can do as much. And rather than fail, he, for his part, is so unworthy, that he will stoop to believe libels, and thence increase the long list of his tales which he hath mustered up.

N. C. You wrong him surely, he cannot be so base.

C. It is as I tell you. Witness what he writes, p. 121. "It hath been said you have been teaching two year the reason why we are Christians, as if all the congregation had been infidels." This was said, the truth is, of a minister in the town (whom he, good man, all along takes for me) in a libel lately laid under the church Bible, as I have heard from those to whom this very gentleman hath reported it; and if you saw it all, it would be singular testimony how much some, at least, of your people improve in those great virtues of arrogance, self-conceit, wrath, bitterness and reviling; and how welcome such a reprover as this will be to them, who shall only whine and say, 'Verily, it is very uncomely,' you may easily imagine. For I am informed withal, that there are other lies there, and several expressions as modest and humble as those (and of the same nature) which one used in his prayer in the beginning of the late wars before the minister of the parish, "Good Lord, good Lord, deliver this congregation from this man who is unlearned, unpowerful, unprofitable:" or as these, "O Lord, thou knowest, good Lord, that we never had the truth preached among us until now"———

[j] Page 140. ["As that coxcomb said in his pulpit, (and how many such stories could I requite you with for your abuses of T. W. and W. B.?) I say, with such convenient brevity, that as that coxcomb said, the crocodile of time may not eat up the dog of your discourse."]

N. C. Now you are going to tell us the faults of our prayers. "But sir, if you would not be thought to be a perfect atheist, if you would not contract a hundredfold so much odium as did he that wrote the Gangrene; if you would not have your name rot and stink among all good men throughout all generations; if you would not"———

C. Pray spare your conjurations, (a lurry[k] of which I remember in his book[l],) for they are of no efficacy at all. I am far from thinking you the only good men that must embalm our names, or else they rot and stink. That is a proud imagination of your own, which will never enter in my thoughts. "Are you the great chamberlains of the house of God?" as the bishop of Galloway[m] speaks, "are all the vessels of honour in it committed to your custody? are you keepers of the book of life, wherein the names of the heirs of grace are all registered? have you the balance of the sanctuary, or is the fan put into your hands to separate chaff and corn? speak no more so presumptuously, and let no such arrogance come out of your mouth, lest it prove true upon you which St. Austin hath to Parmenian; 'because you have lost patience, and make haste before the time to separate chaff and corn, accounting at your pleasure some men abominable and some approved, you have declared yourselves to be but chaff, and most light chaff, carried out of the compass of charity by the wind of your own pride[n].'" But be what you please, know that I despise your proud vaunts, and am not afraid of your big and scornful looks; I matter not your hatred, nor regard your rash and supercilious censures. As for the odious names wherewith you brand us, they are but a trifle in my account. I have other reasons to keep me from such employment, about which I never had so much as one thought.

N. C. Not a thought? He saith, "there is a book coming out supposed to be yours, consisting of a collection of nonsense and blasphemy, said to have fallen from some men's prayers[o]."

[k] ["A disturbance or tumult,"—Halliwell; "Acervus rerum confusaneus, merx vilis, res frivola et futilis,"—Skinner. Belg. *Leure, Leurery.*]

[l] Page 100, 101.

[m] Defence of his Apology, p. 44. [See p. 47, above.]

[n] [Patientiam isti miseri perdiderunt, et festinantes se ante tempus velut a paleis separare, se ipsos esse levissimam paleam vento ablatam de area demonstrarunt.—S. Aug. contr. Epist. Parmen. lib. iii. cap. 5. §. 27. tom. ix. col. 75 A.]

[o] [P. 100.]

C. I know nothing of it, no more than himself; but whatsoever he hears, supposes, or imagines, must down presently in print. And that's the way to make great books in an instant, and likewise to raise great wrath in the people's hearts against me, out of mere surmises.

N. C. You have shown your inclination this way by what you have told me just now.

C. You show your ignorance; those are passages in print already, which you may find in a book[p] of Mr. Ephraim Paget's, who tells you the first of them was uttered in his own pulpit, and in his presence, concerning himself. And I could send you two other books, where from good authority you may find many more. But I hate the way of this scribbler, who relates stories that have nobody to be their vouchers, for it is a course neither wise nor honest. Who is there that cannot invent a thousand out of his own head, if he be so minded? And how shall the people know that the truest are not mere devices, when they know not so much as the person who reports them? If I had been guilty of such a fault (who have referred you to authors in print for all the matters of fact that I have related) he would have told me of it on both ears, and cried out, as he doth upon the occasion of something which he saith I did but insinuate, "Show me such a thing in print, or quote me such a passage out of their sermons[q]." But he hath one rule for himself, and another for other folk. We must write out of books in print, but he from news-merchants or his own imagination, never considering that we are not so dull or unacquainted with the world, but if we list we can give him, as they say, a Rowland for his Oliver; nay, repay him with such stories, I assure him, and those so well attested, as shall make every vein in his heart to ache. Let him put it to the trial, if he please to go on at this rate: for the present I will let him alone, and only follow him to hear what he hath further to say out of his Apocrypha; for certain and authorized histories he hath none. "It

[p] Hæresiography, p. 66. [p. 65. ed. 5. 4to, Lond. 1654. He is speaking of the sect of the Brownists, and their dislike to set forms of prayer.]

[q] Page 81. ["You insinuate as if the Non-conformists 'did make it one note of a man converted, that though he have a great many faults, yet he is wrought to antipathy to bishops, common prayer, cassocks, girdles, &c.'"—See part i. of the Friendly Debate, vol. v. p. 304.]

is thought," saith he to me[r], "that you yourself in those days (for some reason that is suggested,) had not so great a zeal against all that which some men call sacrilege as now you pretend to have, and were so far from reproving others for it, that"——What's the matter now that he makes a stop? Is he choked with his tale, and doth it give him the lie in his throat? Or is this a wicked art he hath, of telling half a spiteful story, and reserving the rest, that the people may make it up with what they please?

N. C. He speaks not confidently, but only tells you it is "thought from something that is suggested," &c.

C. So it was thought, and more than suggested, that a right reverend person kept a great deal of the poor's money in his hand, when he never so much as fingered it. If the father of lies suggest things, will you presently divulge them and send them abroad? Nay, must your evil surmisings be made so public as to be put in print?

N. C. That I confess was ill done.

C. It had not been so bad if he had told you all that was thought, and the reasons upon which it was suggested; but now he leaves everybody to think all the evil of me that their ill nature can invent. As they will suppose from his words, (who never guesses aright,) that I was a reprover of others in those days, (when the truth is I was then but a boy, newly come from school,) so they will be apt to imagine I was, at least, an applauder of that which I now condemn. But "the most quick-sighted of that lying faction" (I hope I may have leave to use those words of a very great person[s]) will never be able to find the time, the place, the man or woman, when, where, and before whom I signified the least approbation of so great a crime, as I always accounted it. Let Philag. himself, when he hath more knowledge of me, be sent to all the places where I have lived, to trace my steps; and when he returns, let him put the worst he can hear of me in print, I shall not blush to read it.

[r] Page 82.

[s] His highness prince Rupert in his Declaration. 1642. p. 3. ["And I openly dare the most valiant and quick-sighted of that lying faction to name the time, the person, or the house, where any child or woman lost but so much as a haire of their heads by me, or any of our soldiers."—Prince Rupert his Declaration, Oxford, printed by Leonard Lichfield, printer to the university, 1642.]

N. C. You are very confident.

C. Not that I shall escape all slanders, for I have already met with good store: and have been admonished also to expect them, if ever I went about to promote any public good, or to remove any old or newly settled evil. This everybody can teach us, it is so common. "Let such a man" (saith one of the late times[t]) "resolve that according to the good he would do, so shall his aspersions be. Nor let him think, when time and his constant actions have worn out one, or two, or ten aspersions, that he shall be therefore free: but if he continue to mind their good, he shall be sure to find new ones, such as he never dreamt of nor could imagine." Such an one is this now cast upon me by Philag., who snarls at my heels very often, and would fain fasten if he could; but now barks perfectly in the dark, (as a worthy person somewhere speaks,) without the help of moonshine to direct him in his snarling. He may as well accuse me of witchcraft, as of any thing of that nature; or say that I worship the man in the moon, for it is as true as that I so much as favoured any thing that any men call sacrilege.

N. C. He "cries you mercy, if he be misinformed," Ibid. p. 82.

C. Let him ask mercy of God, and repent of such gross hypocrisy as makes him wantonly play with a man's good name; and when he hath abused it, think he hath made amends with a word, saying, "I cry you mercy, sir," &c.

N. C. Have you not spoken concerning others?

C. Not without good ground, and great cause; to vindicate ourselves from their proud contempt, and the odious name of time-servers, and to take from them that unjust reputation which they affect, of being more knowing and more godly than all others.

N. C. You "might have put a more candid construction upon their silence about sacrilege[u]."

C. He can tell me nothing to alter my opinion, but only that "it is possible their silence might spring from no other cause but this, that they had not the same notions and apprehensions concerning sacrilege as some have; or that they did think that church lands would not have been so disposed of as they

[t] Fountain of Slander discovered. [p. 3. by William Walwyn, see p. 133, above.] [u] Ib. p. 82.

were," &c. A very doughty champion! To have such an extraordinary motion to undertake your defence, and to be able to perform so little when he comes to the business, is a very great shame.

N. C. Why? Is this nothing?

C. What doth it amount to? It is possible there were other causes; and it is possible I have hit on the right; and more than that, it is possible he may think so when I have told him the unlikelihood of his. Did they not know how many people had of a long time gaped for the remnant of the church revenues? Were they not informed by one of their own authors in queen Elizabeth's time, that too many of their scholars coveted and craved them with great hunger? "While they hear us speak," saith the author of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, "against bishops and cathedral curches, it tickles their ears, looking for the like prey they had before of the monasteries. Yea, they have in their hearts already devoured the church's inheritance. They care not for religion, so they may get the spoil. They could be content to crucify Christ, so they might have his garments. Our age is full of spoiling soldiers, and most wicked Dionysius's, who will rob Christ of his golden coat, as neither fit for him in winter nor summer. They are cormorants, and seek to fill the bottomless sack of their greedy appetite. They do yawn after a prey, and would thereby to their perpetual shame purchase to themselves a field of blood[x]." Thus T. C. more sharply inveighed against

[x] It is quoted in bishop (then only doctor) Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross. [Feb. 9. on John iv. 1.] 1588. p. 9. [p. 24. ed. 1637. Hickes' Tracts, p. 264.] Who admonished them elsewhere, that by their outcries they might farther impoverish the church, but they should be sure to be little better for it. [He thus concludes his observations 'on the charge to be imposed upon every parish by means of the eldership,' referring to the numerous hierarchy contemplated under the new puritan discipline;—"If any parish in England should aske my counsell, whether I thought they might safely enter into such a present charge for the maintenance of so many pastors, doctors, elders, deacons, widdowes, ministers' wives, their children, and poor students of divinitie; in hope that all the saide church livings should be bestowed for their ease upon such their church officers: I should say unto them (if I spoke my conscience) that I myselfe am far from anie such cogitation. No, no, for all the outcries that the Disciplinarians make that all the church-livings might bee emploide to the maintenance of them and their elderships; well they may procure in some other age, the fur-

the wickedness of some who then followed them than I have done against any now[y]. He made bold to say the age was full of such irreligious men as I think abound now; and yet I must be thought wicked, ungodly, and malicious, for such a supposal, and he, no doubt, a zealous reprover of sin. But let that pass. This so early and open declaration of the evil spirit that then ruled in the enemies of bishops should have taught and admonished all your ministers, one would think, in such a tumultuous and audacious age as ours, to take all occasions to warn men against such wickedness. For that the chief of them esteemed it so, I make no doubt; whatsoever this ignorant apologist surmises. Mr. Richard Vines, I remember, very honestly gave the parliament a touch of it, by citing (in a sermon not printed) a place concerning sacrilege out of Mr. Hildersham on Psalm li. But he tells Mr. Baxter, in a letter to him[z], that it did not please; and adds withal, that "most are of opinion, that while the church lies so unprovided for, the donations are not alienable without sacrilege." And therefore it is most probable the annotators were of that mind; and so should have endeavoured at least to prevent the further growth of this profaneness by some cautions against it; if not told that high court (with the freedom and plainness which they seem to affect) what the lord Bacon hath said[a]: viz. that the parliament of England owes some satisfaction for the many in-

ther impoverishing of the church, but they shall sure to be little the better for it."—Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, chap. 20. p. 233.]

[y] ["For thei thinking that we seeke only that the bishoppes might be put downe, waite for the like praie by the putting downe as they had sometimes at the overthrowe off the abbais. For as for religion, they care not what become off it, so they may waxe welthie by sacriledge and robbery. And would not stick iff it were possible to crucifie Christ againe, that they might caste lottes for his coate and divide his garments amonges them. For this our age hathe many suche souldiours, many suche as Denis the king or rather the tyranne of Syracuse was, who think that a golden gowne is not fit for God, neither in summer, neither in winter, and yet that it will serve them well at all tymes and seasons."—A Full and Plaine Declaration off Ecclesiastical Discipline, &c. p. 124. translated by Cartwright from the Latin of Travers, 4to, Lond. 1574.]

[z] [Dated London, July 20.] Which he printed upon another occasion in his third Disputation about church government and worship, p. 350. [4to, Lond. 1659.]

[a] [Of the Pacification of the Church.—Works, vol. vii. p. 95.]

juries and unjust oppressions formerly done by them to the church; and therefore should be far from going about to increase that debt. There was a pious man, one Mr. Udal[b], that ventured an undoing in this cause; being sequestered, and, more than that, put into the first century of scandalous ministers, for writing a book called *Noli me tangere:* "In which," saith Mr. White[c], "he charges the parliament with sacrilege." This was all they had to say against him; together with these words, that he affirmed the great reformers of the church now were hypocrites; (for as for the last clause, that "he otherways expressed great malignity against the parliament," it was but a form, you know, then in use, when they had nothing against a man that deserved such cruel usage.) Whether he said the latter words or no, I know not, but I am sure he is falsely charged with the former: for he did not say the parliament was guilty of sacrilege, as appears by the book itself, which I have read[d]. He only shows the danger of this sin, and what judgments have fallen upon those who were guilty of it, even upon sacrilegious princes. And his instances are such as might have given his majesty more just reason of anger than the parliament: of whom he only says this; that no man should think the nature of the sin altered, if the alienation of church lands be done by a national assembly of the estates in parliament: and desires them rather to think it a worthy work and befitting a parliamentary reformation, to restore the tithes to the proper owners, than taking away the residue of their lands. Gravely praying withal to God, that

[b] Minister at St. Austin's Gate.

[c] Cent. 1. Example 22. [p. 9. See vol. v. p. 489.]

[d] Printed 1642. ["Noli me tangere: or a thing to be thought on," a tract written in 1642 against sacriledge or the alienation of church lands, tithes, &c. then in contemplation. Other writings of Udal are Τὸ πρέπον εὐχαριστικὸν, i. e. "Communion Comelinesse: wherein is discovered the conveniency of the people's drawing neere to the table in the sight thereof when they receive the Lord's Supper: with the great unfitfulnesse of receiving it in pewes in London, for the novelty of high and close pewes; the former way of receiving tending to edification by the sacrament, the latter to destruction thereof."—4to, Lond. 1641.

He is also said to have been the author of "Directions propounded and humbly presented to the high court of parliament, concerning the booke of Common Prayer, and Episcopal Government: written by a reverend and learned divine, now resident in London;"—4to, Oxf. 1642.]

"he would grant them wisdom to see the injustice and impiety of the people's desires this way, who for the most part are led by wicked passions and distempers, rather than by reason and religion." But it seems it was so dangerous a thing then only to name the word *sacrilege* with abhorrence, that the poor man lost his living, and his good name too, (and suffered otherways most lamentably,) for desiring them to have no hand in it; and praying God the ungodly desires of the people might not hurry them to that, to which perhaps they had no inclination of themselves. This was enough to terrify all that had not great integrity and courage from meddling in this matter———

N. C. In which I wish Philagathus had not meddled, but let it pass; for it doth but make you bring out old stories which I love not to hear of.

C. Then you think, belike, that it was very discreetly done of him to pass over so great a part of my book as he hath left untouched, and only snapped at it here and there; though, I must confess, I look upon this as a part of his disingenuity and partiality. For why did he not plainly confess the truth of what I said in many places, and pray you to reform? Why did he not bewail the folly wherewith this poor nation is overrun by your new invented phrases[e]? the kicking of your people against reproof[f]; their reviling of Common Prayer; their bold pretence to familiarity with God, when they only let their tongue loose without any restraint; their unreasonable antipathies to a form of prayer; their headiness, and ungoverned passion; their conceit of themselves and their own gifts; their rash censures and gross superstition; their contempt of governors, and malapertness toward their superiors, the licentiousness of their tongues, and rejoicing in iniquity, their appropriating to themselves the name of godly, their murmuring, impatience, wicked and scandalous reports of bishops without any foundation; with a great heap of other things, which this brisk gentleman very nimbly and confidently skips over? It seems, your people have no list, or leisure, to think of these matters. There are higher and more glorious discoveries to

[e] Pp. 34, 35 of Friendly Debate. [Part. i. vol. v. p. 291.]

[f] Pp. 17, 18, [vol. v. p. 279,] the rest you will easily find.

take up their thoughts; and they leave this dull, low morality to us. The slaying of the witnesses, the downfall of Babylon, the calling of the Jews, &c., are fit subjects for their meditation, not these poor things which concern their duty. Thus Mr. Greenham observed long ago [g]; "It is often the policy of the devil to make men travail in some good things to come, when more fitly they might be occupied in good things present." And "experience," saith he, "teacheth, that many meddle with the matters of the church, who are senseless and barren in the doctrine of the new birth."

In one thing indeed I must commend his ingenuity, in that he fairly acknowledges they break his majesty's law to get a living[h]. This is an honest confession; and thus far he did well in not excusing the business with a company of religious phrases. If he had also told us that a great reason of his writing against me was to get a little money, I believe he had come nearer the truth, than when he tells us of his zeal for God. But he could not hold long in a good mood: for he is so kind and good-natured to his own party, that he thinks not only fear of wanting a maintenance, but want of good company fit for a scholar is sufficient to warrant their breach of the law[i]; and at last he talks also of "opportunities of doing good," as if there were no opportunities but only in prohibited places. Nay, he asserts this most pernicious principle, that they are not bound to obey the laws unless they be forced[k]; that is, not for conscience, no nor for fear of wrath, but when justice lays hold of them, and is too strong for them.

N. C. Why? Do you read that Christ left Nazareth till they rose up and thrust him out of the city? Luke iv. 29, &c.[l]

C. Nor do we find there was any law against Christ's being at Nazareth. Why do you not blush at this vile and beggarly way of arguing? Do the novices he talks of, "that come frisking into the pulpit with the shells on their heads[m]," ever discourse thus weakly? Is it easy to find a boy of any parts that would reason after this childish fashion? If he reason no better in his sermons than he doth in his writings, God help the people that are instructed by him. They are like to be abused even by the

[g] Fifth part of his works, chap. 74. p. 797. [fol. Lond. 1612.]
[h] Read p. 5.
[i] P. 7.
[k] P. 6. of the book, and preface, p. 14.
[l] Ib. p. 6.
[m] P. 284.

holy Scripture, and to have many an untruth confidently imposed on them, with the word of God to avouch it; and therefore had better, a great deal, be taught by one of those striplings, if humble and modest, than by this bold frisking senior.

N. C. I am convinced of the impertinency of this quotation.

C. And what doth the rest of his discourse in that place amount unto but this; that when men have no temptation to break a law, he hath nothing to plead in their behalf; but when they have, (though it be but small, as the want of good company, or the like,) he desires they may be excused? An excellent casuist! By this device all the world may be saved; for what man is there that sins without a temptation? And, if men may break laws for fear of want, I pray, what shall become of living by faith on God's providence, which he would have us think you commend as much as we, when there is no visible means of subsistence? What did our Saviour mean by taking up our cross, a doctrine I put you in mind of at the very first, but which he cunningly slips over? Might not the old Nonconformists have used the same plea that he doth, and have preached till their mouths, as we say, were sewed up? Or, were they ignorant of their Christian liberty? And have you received a new light whereby you see a man is free from laws when he is in straits, and need not observe them to his own inconvenience, unless he be compelled by force and violence? Well, I see what value such men as these set upon the peace of the Church of God, who care not how it is distracted, so they may be but sure to be maintained. They have lost the spirit of the old Christians, who chose to endure any thing rather than a breach should be made in the body of Christ. The words of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, in his letter to Novatian, (called there Novatus,) are very remarkable, as I find them alleged by the professors and doctors of Aberdeen[m] to the ministers that came to urge the Covenant upon their people. "You ought rather to have suffered any thing whatsoever, for avoiding of cutting

[m] Duplies 1638, p. 11. out of Euseb. l. 6. Hist. Eccles. c. 45. [Ἔδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἀδοξοτέρα τῆς ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ εἰδωλολατρῆσαι γινομένης ἡ ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ σχίσαι μαρτυρία, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ μείζων. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μιᾶς τις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας μαρτυρεῖ.—p. 318.]

asunder the Church of God; and martyrdom for keeping the church from schism is no less glorious than that which is suffered for not committing idolatry; and in my opinion also it is greater, for in suffering martyrdom for not committing idolatry, a man suffereth for one, even for his own soul; but here a man suffers martyrdom for the whole church." Mr. Calamy also, I remember, prefixes his sentence out of St. Cyprian to a sermon of his before the lords[n]; "We prefer the peace of the church before martyrdom. It is worse to make a schism in the church than to sacrifice to an idol." And in his Dedicatory Epistle to them he cites this passage out of Ruffinus[o], that Nazianzen, seeing there was like to be a great disturbance unless he yielded up his place to another, broke out into this speech; "God forbid that for my cause any differences should arise among the ministers of God: if this tempest be raised for my cause, take me and throw me into the sea, that so it may cease." But there is an easier way to martyrdom discovered now by the great Philagathus, who teaches men to do as they list, that is, to break the laws, and keep separated meetings where they think good, and yet they shall be martyrs; and he is able to write their martyrology.

N. C. Those must pass for careless words.

C. I think he doth not mind very much what he writes, for if he did, he would not have left such an odious character of you as he hath done.

N. C. Of whom?

C. Of such as you, who have no more love and gratitude to those who have served you, than to suffer them to be in such straits as tempts them to sin against God. What strange creatures doth he make you by this discourse! Are your people

[n] Decemb. 25, 1644. ["Pacem ecclesiæ martyrio præferimus...Pejus est scindere ecclesiam quam sacrificare idolo," is the passage quoted from S. Cyprian, prefixed to "An indictment against England, because of her self-murdering divisions: together with an exhortation to an England-preserving unity and concord: presented in a sermon preached before the right honourable house of lords in the Abby Church at Westminster, at the late solemne fast, December 25, 1644, by Edmund Calamy, B. D., and pastor of Aldermanbury, in London,"—4to, Lond. 1645.]

[o] L. 2. c. 9. ["Absit, inquit, ut mei causa aliqua simultas in Dei sacerdotibus oriatur. Si propter me est ista tempestus, tollite me, et mittite me in mare, et desinet a vobis quassatio."—p. 249.]

grown so bad (after you have extolled them so much) that they will not relieve a poor helpless minister, unless he will break the laws for their humour? Will they do nothing for them in remembrance of their old services? Are they so hard-hearted that they have no pity on the poor, no, not those of the sacred profession? and the honester and more conscientious they are, shall they find the less favour? O wicked generation! Those you account ungodly, I am confident would be more charitable. A number of our people would have pitied and relieved them, I am sure, if they had taken the same course that their forefathers did. I profess myself one of those that would have cheerfully succoured such good men, who meekly suffered for conscience sake. This would have made a friendly agreement between us, and rendered them men worthy to be beloved. And when our governors had seen them do all the laws require as far as they could, and not crossing them when they could not obey them; it might perhaps have inclined them to hearken to motions of accommodation, which is not to be hoped for, I am sure not to be desired by bold violation of the laws, and high contempt of our governors.

But I must not let him pass on this fashion. He hath made such a long declamation about their straits, that I must ask you, "Did you know what it was heretofore to have a wife and a great many young children, and nothing wherewithal to maintain them?" (they are his own words[p] which I use, to let him see his boldness in mentioning such things.) "This, sir, let me tell you, was the case of several ministers," who were worse used than any man is now. For they were not barely turned out of their places, and, as his great friend[q] assures us, "spoiled of their houses, goods, and revenues, under the name of sequestration, but shut up divers years in close prisons and dungeons, in ships also, even in the heats of summer; and there without hearing of their cause, or any accusation preferred against them, macerated with nastiness, fastings, and watchings." Who was there then allowed to contrive oaths in their own words, which this man desires? And were they not debarred the benefit of teaching the children of their friends? (a very

[p] Page 5.

[q] Dr. Bate, Elench. motuum, 1. part. p. 59. [p. 54. ed. 8vo, Lond. 1676.]

contemptible office in this gentleman's account[r],) and banished also out of whole counties, (and not merely sent five mile from a place,) as I told you heretofore[s], but he would not be pleased to observe it?

N. C. Good sir, tell us not these sad stories over again; we are sensible of what you say, and sorry for it.

C. If you be, I will forbear to give you such a list of suffering ministers as you do not think of. But why doth this man so audaciously affirm that their sufferings were not so great as really they were; and make the world believe that now your ministers suffer such things, that it is to be lamented with tears of blood?

N. C. "You bid the Non-conformists show what hath befallen them that should deserve the name of hard usage, p. 27 of your book[t]."

C. It should be p. 217. And here now begins his lying and juggling (of which you shall hear more afterward, if you will be so patient). For I said "that deserves the name of *persecution*, and such persecution as is grievous, nay intolerable[u]." Consider, I beseech you, what you are to think of such a man as this. Will you take him to be either so conscientious or so wise as he would persuade the world he is, who boldly changes the words of a book, which he tells you is known "in court, city, country, and universities[v]?" One would think he is past feeling in these matters, and cares not what he doth, if he can but promote the cause, and make the ignorant believe my book is answered.

N. C. He was willing, he tells you, to decline the word *persecution*.

C. Was he so? He should have declined also the falsifying of books, and the altering other men's words, (especially in such a case as that which we debated,) which he should first of all have sincerely represented, and then said what he pleased. But instead of this he impudently chops and changes my words more than once, all after as he thinks good. "You say (these are his words, p. 246.) the Non-conformists do but fancy them-

[r] P. 21. "It would make your heart bleed to see them serve as poor pedagogues."

[s] Friendly Debate, p. 219. [Part i. vol. v. p. 419. Comp. part ii. p. 468.

[t] So he writes, p. 231.

[u] [Vol. v. p. 417.]

[v] Page 292.

selves to be great sufferers:" which he had said before also, p. 231. And if you look further, he will tell you that I manifestly affirm they have no cause to complain of any hard things which they suffer at this day," p. 250. And in one or two places my words are dwindled into these, " You can tell them, they do but fancy themselves to be under sufferings," p. 248[w]. And yet my words were, " Since you fancy you are persecuted when you are not," &c. p. 190, 237[x]. So he is contented to report them in one place[y], and no more, that I can observe: for though he declines the word as much as he can, he plainly signifies that he believes the thing, telling us upon this occasion of their being martyrs, and of a martyrology he could write, as I before noted. But to pass by this fraudulent way of writing, which he is often guilty of; let you and I debate this business together, if you please.

N. C. With all my heart: for it aches when I think of what he saith of their sufferings.

C. But you must give me leave to note before we enter upon it, that the nature of man is very apt to complain, and none more than yourselves: who, I have always observed, are a very delicate and nice sort of people, that make a lamentable noise if all things go not after your mind; nay, put the finger in eye, and cry *Persecution*, upon very small causes. And therefore we must not be too forward to believe all that this man tells us.

N. C. You make them like little children, that cry before they be hurt.

C. They partake very much of the quality of little ones in that particular: who are so tender that they cannot endure so much as the scratch of a pin. They must have all their desires granted, and not be restrained in the least of their liberty; otherwise all the nation shall ring with the doleful noise of Persecution, antichristian persecution. Immediately your people fancy they prophesy in sackcloth, and are in a sackcloth condition, and carried into the wilderness; even those who live in as good houses, and wear as good camlets, fine cloth, and silks, as anybody else. For which I can find no cause, but the high esteem they have of themselves, which makes them look upon all the favours which are done them as small:

[w] And in the Preface, p. 31. [x] [Vol. v. pp. 400, 431.] [y] P. 237.

and any the least cross as exceeding great. What! the precious "sons and daughters of Sion" to be thus used! "Is it not a sad thing that they should be persecuted to the very gates of Sion, yea, into the very gates of their trade?"——

N. C. I shall not endure this language.

C. It is your own[z]: but if you will not hear it, I will let it alone.

N. C. And all your stories which you are going to tell.

C. There was a book[a], indeed, which told us of many persons "who suffered in extremity, and others like to do more, for their non-comportment with the Presbyterian way; though they judged the same to be manifestly sinful and altogether repugnant to the word." Do you believe this complainer?

N. C. No, no. They call any little thing suffering in extremity———

C. And why should we not think that Philagathus is of the same humour now, since others———

N. C. I pray come to the business, and tell me no more of these stories.

C. I will omit the most displeasing to you, and only tell you, as a proof of this complaining humour, that there was a party in the late usurper's days who talked as loudly as Phil. can do of the persecution of the saints, the crucified cause of Jesus; and said that the rulers, priests, and soldiers had gotten Christ upon the cross once more, through the high treason of the Judases of the times. And what was the matter, think you? nothing but this; a few persons were secured, and some were cut short as they tell you, in their liberties[b]. Nay, so grievous it was to some to be crossed and contradicted and brought a little lower in the world than they were; that they would not only tumble the whole nation upside down, but go cross even

[z] W. B. Seasonable Truths, p. 113. [Serm. iv. Works, vol. iii. p. 354.] and others.

[a] Army Harmless, p. 2. ["The Army harmlesse: or a dispassionate and sober discussion of the late and present proceedings of the Army, under the command of his excellencie, Sir Thomas Fairfax, &c." —anon. Lond. 4to, 1647.]

[b] Image of our Reforming times. Pref. p. 45. an. 1654. ["The Image of our reforming times, or Jehu in his proper colours," &c. by Col. Edw. Lane of Hampinnulo, with a prefatory letter from John Rogers, dated "from the mount of the Lord, in my prison, (for my Christ,) at Lambeth house, 2 day, 6 month."]

to their own public professions, rather than not have their wills. For this, I remember, was the plea of those who turned their masters out of doors, (after they had called themselves a few days before, and seemed to take a pleasure in styling themselves the faithful servants, the faithful army of this parliament,) that if it were not done, it would be the undoing of some families. And how many, think you, were they, for whom all that noise and bustle and confusion was made? Some officers of the army tell you that, in these words[c], "We are not ignorant of the great argument why this parliament was interrupted. What! must nine families be undone at once?" No, by no means. Have a care of such precious creatures, and deal tenderly with them; those nine may be more worth than all the nation beside, at least have a better opinion of themselves, and therefore what is there to be considered so much as their concerns?

N. C. I have heard enough of this, unless it were better. Now to the purpose.

C. This is much to the purpose, for you see what a stir some men are apt to make if they be in danger to be less than they were before, and how much they prefer the satisfaction of a few before the public tranquillity. Such men you may be sure will murmur and repine when they are brought down indeed; as thinking they receive a great injury when they are not in place of power and dignity, and are used hardly when they do not rule and govern us.

N. C. But this is nothing to those who have lost all.

C. But it shows that we must not presently believe men's condition so bad as their complaints represent it. For those nine would not have been undone, if they had lost the places they then held. And I must tell you, it hath been an old trick, as to multiply the numbers of those who are disaffected to the religion and government established, so to magnify their sufferings. They have always made a grievous moan, and cried

[c] Humble Representation [of some officers of the army] to the Lieutenant General [Fleetwood] Nov. 9. 1659. p. 7. [Signed by Cols. Herbert Morley, Thomas Sanders, John Okey, Mathew Alured, and Henry Markham; John Streater, Comptroller of the Ordnance, Lieut. Col. William Farley, Major Arthur Evelyn, and Nathaniel Barton.]

out of hard and cruel dealing, if but a little punished, that they might move the pity of the people towards themselves, and their hatred towards their governors. Thus Campian, I remember, exclaimed and complained of the queen's rigour in putting him twice upon the rack, which, he said, was worse than hanging, (just as Philagathus saith, "burning of them is a shorter suffering than starving," p. 80,) whenas he had rather seen than felt that punishment, as the lieutenant of the tower told him; being able, after he came from it, to go to his lodging without help, and use his hand in writing, and all other parts of his body, which he could not have done had he been put to that punishment with any such extremity as he spoke of. But what will not bold men say, especially such men as he? whose impudence (as Mr. Alex. Nowel, and others, told him) was very great in charging her majesty's government with cruelty, when the authors and professors of his religion had so horribly tormented many for the maintenance of ours[d]. The very same, you cannot but see, may be said to your complainer, who treads in the same steps, and magnifies, as the worth, so the sufferings of some men, as if the like was never heard of. Burning is as merciful, or rather more, than that condition of which they are in danger———

N. C. Come, do not repeat his words, but confute them if you can.

C. First then, let us note where your Philagathus makes ministers' sufferings and hard usage to begin, and that is, at the king's restoration.

N. C. No sure.

C. It is clear from the place where he computes the number of sufferers after his fashion[e], and supposes that "the cold dew of an ejection fell upon two thousand Non-conformist ministers, at and before Bartholomew-tide, 1622;" which he explains in his preface, (though it needed not,) where he tells us "they have been out, and so thousands of souls starved for want of the sin-

[d] A true report of the disput[ation or rather private conference] had in the tower with Edm. Campian, Aug. the last, 1581, [set downe by the reverend learned men themselves that dealt therein,] printed 1583. [Dated Jan. 1. 1583. (1584 N. S.) The conference was conducted by Alexander Nowel, dean of S. Paul's, and William Day, dean of Windsor.]

[e] Page 233.

cere milk of the word, almost ten years[f]. This is very dutifully done, to make their miseries commence with his majesty's happiness. And a marvellous honesty there is in this doctor's principles, who reckons their removal from other men's freeholds for a part of their hard usage, and tells us they were cast out of that which they ought to have freely restored. What is this but to justify all sequestrations?———

N. C. Not a word of that, I beseech you.

C. He plainly discovers those principles are in him which his majesty told us should be rooted up. But I am content now to examine the truth of his complaints concerning their great poverty, (though it will not prove, as you shall see, that they are hardly used,) and I would have you desire him to tell you how they agree with the boasts which one of them makes in a book called A Plea for ministers in Sequestrations[g], where we are told; "It is well known (that is to be observed) many of us need not, nor did need their estates for a subsistence. The greater number of us, (mark that[h],) through the mercy of God, could boast of as great birth, estates, friends, and offers of preferment, as they: we having many of us ourselves livings and preferments to bestow, and some bestowed upon deserving men." Of this he was very confident and well assured, else he would not have uttered these scornful words, "I pray God that we may never feel prelatical compassion to us and our families."

N. C. That was not very modestly said.

C. The rest of his words require Philagathus to shut his mouth a little, and not to gape so wide in his complaints; for a considerable number of the poor starved families he speaks

[f] Page 25.

[g] An 1660. p. 13. [Shortly after the restoration, and while the question of restoring to their livings those of the clergy who had been dispossessed during the rule of the parliament and the commonwealth, a pamphlet had been published by Robert Mossom, minister of St. Peter's, Paul's wharf, in the city of London, subsequently dean of Ch. Ch. Dublin, and bishop of Derry, pleading strongly their claims to restitution:—"An apology in the behalf of the sequestered clergy, presented to the high court of parliament."

The tract quoted by Patrick was written in reply to it by an anonymous author, himself apparently a holder of such preferment. It is entitled "A Plea for Ministers in Sequestrations, wherein Mr. Mossom's Apology for the sequestered clergy is duly considered and discussed."—4to, Lond. 1660.]

[h] For it answers his question, p. 7. "Where are those rich ejected ministers to be found?"—

of are cut off from the list by this swaggerer. As for those that remain, I have great cause to believe that he over-lashes very much, when he saith, there are "many hundreds of families that have hardly meat to fill their bellies, or clothes to cover their nakedness," and in short, are in such a condition, that "it is to be lamented with tears of blood[i]." Some, I believe, there are in a very mean condition, and so there are among the conforming clergy. But that there should be so many, and so miserable, as he speaks, we must have better authority to make us believe it than his word. Nay, it is not easy to believe (when we consider what he says elsewhere) that there are any at all. I rather look upon these grievous and doleful complaints as an easy art to draw the people's compassion to them, (as was said before,) and to raise their displeasure against their rulers who have reduced them to these straits. And that you may not think this is a new thing, I pray call to mind the clamours of some in the late times, when they could not have their will, and how disproportionable the cause was to the cry. Hear how the followers of John Lilburn mouthed it, in the "mournful cry (as they called it) of many thousand poor tradesmen ready to perish:[k]" "O that the cravings[l] of our stomachs could be heard by the parliament and city! O that the tears of our poor famishing babes were bottled! O that their tender mothers' cries for bread to feed them were engraven in brass! O that our pined carcases were opened to every eye! O, our hearts faint, and we are ready to swoon in the top of every street. O you members of parliament, O you rich men in the city,...O you soldiers, show bowels of mercy! O hear how our children cry Bread, bread, bread, and we now once more with bleeding hearts cry Pity, pity an oppressed enslaved people!" &c. One would think that these were the last groans of a dying multitude, and that in the next bills of mortality we should have heard of thousands starved or fallen down dead in the streets, since they found no relief; but they were alive, and alive like. They meant not to take their leave of the world yet, but stay to bellow on this manner; for which there was no cause at all but only this, that they could not have such liber-

[i] [Page 233.]

[k] Or the warning tears of the oppressed, 1647. [from the 'Declaration,' &c. pp. 52–5.]

[l] [Misprinted 'crowings' in the original impression of Patrick's work.]

ties for the people as they desired. This was the ground of their "mournful cry," which seemed to be written (as they told[m]) by some of the professors of rhetoric in Newgate or Ludgate, whose practice of that kind of oratory had made him as great a stranger to truth as to blushing." Such is the rhetoric of Philagathus, who tells us of "starving and famishing, rags and tatters, killing all the day long, and crucifying, tears of blood, and heart bleeding;" and repeats these as often[n] as they did their O, O, O; boldly affirming, or rather presuming, in general terms, without any particular proofs. For where are those starvelings and crucified persons? Where are the martyred or tattered creatures which will wring from us tears of blood? Why are they not brought forth to the view of some pitiful eye, as was then said? Spend no longer your breath, but let all this be seen; for the view gives deeper impression than mere hearsays. And when they are produced into open sight, we shall go near to set as many honest and worthy conformists before you, who by reason of their great charge or small maintenance, are in as mean a condition, and live as hardly as they. The truth is, this language of Philagathus (as that declaration said) "looks more like the ebullition of wine than the cry of want[o]:" and therefore sometime we find him in another tune, telling us, "that the people generally retain the same good thoughts of them that they did heretofore[p]." If so, why should they want now more than in time past, since good thoughts will keep up good affections, and those will open the heart, and that the purse?———

N. C. Ask me no questions: for I can say nothing positively in this matter.

C. Nor he neither: for all is built upon suppositions, as I told you. And you may further observe, that his "so many hundreds of families, of pious and learned ministers that have hardly meat," &c. p. 234, by that time he is got to p. 247 are dwindled into "the almost starved families of scores of Nonconformist ministers, pious and able," &c. When he hath better considered of it, he may come down to dozens, which is

[m] Declaration of John Lilburn, and some of his associates, 1648. page 56. [See the preceding page.]

[n] Preface, p. 25. Book, p. 21, 46, 80, 249, 220, 229, 231, 233, 237, 247, 283, &c.

[o] [Ibid. p. 56.]

[p] Page 149.

a less fall by much than from many hundreds to scores; he could not tell how many or how few. Nay, his dozens at last may shrink into some few families, who (to use his own word) it is possible may be as tattered and ragged as his writings. The truth is, his pen runs on so carelessly, that he drops any thing into his paper that comes in his way, be it true or be it false; be it certain, or only doubtful. For when I desired that your ministers would not suffer their people to "fancy themselves under persecution[s];" he presently answers with much pertness, "Would it were in our power to make them know themselves to suffer nothing;" but "if men be turned out of all, &c.[t], it is a hard matter to make them insensible." He had such a quick sense of himself, (as he tells you presently,) that he could not think of any thing else: but, because he had lost his living, imagined the people who come not to church are turned out of all, which was never before now heard of.

N. C. It is a mistake.

C. And so is his whole discourse about persecution; which I said could not be pretended for a cause of their separation, nor hath he said a word to show it is so grievous and intolerable as to be alleged for that purpose. He talks of their "suffering hard things[u];" but what is that to the business? especially if you consider, that the worst things that are inflicted on them are the effect of their separation and contempt of laws, not the cause upon which they separated, as he would have the world believe. For till they left our churches, and set up congregations of their own, they were only deprived of their places, not imprisoned or otherwise punished. Now, I pray, consider seriously, did ever any man whom you account sober call it persecution (which was the thing I spoke of) to suffer deprivation for not conforming to public order? No, it is unjustly called hard usage; and to complain of this, as this whifler doth, (though the condition of some men become very sad thereby,) is to complain of all churches, even of your own, when you had any power. It hath always been thought necessary in all places that there should be some order kept in the church of Christ: for which purpose they have found it as necessary that there should be some rules and laws, which

[s] P. 237 of Fr. Deb. [Vol. v. p. 431.] [t] P. 283 of his Answer. [u] P. 249.

signify nothing without penalties to enforce them, and they as little, if they be not inflicted when men transgress. So that in conclusion, it is as necessary to punish those that will not submit to the laws, as it is to have public order. The French churches[x] are so sensible of this, that they have provided in their discipline, that "if one or more of the people shall move or stir up strife or contention, to disjoin and break the union of the church concerning some point of their doctrine or discipline, or about the method, manner, or style of the catechism, of the administration of the sacraments or public prayers, and the blessing of matrimony;...and will not promise not to spread ought of their opinion in any manner or way whatsoever till the synod hath heard them,...they shall be censured as rebellious persons:...and in case they will not renounce their errors, after all means tried to convince them, then they are to be cut off from the church." But in case "a pastor or elder[y] trouble the peace, and break the union of the church, or cause any strife or contention about some point of doctrine or discipline, (which they have subscribed unto,) or about administration of the sacraments,) or the form of catechism, or public prayers and benediction of marriage, and will not yield to what the classical assembly shall determine, he shall presently be suspended from his charge and employment, to be proceeded against at the next provincial or national synod." And "if any minister teach false doctrine, and will not forbear after admonition, he is to be deposed: as also those who are not obedient to the admonitions of the consistory, or are convicted of heresy, schism, or rebellion against the ecclesiastical order[z]." As for those who "thrust themselves into the ministry in countries and places where the preaching of the gospel is already pure and lawfully established, and will not desist when they are warned of it, they are to be cut off quite, and proceeded against as the synods judge fit, together with those that follow and adhere to them, if after the like warning and exhortation given to them, they do not forbear and forsake

[x] Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Churches in France, translated into English, 1642. chap. v. art. 31. [pp. 22, 3.]

[y] Ib. art. 32. Concerning the Consistory. [p. 23.]

[z] Ib. ch. 1. Concerning Ministers and Pastors. art. 45. [p. 10.]

them[a]." This order and discipline, we are told at the end of the book, hath been resolved and concluded in no less than twenty-seven national synods from 1559 to 1637; the places, the years, and the days of the month being all there named. Now what hath your prating Philagathus to say to this? Is this persecution or hard usage, or is it not? If it be not so in them, there is none among us. For we do no more than they do; and if those who are deprived for rebellion against ecclesiastical order happen to be very poor, and fall into distress, we can help that no more than they.

N. C. I am loath to condemn those churches.

C. Then acquit us. Or if any list to condemn both, a great many more must fall into the same condemnation with us. Even at Frankfort in queen Mary's days, those who dissented from Mr. Horn and Mr. Chambers, &c. found fault with them for desiring to be of their church without subscribing their discipline; a thing, said they, which you yourselves would never grant to others[b].

N. C. Pray do not run so far back.

C. I need not: for it is sufficient to let you know, that you condemn yourselves when you make all these complaints against us. You were very peremptorily resolved heretofore, that the magistrate might suffer none to instruct the people but such as he thought fit. "Who can deny it," said a writer[c] in the late times, "to be a privilege and duty of a master of a family to admit only such to teach in his house as his conscience shall be satisfied in, and warrant him to receive? or, to come a little nearer, will the churches distinguished by the name of Independents and Anabaptists admit of any person wholly unknown, or known to be grossly ignorant or scandalous, to teach in their congregations, without their approbation and assent first obtained? If not, (as it is presumed they will not,) let no man scruple to allow that thing to be the right of the ma-

[a] Art. 55. [p. 12.]

[b] Troubles at Frankfort, p. 85. [Phœnix, vol. ii. p. 118.]

[c] Apology for Mr. J. Goodwin, 1653. [p. 6. "An Apologie for Mr. Iohn Goodwin, who having subscribed proposalls to be presented to the magistrate concerning matters of Religion, after that makes 30 queries, whether it be the magistrate's duty to interpose his authoritie in matters of Religion."—anon. 4to, Lond. 1653.]

gistrate, as a public parent in the disposal of public places and revenues to persons to be approved by himself, or such as he shall think meet to be trusted therein, which is claimed as a right by every private parent."

N. C. We are not against this.

C. Why do you complain then, as if you, not the king and those he appoints, should judge who are fit to be employed in teaching his subjects.

N. C. You know our ministers are fit enough, but they cannot conform to some laws.

C. Hath his majesty power to enact laws for the better ordering of the church or no?

N. C. I love not to be questioned about these matters.

C. You did not stay to be asked the question heretofore, but declared the magistrate not only might, but ought to establish ecclesiastical laws; and more than that, "compel men to observe them, or else be gone[d]."

N. C. That is too quick work.

C. His majesty says so too, and bids you begone only to your own homes; there you are free. But you were so in love with compulsion heretofore, that you called it the "life and power" of your government. At least this was the sense of a great number; witness that declaration of the kingdom of Scotland, in which they complain that religion was not settled according to the covenant, in "life and power[e];" i. e. as the complaint goes on, "liberty was granted for all ways of worship," and it was "ordained, that none should be forced to the establishment."

N. C. Would it were so ordained now.

C. That wish would have been better, when you had power to do what you desire. But then you wished quite contrary;

[d] Answer to A. S. 1644. p. 12. ["A Reply of two of the Brethren to A(dam). S(teuart)., wherein you have observations on his considerations, annotations, &c. upon the Apologeticall Narration." — anon. ed. 2. 4to, Lond. 1644.]

[e] I find it in the answer to it, and to the Commission upon the New Proposals, 4 Jan. 1648. p. 7. ["An Answer to the chief or materiall heads and passages in the late Declaration, called The Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland: and Answer of the Commissioners to both houses of Parliament, upon the new Propositions of Peace, and the foure Bills. Imprimatur, Gilb. Mabbot." —London, printed for Robert White, Jan. 4, 1648.]

and indeed ever thought it requisite to good government that the people should be tied strictly to the laws, and punished according to their fault, if they transgressed. This was so far from cruelty or hard usage in your opinion, that it was thought useful and necessary, not only for the general good, but his particular benefit who suffered. Mr. Walter Travers[f], a person much esteemed by your forefathers, declared long ago, that "if the magistrates did not command and compel the people by severity of laws and punishments to serve the Lord, what ignorant and ungodly persuasion soever they have to the contrary," they shall not only "become guilty of not doing the duty God requires of them, but also no Christian estate or policy could stand. For this would soon be every man's answer, in case of being enjoined any thing concerning God or men, how holy or just soever it were that did dislike him, that his conscience is against it."

N. C. I never heard of any good that hath been wrought on any by these punishments.

C. But others have, as the same person tells you[g]. "For both many others are hereby kept in duty, that they do not in like sort fall away; and who can tell what it may please God to work even in them hereafter by this means, which have not yet profited by it. Sure I am it hath done good to many in times past, who by this means have been recovered from their undutiful disobedience unto a godly reformation." And what if it have not profited some, must the medicine therefore be neglected[h], because the pestilential contagion of certain persons is incurable?

N. C. No. But it is hard to conceive how such severe courses should bring men back to the church.

C. You could understand it heretofore without any difficulty; and thought you could demonstrate, that they were very

[f] Answer to a Supplicatory Epistle of G. T. [pp. 23, 4. of "An Answere to a supplicatorie epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholiques: written to the right honorable Lords of her majesties privy councell, by Water (*sic*) Travers, minister of the Worde of God."—8vo, Lond. 'printed for Tobie Smith, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the sign of the Crane, litt. Goth.' 1583.]

[g] [Ibid. p. 18.]

[h] St. Augustin's words. ["At enim quibusdam ista non prosunt. Num quid ideo negligenda est medicina, quia nonnullorum est insanabilis pestilentia?"] Epist. 48. [al. 93. tom. ii. col. 231 C.]

powerful means to bring in wandering souls[i]. The reasons you gave were these. Some worldly lust, whether it be content or discontent, being usually the ground of heresy or sects; deprive men of that content which was the ground of their error, and you strike at it in the very root. Many adhere to a party rather out of policy than conscience, whom, when their design fails, you will see fall off like leaves in autumn. "It will easily appear then, how a prison or other penalty (these are your words) may work upon a sectary. First, it will remove the beam of carnal content which blinded his eyes. Secondly, It may set conscience on work, as rough usage did Joseph's brethren's. Thirdly, it may free a man from distractions and seducing company, that he may have leisure and opportunity seriously to bethink himself of his grounds, &c., which thing by God's gracious assistance may work a strange alteration in him."

N. C. Dimness of sight can never be recovered by stripes.

C. That is true. "But yet he that shuts his own eyes, or blindfolds himself with his hand, may by correction be made to open the one, or to take away the other. A sharp medicine also instilled into the eye will remove this pin and web, better than all the fairest speeches and strongest reasons in the world. However, if Bedlam cannot reduce such a one, yet it may restrain him from infecting others."

N. C. You are very severe, methinks; I did not think you had been still of so harsh a spirit.

C. I only repeat your own words, that you may see what your reasonings were, when you came to settle a government among us. For my part, I love clemency so much, that I think we may say of it, (in the words of one of your writers in those times,) "as of fair weather, it is pity it should do any harm. But if it do, it is a cruel pity[k]. He hurts the good who spares

[i] Modest defence of London ministers; letter to the Assembly, licensed by Mr. Cranford, 1646. pp. 22, 23, 24. ["Anti-Toleration, or a Modest Defence," &c., an anonymous pamphlet in reply to the arguments urged by the Independents and other sectaries, against the letter addressed by the ministers of the city of London to the Westminster Assembly against toleration; dated Sion college, Dec. 18, 1645. The letter is quoted in the second part of the Friendly Debate, vol. v. p. 325.]

[k] Mr. John Goodwin's Quæries questioned, 1653, p. 13. ["Master John Goodwin's Quere's questioned, concerning the power of the civil

the bad." Yet I delight in "meekness and gentleness," and as I would have been glad to have seen "more of it practised by them who most plead for it," so I would to see no need of any thing else to be used now. "Nor should the magistrate, though he have so large a power, go to the utmost thereof, but upon extreme necessity. For his end being the same with our Saviour's, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, I suppose him to be the wisest magistrate who can most easily attain it, and govern the church and state with the least punishments. For severity of laws is an exprobration of the magistrate's want of care, in not preventing that extremity of offence which doth require them." All which considered, nothing seems to many wise and moderate men more conducing to your good and the magistrate's honour, than a due execution of those laws you are now under; lest by your wanton contempt and bold breach of them, you make it necessary they should be changed for more rigorous: which God forbid. Why do you shake your head?

N. C. To hear you talk on this fashion.

C. There are none of you but would say the same, were you in authority. You would not leave men at liberty to do as they pleased: and though some particular persons suffered that could not conform, you would say, it is better it should be so than the public order be disturbed, and that those small punishments would prevent greater; and that they were beholden to you for your strictness, since without it they might grow so wild, that you should be constrained to severity. For you did not think it safe heretofore, so much as to connive at those who would not be obedient to the established government and discipline. That, as Mr. Case told the Lords, was "next door to a toleration. It is a toleration in figures, though not in words at length[1]." Nor are the Independents of a different

magistrate in matters of religion: by one quere opposed to his thirty. Quere, Whether the fourth commandment doth not sufficiently justifie and injoin the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion?"—anon. 4to, Lond. 1653.]

[1] Sermon before the Peers, March 25, 1646. [p. 36. "Deliverance-Obstruction: or the Set-backs of Reformation discovered in a sermon before the right honourable the house of Peers, in parliament now assembled, upon the monthly fast, March 25, 1646, by Thomas Case, preacher in Milk-street, London, and one of the Assembly of divines,"—P. 36. For a notice of Case see vol. v. p. 444.]

mind, who keep an uniformity when they have power in their hands, as we see in the churches of New England; where they agree in their practices, though not in their principles: some being for that way of church-administrations, as it is called, by the direction of particular rules in Scripture, which seem to them very clear; but others, to whom those Scriptures seem to be misapplied, conforming to it "upon the more general rules of Scripture, viz. of charity and Christian peace." Which is "according to a maxim planted in the nature of things" as we are told by one here, in a preface to a book of a New England teacher[m], "which do often act contrary to the rule of their particular nature, for the conservation of the universe. And were we," saith he, "as well grounded upon it as our brethren of New England be, we should both the more prefer the peace and tranquillity of this church (which is a general good) above our own private interest; and the less censure them, who upon the same principle have sometimes taken (and will doubtless have the wisdom always to take) just animadversion upon them

[m] Mr. James Noyes of Newbury in New England; Temple measured, 1647. ["The Temple measured; or a brief survey of the Temple mystical, which is the instituted Church of Christ, &c., by James Noyes, teacher of the church at Newbery in New England,"—4to, Lond. 1647.

James Noyes was born in the year 1608, at Cholderton, in Wiltshire, of which town his father was minister. His mother was sister to the eminent presbyterian divine Robert Parker. He entered at Brazenose College, Oxford, but was called from thence to take a share of the tuition of the free school at Newbury, of which Thomas Parker, a relation of his, was head master. From thence, not being able to conform to the Church of England, he emigrated to New England in 1634, where he accepted a cure at Mistick, and afterwards at Newbery, ministering at the latter place till his death, Oct. 22, 1656. The account given of his principles by his relative Nicholas Noyes is, that "although he was very averse to the ceremonies of the Church of England, accounting them needless, many ways offensive and hurtful at the best, and the rigorous imposition of them abominable and intolerable, so that he left England for their sake: yet he was not equally averse to episcopacy, but was of opinion for *Episcopus præses*, though not for *Episcopus princeps*. He held ecclesiastical councils so far authoritative and binding, that no particular elder or society might seem to have independency or sovereignty, or the major part of them have liberty to sin with impunity. He was equally afraid of ceremonies and of schism, and when he fled from ceremonies he was afraid of being guilty of schism. For that reason he was jealous (if not too jealous) of particular church covenants; yet he accounted them adjuncts of the covenant of grace."—Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, book iii. p. 145.]

that cause divisions, and are disturbers of the church's peace; though they may haply plead their conscience, and transform themselves into angels of light."

N. C. Conscience is a tender thing, and must be tenderly dealt withal.

C. So Mrs. Hutchinson said, and yet they banished her out of New England for all that.

N. C. I thought they had had a great regard to conscience.

C. The very same which his majesty hath here, who tells you just as the court told her; your conscience you may keep to yourself, but if you shall countenance and encourage those that thus transgress the law, (a small fault you think, who transgress it yourselves,) you must be called in question for it: and that is not for your conscience, but for your practice[n].

N. C. What law do they transgress? The law of God?

C. That was her question; and this was their answer, which may serve you: "Yes: the fifth commandment which commands us to honour father and mother, which includes all in authority."

N. C. There is not one example in Scripture to justify such punishments as those for difference in judgment.

C. Still you will run on in your mistake. You may hold your own judgment, (as they told her partakers when they alleged this,) so as the public peace be not troubled or endangered by it; and nobody will trouble you. For the king doth not challenge power over men's consciences; but when they do such things as discover a corrupt conscience, it is his duty to use his authority to reform both[o]. And if they complain of his severity, and say, he uses them hardly; they add a new fault to the former, and further endanger the public peace, by estranging, as much as in them lies, the hearts of the people from him.

N. C. It would be better therefore if such laws were never made, as occasion people all this trouble.

C. Now you run back again. Some laws we must have; so that if these be altered, others must come in their room. And though you may be better contented with them, yet others may

[n] Proceedings of the court holden at Newtown October 2, 1637. p. 34. [See vol. v. p. 558.]

[o] Ib. p. 28.

as much dislike them as you do these. And if their disobedience be not punished, it had been as well or better not to have punished your disobedience before; if it be, then the persons are changed, but still there will be sufferers.

N. C. It is very true. And what would you have men do in this case?

C. What? be as patient as they can. For it is an excellent thing, as somebody I remember speaks, when men who cannot be active without sinning, (as they judge,) are passive without murmuring. Of this Christ and the primitive Christians have set us an example: and it is glorious in itself, comfortable to those in whom this virtue is, and the best way to thrive and prosper, and attain their end. The old Non-conformists being deprived, took this course, and neither thought it a just cause for a separation from us, nor complained after this scribbler's manner, but quietly submitted to the sentence. Have you not seen the protestation made by those who were suspended or deprived in the third of king James?

N. C. No.

C. I will tell you then two or three branches of it. We hold, say they[p], that kings by virtue of their supremacy have power, yea also, that "they stand bound by the law of God to make laws ecclesiastical, such as shall tend to the good ordering of the churches in their dominions, and that the churches ought not to be disobedient to any of their laws," &c. But in case the king should command things contrary to the Word, they declare that "they ought not to resist him therein, but only peaceably to forbear obedience, and sue unto him for grace and mercy; and where that cannot be obtained, meekly to submit themselves to the punishment[q]." And further, that he may "by his authority inflict as great punishments upon them for the neglect of his ecclesiastical laws, as upon any other subjects[r]," &c.

[p] Protestation of the king's supremacy, &c. 1605. ["made by the non-conforming ministers, which were suspended or deprived 3 Jacobi, and by them published the same yeare, that is, anno Dom. 1605: now reprinted to show the non-conformity of the doctrine and practice of the presbyterians, sectaries, and others in these times, to what their brethren then profest," —4to, Lond. 1647.] Branch 8th. [p. 3.]

[q] Branch 9th. [ibid.]

[r] Branch 11th. [p. 4.]

N. C. I wish, however, that the punishments had been less—

C. Or they more patient Christians.——

N. C. For then we should not have had these sad complaints of sufferings, hardships, and miseries.

C. And persecution——

N. C. No, he will not call it so; though he confesses the Non-conformists in Scotland live in a hotter climate than we do here———

C. We understand his phrase very well. They are intolerably persecuted, though you be not.

N. C. He only says, "such severity being used against them, as would make a man's heart to bleed[s]."

C. Yes, "if fame may be trusted," (as he adds,) which we know hath brought many a lie to him, and is as little to be trusted as himself. For you may be sure of this, that they are better used a great deal than they used others heretofore.

N. C. Whence shall I have that assurance?

C. From a little book newly come forth there, and said to be published by order, where in answer to these complaints of severity, I find these words[t]: "I must so far justify the rigour you have met withal, as to show it is far short of yours. The people are required to do nothing but live peaceably and join in worship, whereas you made them swear to you. And the ministers are not made swear to maintain the present establishment, (mark this,) and to root out the contrary, as you did; they are only required to concur in discipline, and to promise submission to episcopacy." A great piece of business! most grievous and severe impositions! What will they conform unto, who cannot away with such small things as these? Must such reasonable laws as these be changed only to humour them? If they be not, then there is no help for it, they must be deprived. And if they are so far from submitting to episcopacy, that they set themselves against the government, they may with the

[s] P. 244 of his book.

[t] Modest and free conference between a Conformist and a Non-conformist, about the present distempers in Scotland: ['in six dialogues by a lover of peace, published by order,' in 12mo,] 1669. p. 11. [dial. i.] and more you may read, p. 60. [dial. iv. A copy of this scarce tract is in the possession of the editor. A reply to it was published in 1671, with the title, 'The True Non-Conformist, in answer to the Modest and free Conference,' &c.]

greater reason be sharply dealt withal, who are so fiery as to oppose that which is so innocent. But yet I can hear of no such terrible proceedings against them as this man talks of; for the forenamed book tells us[u], whatsoever noise they make about persecution, "it is more on the side of the Conformists than of the Non-conformists." For to an ingenuous spirit it is a far greater trial, if he be not above such things, to be aspersed and railed at every where, and made the hatred of the people, than to suffer a little in the world. Which suffering also, I must tell you, though it may conduce in the end much to their good, yet it puts their governors to a new trouble to inflict it, after they have been long troubled, nay, persecuted by their perverseness and fierce oppositions. For tell me, I pray you, (they are the words of St. Austin[x],) when a man that is in a phrensy doth vex the physician, and the physician binds him, whether do both persecute each other or no? If that be not a persecution which is done to his disease, then certainly the physician doth not persecute the frantic or mad man, but he persecutes the physician. His application is, that the penal laws of the princes were as the bands of the physician, to bind the phrensy and furious outrage of the Donatists, who made such a clatter there about their persecution and grievous sufferings, as this Philagathus and others do among us. O, said they, when any law came forth against them, now your bishops

[u] Page 32.

[x] Against Cresconius, quoted in this case long ago, in plain Declaration, 1590, page 68. [George Gyffard's "Plain Declaration that our Brownists be full Donatists," &c. (Referred to, vol. v. p. 589.)

"The Brownists are not behinde them an intch in this matter, but crie out as fast of Antichristian persecutors, boasting of their patience and sufferings, calling themselves the persecuted remnant, the poore afflicted, &c. Aug. answereth those Donatists at large, I will recite but a little: 'Cum phreneticus medicum vexat, et medicus phreneticum ligat, aut ambo invicem persequentur, aut si persecutio quæ malo fit non est, non utique persequitur medicus phreneticum sed phreneticus medicum.'

'When the man that is in phrensie doth vex the phisitian, and the phisitian doth binde him that is in phrensie, either both doo persecute each other, or else if that bee not a persecution which is done to the evill, then verilie the phisitian doth not persecute the phrantick or mad man, but the phrantic or mad man dooth persecute the phisitian.' Against Cresconius, Booke 4. chapter 51." (S. Aug. tom. ix. col. 513 D.) Gyffard argues thence that the "penall lawes of the princes were as the bands of the phisitian to binde the phrensie and furious outrage of the Donatists."]

have inflamed the rulers to persecute us. They have made them our enemies, to deprive us of that liberty which Christ hath left us. We ought not to be compelled, our wills were made free, and you may not offer a force to them. And so they run on in long declamations against the catholic church for using them so cruelly, for all the world like this bawling writer of yours, who, I think, in my conscience, would have been more modest, if he had not been so gently used.

N. C. Fie, for shame!

C. I know what I say, there is always less murmuring, and men are more thankful for the liberty which is allowed them, when laws are strictly and constantly executed; but now the nation is filled, as he confesses, with clamours and noises of their great sufferings and miseries, which he repeats in a most doleful manner, I cannot tell how often. This he begins withal, p. 5, 6, 7; and again we meet with it, p. 79, 80; and thrice[y] more before he comes to a tedious set discourse about it, p. 231, &c. In which he makes their contempt a part of their suffering, (a thing which they pour on us far more than we on them,) and excommunication also, which is commonly for their obstinate contempt of the court; nay, the want of those degrees in the university which they may have a mind unto, and of dignities and offices, are thrown in to make up the tale, (though he pretends that he "cares not to mention them,") whereby we may see how sorely they are hurt who have list and leisure to think of such things. And yet he hath not done with it neither; but we find him bemoaning their condition again[z], as if like the poor Samaritan, they were "stripped of their raiment, wounded, and half dead." And once more in his preface, and in how many other places I cannot tell: for to read the whole book is no less toil than to travel through long deserts a-foot without any company, which makes me loath to go through it again. It is to seek fruit in the garden of Tantalus, to look for one leaf that will give a man either profit or pleasure.

N. C. This pride doth not become you.

C. I can see nothing of that in this censure; but if there were, you of all other people should wink at it, who, by his own confession, are the proudest men in the nation.

[y] Page 149, 220, 229. [z] Page 283.

N. C. O, abominable! He never was so mad yet as to grant you that.

C. What think you of those words: "If the Non-conformist at this day be thought too high and too proud, he only groweth like camomile, because he is trod and trampled upon; for of camomile it is said, the more it is trodden on, the more it grows.

N. C. I remember them, p. 281, but know not what you will make of them.

C. No? It is a plain demonstration according to his reasoning, that they are grown "intolerably high and proud," because they are (as he would have you believe) "intolerably afflicted and distressed," p. 249. A most excellent improvement of affliction! and arguing much of the power of godliness!

N. C. Come sir, jeer no more at godliness, for you have done it too much already. Your book is "an exact method and platform to extirpate practical holiness[a]."——What makes you giggle in so serious a business?

C. I cannot but laugh a little at the laborious folly of this man's spite. This is a mere device to draw the people's minds from attending to what I say, and to stir up their passion against me, as an enemy and hater of godliness.

N. C. No, he doth not think you "to be such an enemy to religion as your book would seem to import[b]," but rather hopes you are a good man[c].

C. That is the thing I was going to say. He overthrows all his accusation in two words, by granting me to be religious and judicious too, p. 105. For how is it possible that a godly man should contrive a way most effectual to root up godliness, and——

N. C. Stay.

C. You will revoke this favourable opinion of me, now that you see whither it will carry you.

N. C. He saith he hath "a great desire to constrain himself to think that you may possibly be wise in Solomon's sense, that is, fear the Lord," p. 41.

C. He was, I observed at the last, very fearful lest he should have judged too well of me; and therefore, as you say, doth

[a] Preface, page 12. [b] Ib. page 15. [c] Ib. p. 41, and book, p. 3.

but "constrain himself," nay, "hath only a great desire to constrain himself," (but it seems would not do it,) and that but to think that it is possible I may be a good man; with which I am very well contented, and, if you please, I will give him all his good hopes of me back again, having no need at all of them. It is sufficient for me that he acknowledges he is "far from thinking it was my design to overthrow piety," though he is sure it is the end of my book[d]. For mark, I beseech you, the absurdity of this. How is it possible for a man by mere chance, having no such design in his head, to form so many "aphorisms, maxims, and stratagems," all tending to one and the same end, viz., the subverting of godliness and introducing impiety, and that so "exactly, methodically, and pertinently[e]," as nothing can be more fitted for this purpose? Make out this to me if you can, for I protest to you I am utterly to seek how this should come to pass. There must be a design of the author in it, or else he could never have done it with so much skill as Campanella showed, when he "went to work for the extirpating protestantism, and settling popery throughout England[f]." Nay, "no engineer," he tells you, "could have given more proper counsel how to slight any fort or strong hold, and how to level it with the ground," than I have given, "how true religion may be plucked up root and branch."

N. C. These things, I confess, do not hang well together.

C. Malice we see wants wit. And after all his labour, he hath but brought forth the apothecary's beast, which Julian the Pelagian upbraided St. Austin withal. A creature of wonderful strange properties, as he made his patient believe, and promised he should see the next day, which before morning came had eaten up herself. For, if I went so judiciously and accurately to work to overthrow all godliness, it must be my design to overthrow it; but he is far from thinking that, and therefore there are no such exact aphorisms and stratagems, but his better thoughts have destroyed those vain imaginations, unless you can believe that books may be made by shuffling so many letters together; or batteries and engines raised with throwing so many skuttles full of dirt, and so many bundles of sticks together on a heap.

[d] Preface, page 12. [e] Ib. page 15. [f] Ibid.

N. C. But the God of this world, I remember, he says, so for the present blinded your eyes, p. 15.

C. What! that I should contrive all this and never know it? The good man hath plunged himself so deep in a contradiction, that he is fain to fly to the devil to help him out. But, I pray, who gave him authority to stretch the devil's power so far, that it may be thought to do the same upon a believer, which the apostle saith he did upon infidels? And what is there that can blind any man's eyes but covetousness, lust, ambition, anger, hatred, or some such evil affection or passion? Which if the faith of Christ have not purged out of my heart, I have no desire to constrain myself to think that it is possible I am a good Christian. The very bottom of the business is this: it is not godliness, but themselves for which he is so much concerned and keeps all this stir. For the question is not whether we shall all heartily and earnestly study to be godly, that is, to love and obey our Creator before all things, according to the gospel of Jesus Christ; but whether you be the only godly, or so much beyond all others as you imagine, and whether that be the power of godliness which is vulgarly called by that name. This I denied; and this made him so angry. Notwithstanding which I still believe that many among us, whom some of you make little account of, are more thoroughly and substantially good, than many among you, upon whom you liberally bestow that name; who value themselves more upon the score of keeping days, repeating sermons, talking of religion and experiences, than for justice, charity, speaking truth, peaceableness, meekness, obedience, and such like virtues, to which I find them very great strangers. Now instead of acknowledging the emptiness of the former without the latter, and how much the poor people have been cozened by forms of religion and canting phrases, which some of yourselves have confessed, when it would serve their turn———

N. C. Where did they acknowledge it?

C. Some officers of the army told the rest, that "setting apart days for seeking of God, when the way is not good, will not hereafter blind Englishmen's eyes." Doing things unwarrantably, and then intituling God to them, as they will never the more be owned by him, so they will be never the

more acceptable to discerning men[g]." Thus also the purest of you all thought it no profaneness heretofore to unmask the hypocrisy of some great zealots in religion, (as they thought it,) and expose their canting to scorn. To omit Mr. Edwards, (for brevity sake,) the author of the Image of our Reforming Times[h], set out you know whom, under another name in this manner: "Jehu will have a word for all his actions, and do all according to the mind of the Lord...O heavenly man, whose tongue is tipped with Scripture, the experiences of the saints, and the revelation of the prophets!" But now (as I was going to say before you interrupted me) we have found a man that would fain blind the eyes of Englishmen as much as ever; and instead of confessing honestly, as others have done, that a great many walk in a vain show and image of godliness, who deny the true power of it; he amuses you with a long discourse of a design laid to overthrow all religion, root and branch: and for that end presents you with a great many maxims and aphorisms, composed with much art to that wicked purpose; such as these: Let there be no godly discourse; Let keeping of days of fasting and prayer be jeered; Let mirth and jollity be encouraged; Teach men to distrust their spiritual senses; with divers others of the same nature: which are none of mine, as every one may see that can read a book: but "he throws in your faces the snivel of his own nose; and would make you believe it is not the excrement of his brain, but of mine."

N. C. How came such a word to drop from your mouth?

C. Are they uncivil?

N. C. I doubt they will be thought so.

C. They are the words of Mr. Baxter[i], without any alteration, to another man who accused him absurdly; and may as well

[g] Humble representaion to the Lieutenant General, Nov. 1, 1659. [p. 5. See p. 150, above.]

[h] Or Jehu in his proper Colours, 1654, p. 11, 12. [See p. 149, above.]

[i] Postscript to his book Of the True Catholic Church, p. 283. ["The True Catholick, and Catholick Church described, and the vanity of the Papists, and all other schismatics, that confine the Catholick Church to their sect, discovered and shamed; by Richard Baxter, a member of that one universal Church which containeth all the true Christians in the world: with an apologetical postscript against the factious principles and writings of Mr. T. Malpas, Mr. T. Pierce, Philo-Silenus, and such others."—12mo. Lond. 1660.]

be applied to this. Who after he had filled a great part of his book with such senseless stuff as I now mentioned, makes a long snuffling preface to the same effect[k]. And some of your people, I am told, receive it with as much contentment, as if he had come out of that country, where (if we will believe a story[l] like his discourse) the dropping of the people's noses is sweeter than honey.

N. C. You did well to say 'some;' for all have no such good opinion of it.

C. There is no man, that being puffed up with a good opinion of himself, speaks with confidence and zeal, but will find some admirers; though his noddle be lighter than an oak apple, and as void of wit as cockles are of meat in the wane of the moon. A sad thing indeed it is that the world should be troubled and abused by some men of emptiness and noise: but so it always was, and we must be contented with it. Nay, grave and solemn persons are sometimes carried with a furious zeal to accuse their opposites of such impieties as never entered into their thoughts; and will make their books speak what the authors never so much as dreamt. Mr. Calvin and other reformers (it is possible Philagathus may know) were charged with depraving and adulterating the sense of the holy Scriptures, which give testimony to the deity of our Saviour Christ. And there is one[m] who hath given us a beadroll of them longer than that of the aphorisms, which this new zealot hath fancied to himself, and formed out of my book. In his comments also upon the Epistle of St. Jude, writing on those words, ver. 4, *ungodly men*, he tells us among other things, that Calvin would have the Holy Trinity neither to be adored nor invocated[n]. And upon those words, *denying the Lord Jesus Christ*, he gives us a catalogue of the old and new heretics, who opposed the deity and majesty of our Saviour; and after Simon Magus, Menander, and the rest of that rabble, come Luther, Calvin, and their followers, as men that preached and writ much

[k] [He is writing against Thomas Malpas, preacher of Pedmore, who had attacked him in a work entitled 'A Box or a short and sweet discourse for Christmas,' &c.]

[l] Lucian. Ver. Hist. lib. i. ['Απομύττονται μέλι δριμύτατον.—§ 24.]

[m] Feu Ardentius his notes upon the fragments of Irenæus, p. 508. [fol. col. Agr. 1596.]

[n] Comment. in Epist. Judæ, 1595, p. 87.

"against the mystery of the Trinity, the majesty of God the Father, and the deity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost[o]." But what need I go so far back for instances of this kind, when it is but a few years ago since Mr. Baxter[p] was solemnly accused for a papist by Mr. Crandon[q]? And Mr. Eyre of Salisbury endeavoured to persuade the world that when he wrote against the Antinomians he meant Antipapists[r]; just as this man would persuade you, that when I write against Nonconformists, I mean religious people, and such as oppose profaneness. Nay, he made such a monster of him, as if you should conceive the body of a horse to be joined to the head of a man; for he said he was a Socinian, papist, and Jesuit; and that he was not only a downright papist, but one of the grosser sort; and that he subtilly endeavoured the propagation of popery, and all his pretences to the contrary were but Jesuitical dissembling; and lastly, that no papist spoke more of merit than he did. Others undertook to conjure the devil of Pelagianism

[o] Ibid. p. 117.

[p] Confession of Faith, p. 6.

[q] [John Crandon, of Fowley, Hants, had written a violent attack upon Baxter, entitled "Mr. Baxter's Aphorisms exorcised and authorized."—4to, Lond. 1654. See Nelson's Life of bishop Bull, p. 220.

"Mr. Crandon," says Baxter himself, "was a man that run from Arminianism into the extreme of half Antinomianism, and having an excessive zeal for his opinions, (which seem to be honoured by the extolling of free grace,) and withal being an utter stranger to me, he got a deep conceit that I was a papist; and in that persuasion wrote a large book against my aphorisms, which moved laughter in many, and pity in others, and troubled his friends, as having discouraged their cause. As soon as the book came abroad, the news of our author's death came with it, who died a fortnight after its birth. I had beforehand got all save the beginning and end out of the press, and wrote so much of an answer as I thought it worthy, before the publication of it."—Life by Sylvester, i. p. 110.]

[r] [Eyre's work quoted by Baxter is styled "Vindiciæ Justificationis Gratuitæ; Justification without conditions: or the free justification of a sinner explained, confirmed, and vindicated from the exceptions, objections, and seeming absurdities, which are cast upon it by the assertors of conditional justification; more especially from the attempts of Mr. B. Woodbridge, in his sermon entituled 'Justification by faith,' of Mr. Cranford in his epistle to the reader, and of Mr. Baxter in some passages which relate to the same matter. Wherein also the absoluteness of the New Covenant is proved, and the arguments against it are disproved." Prefixed to it is a commendatory letter by John Owen, Nov. 7, 1653. —4to, Lond. 1654.]

out of him, as he himself also tells us[s]. And another[t] accuses him of calumnies and invectives against the most eminent protestants; reckoning up withal eight godly men (whose names he mentions[u]) that had writ against him. And I find mention in Mr. Baxter of three more (whose names are not there) beside Mr. Blake, which make them up a dozen. And that you have thirteen to the dozen, I may cast in Mr. Will. Lyford, who put him into the black bill of those who are guilty of errors and heresies, because of some opinions of his about the sin against the Holy Ghost. Nay, some boldly "published him to be a subverter of fundamentals" (observe it) even then when he was "constrained to be as confident that he should subvert the foundation itself, if he should think otherways[x]." What need I add more, to show the mad zeal of some ignorant people, than these memorable words of his? "I look not to scape the fangs of such excepters, if I say that I believe in

[s] Disputations about the right to sacraments. p. 510. ["The last week I received a creeping paper against my directions for peace of Conscience, written by a minister about the midway between Mr. Blake and me (though a neighbour, I know not that I ever heard his name before, but once about 16 years ago;) who, with the spirit and pen of Mr. Robertson and his like, doth furiously fall on me to conjure out of me the Devil of Pelagianism; because I say to doubting souls, that 'if Christ be not theirs, he may be when they will:' or 'they may have him when they will;' whereupon to his councils and fathers he goes against free-will."—"Certain disputations of Right to Sacraments, and the true nature of visible Christianity; defending them against several sorts of opponents, especially against the second assault of that pious, reverend, and dear brother Mr. Thomas Blake,"—p. 529. ed. 2. 4to, 1658.]

[t] Vindication of Sir Henry Vane, 1659. ["A Vindication of that prudent and honourable knight Sir Henry Vane, from the lyes and calumnies of Mr. Richard Baxter, minister of Kidderminster, in a monitory letter to the said Mr. Baxter: by a true friend and servant of the commonwealth of England, &c."—4to, Lond. 1659.

The charges alluded to were contained in Baxter's 'Key for Catholiques,' (see pp. 312, sqq.) and are thus summed up by the anonymous vindicator: "That Sir Henry Vane and the Vanists put the king to death; that he was the master of the game; that he and his followers are no better than papists, jesuits, &c., that the papists are strong in England under the mask of the Vanists; whereof you make him the ringleader, that he was in Italy, and brought from thence most wicked and corrupt opinions."—§ 4. p. 4.]

[u] [Thomas Barlow, Owen, Kendall, Lyford, Burgess, Eyre, Crandon, Warner.]

[x] Confession of Faith, p. 111.

God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; for no doubt, but some of them can find heresy, or somewhat that countenances it in this[y]." They love to quarrel with every thing, when they have once taken a pique at a book: and let your writing be never so innocent, they smell some dangerous design in it. For which purpose you will scarce find a man who hath a better nose than this caviller; who, either for want of understanding, or else through passion and hatred, misinterprets and perverts every thing that he meddles withal.

N. C. You make him a strange man.

C. I'll prove it to purpose before we have done; and hope that all his clamours will be of no more force to make you believe that I have laid any platform to batter down all godliness, than the many volumes writ against Mr. Baxter will persuade you he is a papist, a subverter of the faith, and calumniator of protestant divines. For there is no more impiety in my book, than there is popery in his; nor will any body have such a thought, unless it be such as come to suck poison and food for their censuring opinionative zeal out of the books they read[z].

N. C. Some men love to be doing——

C. Though it be but to disturb those things which lie well enough already. And they fancy they are doing some mighty service to the world, merely because they put themselves to a great deal of trouble. Witness this busy man, whose pains to remove this stumblingblock out of the way (as he calls it) is altogether as idle as was the labour of Marchetto Piombino[a]: who, going to Rome to seek a master, and lighting by chance upon a stone in the way, began to spurn it with his foot; and in this employment spent so much of his time, that when all his companions returned back, they found him still troubled about this stone; which he was resolved, he said, to spurn as far as Rome, and there thrust it into the walls so far, that it should never more annoy such strangers as travelled thither.

N. C. Pray do not imitate him; but let us pass by this occasion of offence, which hath turned us out of our way, I am

[y] Appendix to the Disputation of the Sacraments. [p. 487.]

[z] They are his words concerning one of his.

[a] [Garzoni, Hospidale dei Pazzi incurabili, disc. 4. p. 15.—Opere, 4to, Ven. 1617.]

sure; for I was going to tell you, that you are thought to have arrived to the highest degree of pride.

C. To walk, you had better have said, on the battlements of pride.

N. C. Pray hear me seriously: for it is no laughing matter.

C. If the power of laughing, as a very serious and holy divine[b] of our own said a great while ago, proceed from the nature of man, and the nature of man consist in reason, it will be very hard for any man to refrain laughing that hath but so much reason as to consider the vanity of this man's conclusions. The case is this; because in writing a discourse between two persons of opposite persuasions and parties, I represented the one commending his parish priest, (whom he must be supposed to hear,) or rather, vindicating him from that contempt and scorn which the other party poured on him, he infers that I commend myself, and boast of my own reason and skill in the holy Scripture. He had best go and teach his mother to suck; instruct the university in a new way of drawing conclusions; for nobody ever learnt any such logic there. And till this upstart reformer set pen to paper, any body might make two men maintain a dialogue as long as he pleased, of matters disputed between the parties they adhered to, and never be thought he spoke of two single persons only. But the sport of it is, our new doctor will have that which is said of the Non-conformist in our debate to reach to all and every one of that party, or else it signifies nothing; but what is said of the Conformist must be confined to a single person, and that is myself alone. In good time he may make an incomparable expounder of books, if he do but follow (as he hath begun) those rules which passion and spite will dictate to him, and never let a sober thought enter into his head. For (mark it again) after he hath so often stretched what is said against the Non-conformist to every one of them, he can find in his heart at some turns to restrain my words to one single person, even then when I speak in the plural number. Such is the perverseness of his humour, that he will interpret what I say quite contrary ways, if thereby he can lay hold of any occasion to cavil, and

[b] Dr. Jackson of the Catholic Church, p. 176. [Commentaries on the Creed, book xii. chap. 20. vol. xii. p. 158.]

load me with the ill-will and hatred of his credulous companions. As, for example, when he takes notice of what I said concerning the black and white caps upon some Non-conformist ministers' heads[c], he presently tells you, (in spite of all that he had said himself, and of the largeness of my words,) that "it is strongly conjectured who is the mark I aimed at, and that it is his good headpiece I am more offended with than his caps and lace." But he hath always as ill-luck in his conjectures as in his reasonings. For I had no particular man in my thoughts, I assure you; and, to confess the truth, spoke only from what I remembered since I was a boy, and from their pictures in books, not from any observation since I was a man. As for any of their headpieces, I neither fear nor envy them, though they were as good as Mambrino's golden helmet. Only I must remember you, that men of such like brains as his have as little judgment in headpieces as that Don, who took a barber's basin for that impenetrable helmet. Nor can I look upon this whole invention of his otherwise than as a malicious piece of his folly, which would reproach me as effectually as he was able, and lay all the blots which his little wit could devise upon my reputation. But I may rest contented with it; for far better men than I shall ever be have been thus dealt withal by ill-nature, when it could only cavil, even then when they wrote no dialogues. The reverend professors and ministers of Aberdeen, for instance, when they only told the ministers who came to urge the Covenant, "that there were other means, and more effectual than their Covenant to use for holding men from popery, mentioning in particular extraordinary humiliations, frequent prayer, amendment of life, diligence in preaching and searching the Scriptures[d];" they presently received this answer to their reply, "You have taken an ample testimony to yourselves of pains in disputing, writing, and preaching, and in doing all things that can be expected from the most zealous; of frequent prayer to God, of humbling yourselves before him, of your holiness of life and conversation," &c. As if they had arrogated to themselves some singularity in using these means, when they only said that there were such means which might

[c] P. 88 of his book. [Sober Answer, &c.]

[d] Reply the eleventh, 1638. [p. 34. See p. 103, above.]

and ought to be used, not that they were eminent above others in the diligent use of them. If either they or I had said as this man doth, "there is one of great moderation, but he shall be nameless[e]," &c., you might have suspected we meant ourselves, and wrote our own commendation, which is very familiar with him, not only in this book, but also in others; where he tells you, the whole tenor of his conversation and practice hath alway "proclaimed him a moderate man, of a reconciling spirit, and of an healing temper[f]." Without all doubt; he hath given us an ample testimony of it in this new book. In which, methinks, it looks far more like boasting than any thing I have said, to tell us in how short a time he finished this great work; having in less than six weeks' space[g] demolished a great many fortresses, bulwarks, and strongholds; and carried into captivity every notion that exalted itself against truth and godliness, defeated and confuted so many stratagems, maxims, and aphorisms as he hath mustered up in his preface; and yet he hath not mentioned all, as he himself assures you[h]. There are many other exploits that he hath performed besides these; he hath "rectified mistakes," given an account of the Non-conformist opinions, "of the reasons of their actions, of the method of repairing breaches;" and, by the way, told us the "hinge of the controversy, the knot of the question[i]," with many fine knacks beside; all which he hath accomplished sooner by a third part, than a bitch can bring you forth a litter of puppies. Who could have said more of him than he hath said of himself? If this be modesty, it will be hard to find a man that can compare with him in this great virtue. He is the fittest messenger that could be sent to buffet me for my spiritual pride: a disease, I perceive, so incident to men of his education, even when they have very little to be proud of, that he imagines that we cannot live without it, but must rather swell to such a bigness, that we are fain to ease and vent ourselves in boasting. But I must take leave to tell you, that my breeding hath been otherways; having been taught from the beginning to lay the foundation of all true wisdom and goodness in humility of mind, and not to

[e] P. 225 of his book.

[f] Preface to London's Resurrection. [By S. Rolls, the author of the Sober Answer. See p. 73, above.]

[g] P. ult. of the Sober Answer.

[h] Preface, p. 24.

[i] Ibid. p. 40.

think it so great a business, if I understood a little more than the vulgar people. And since he constrains me to say a few words of myself, I shall, without intrenching I hope upon any rule of modesty, add thus much; that of all other follies, I find myself the least inclined to that which he accuses me of, being still disposed at this day rather to be a learner than an instructor of others. And as I have not one jot the worse opinion of myself for all that he hath blattered against me, so I have not one jot the better opinion of myself for all the praise which, he saith, others bestow upon me. I have other and truer measures of myself than he or they can take of me: and know very well, that I am just the same man I was before I heard either of the one or of the other, and that they can neither add unto nor take away from my stature.

N. C. Did you not think too highly of your abilities, when you thought no mateh fit for you but a whole Assembly of Divines?

C. Thus Mr. Baxter was told heretofore, that his words implied, he "took himself to be more judicious, holy, and experienced than the Assembly [k]," and I know not how many more. Whieh answer was as good as any, to make those who would not be at the trouble to try all things, to think him to be both proud and ignorant. But I cannot ehoose but wonder a little at the impudent folly of this man, in repeating this charge so often [l]. Do not they take the liberty when they list to dispute against whole councils of greater men? Doth not this little sophister himself take so much upon him, as to reprove the universities of this kingdom for negligence, and injustice too, in bestowing degrees [m]? Nay, did they not think themselves fit to reform all the world, and hope that their gospel-covenant should fly to the ends of the earth [n]? What infallible chair then, I beseech you, was there in this assembly, that all must submit unto, and no man dare to open his mouth against? I know the usual prayer of your preachers was, when they first met together, "that God would show them the pattern in the

[k] Disputation of the Sacraments, p. 522. [p. 512. ed. 2. 4to, Lond. 1658.]

[l] Pp. 81. 129. 195, 196.

[m] P. 241, where he saith, they let papists slip into degrees, and withhold them from Non-conformists. How he can make good his charge I know not.

[n] Continuation. [Vol. v. p. 527.]

mount [o]." And Mr. J. Saltmarsh himself addressed an epistle to them with this inscription, "To the most sacred and reverend assembly;" and begins it with this compellation, "Most sacred divines [p]:" as if they looked for some new discovery from heaven, that should make them so many spiritual kings and emperors, from whose sovereign authority none might appeal. But they did not long keep this veneration even among yourselves. To omit the railings of Martin's Eccho [q] and others: this very man, who held them for most sacred, and thought their shade most comfortable and miraculously healing, within a few years forsook them, and ran from under it, for fear of a yoke which he saw them laying upon his neck. "It is no small encouragement," said he in the year 1642, "that I sit like the prophetess under the palm tree, under such a shade as yourselves. Whatsoever weakness may appear in my assertions, your patronage will heal them. For so they brought forth the sick into the streets, that at least the shadow of Peter might touch some of them. But this song of praise was turned by 1646 into sighs and groans; and he told them, "you call for a yoke, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear [r]." Then they were looked upon as so many tyrants; and some were so bold as to challenge them all to dispute with them [s]. And one feared not to tell them in the conclusion, that "an

[o] ["It is, I perceive, an usual prayer of many preachers well affected to your Assembly, that God would now, after 1600 years universal practice of the whole Church of Christ upon earth, show you the Pattern in the mount: as if, after so long and perfect inquisitions, there could be any new discoveries of the form that was or should be."] A Modest Offer ['of some meet considerations, tendered to the prolocutor and to the rest of the Assembly of Divines met at Westminster, by a true lover of truth and peace,' Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich.] p.1. 1644. [Works, vol. ix. p. 775.]

[p] Examination of Mr. Fuller's Sermon. [This is not exactly correct. The prefatory epistle is addressed "to the Reverend Divines now convened by authority of Parliament, for consultation in matters of Religion:" but the words cited do not occur. The work is entitled, "Examinations, or a Discovery of some dangerous positions delivered in a sermon of Reformation, preached in the church of the Savoy last fast-day, July 26, by Tho. Fuller, B. D., and since printed; by John Saltmarsh, master of arts, and pastor of Kesterton in Yorkshire, *raptim scripta*."—4to, Lond. 1643.]

[q] [See vol. v. note to p. 497.]

[r] Saltmarsh, Groans for Liberty, 1646. [In his letter prefixed 'to the reverend divines of the presbyteriall way.']

[s] Compassionate Samaritan, p. 58, 59. ["Now upon view of the notions of the divines that are now in favour, men doe speake very strangly, some say the tyrannie over

army or kingdom of strange opinions were brought forth, and they had not laid any one of them upon their backs by argument[t]." But you can wink when you list at those things among yourselves, which you call by all the odious names you can invent when you do but fancy them in another man. Being very much like the *Lamiæ*, whom you have heard of, I make no doubt, the story is so common; who carried their eyes in their head when they were abroad, and at home closed them up in a box. We may not so much as smile at your affected language; no, not reprove your canting and gross abuse of Scripture phrases; if we do, you say we are profane, scurrilous, blasphemous, and what not. But you may abuse the most innocent things, and sport with them as much as you are able, and this passes for pleasant discourse and sanctified wit. There was a very sober and discreet petition, for instance, from the county of Kent to the house of Commons[u], in which, after their "thanks for those excellent laws which they had obtained from his majesty's goodness," they prayed, among other things, that they might enjoy the solemn use of the liturgy "quiet and free from interruption, scorns, profaneness, threats, and force;" and that "episcopal government might be preserved," papists suppressed, "differences concerning religion and ceremonies determined in a lawful, free, and national synod," &c. In short,

conscience that was exercised by the bishops, is like to be continued by the presbyters: that the oppressours are only changed, but the oppression not likely to be removed." p. 17, ed. 2. "corrected and enlarged,"—12mo, Lond. 1644.]

[t] Answer to the Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland, Jan. 4, 1648. p. 6. ["An Answer to the chief or materiall heads and passages in the late Declaration," &c.—anon. 4to, Lond. 1648. See an account of the Declaration in Rushworth, vii. 1399.]

[u] ["The petition of the Gentrie, Ministers, and Commonalty of the County of Kent, agreed upon at the Generall Assizes last holden for that County; the copy of which petition being delivered to Judge Mallet (who was for that circuit,) and afterwards to the Earle of Bristoll: which petition being concealed from the parliament by the Earle of Bristoll, and the said Judge Mallet was for the same, both committed to the Tower, March 28, 1642.—London, (4to,) printed 1642." The petition is not dated, but it closes with the resolution: "To meet at Black-Heath the 29 of Aprill, by 9 of the Clocke at the furthest, to accompanie this petition to the Parliament, 1642."] Printed with many other by order from his majesty, May 20, 1642. [This particular petition is published by itself, without the royal authority being specified, and is distinct from the reprint here mentioned as ordered by royal mandate.]

there is not one offensive word in it but only *liturgy* and *bishops*, which brought all those scoffs on it which were wont to be thrown on them. A grave person (as he would seem to be by his book[x]) entertained you with a mock petition after this dull fashion,—"Humbly showeth, that since it was well with your petitioners, when, like people like priest, they would go to the alehouse with us, and we could offer cakes to the queen of heaven"——

N. C. Now you mock him in Scripture phrase.

C. They are his own words I assure you: and you cannot but know how much your people love to abuse us in the holy language, and to pick out such expressions as may signify us to be idolaters. Philagathus himself is so used to it, that he doth it even when he doth not know it, as I charitably believe. W. B. saith he, "would not have said a word of the bowl and the pottage, had he been to prophecy at Bethel, or at the king's chapel, as Amos speaketh[y]," that is, at Whitehall; where, one would imagine, the golden calves are set up and worshipped.

N. C. He had no such meaning, I am confident.

C. It is well if others do not so expound it, who know your usual meaning in such like words. But let us go on with the other gentleman.——"Our hearty petition," saith he, "is that you would be pleased to give us our bishops again (who thought no more of preaching than a cobbler of ploughing, and had no more care of souls than of their old shoes) and our Service Book, so full of good prayers, which we can say, as our parson doth, though half asleep, or quite drunk; and that we may have leave to be drunk and dance on Sundays, a time designed by our good bishop for that purpose[z]."———

N. C. O abominable! No more, I pray you.

C. There is enough to show the wicked spirit that was then among you. Only for a more full demonstration of it, I shall add, that after he had mocked as long as he thought good, then he thinks to sanctify all at the last with a little stinking

[x] Late Covenant asserted, 1643. ["The humble petition of the people inhabiting the Wild a Kent, and other countreys, to the honorable house of Commons,"—Appended to an anonymous tract, "The late Covenant asserted," &c. p. 23.—4to, Lond. 1643.]

[y] Sober Answer, p. 264.

[z] [Late Covenant asserted, p. 23.]

breath which he spends in a few sighs, saying twice or thrice, "Poor souls, poor souls! If my head were a fountain I could weep over these, and if my heart were as it should be (i. e. not full of laughter at them) I would sigh out my words, Poor souls, poor souls." Nay, thus he jeers at his majesty's most solemn protestation, which he made at the taking of the holy sacrament before the primate of Ireland, and all the company then present[a].——

N. C. For God's sake forbear; you cannot grieve our hearts more than to remember any scorn cast upon so sacred a person.

C. The great pride and insolence which this man discovers still to remain among you, makes me think it necessary to call these things to your mind. But I will let that instance alone, unless his continued folly call for it.

N. C. You should not impute the faults of some to all, as you have done through your whole book.

C. That is another instance of his disingenuity, who will take no notice of the distinction I often made between some men and the rest; but will needs say I accuse all, even there where I expressly say 'some,' as you shall hear before we end. The truth is, this Philagathus is so vain, that he writes in many places, as if I had said nothing unless I had writ a book on purpose against him. It is enough he thinks to silence me, to say, I never preached, to my remembrance, one sermon of that strain[b]: I was never one of those flatterers: I have urged that advice several years past. Just as if he had a saint's bell in his pocket, (as your old friend Martin said to another, I hope you will not be offended at his words,) crying "Ting, ting, ting[c]." And what doth it ting? "my modesty," "my modera-

[a] [But the king will maintain all these, the true religion also (which is the main), we will and will believe him, for he hath protested it, taking the sacrament upon it from the hand of an archbishop," &c. p. 19.]

[b] Pp. 284, 280, 282, and many other places.

[c] Martin Marprelat, Protestation, when one of his books was taken in the press. ["This (if you know him not) is the verye same Doctor, that in publishing three prettie treatises, hath so handled the matter, by a geometricall dimension, that the last (if it be well scanned) is the same with the first, and the middlemost all one with them both: the man, in all likelihood, never goeth without a little saunce-bell (*sic*) in his pocket; and that doth nothing els but *Ting, ting, ting;* and what doth it ting? if you give good care, nothing els I warrant you; but my sermons, my writings, my reasons, my arguments; and al is My, my,

tion," "my peaceableness," "my charity[d];" nothing but "my, my, my." As if he was some universal nature, of whom all the particular Non-conformists did partake. He might at least have considered that there are several degrees of those who differ from us, and that they are so many, that no man can in one breath mention them all. They were above threescore years ago most ingeniously painted, and likened to "Anacreon's fond loves, some of which were perfect, some pipient; some hatched, some half hatched; some peering out of the egg, some riper in the chick, whilst others had the strength to fly nimbly away[e]." All of them have this quality to despise us, and think we know little or nothing of the *mystery of godliness*, or want the power of it: but some in their opinions are further, others a lesser way from us. Now there is nothing in my book which the Non-conformist speaks (whatsoever this man boldly talks) but some or other of them allege against us, or reply to us; though every one doth not object or answer every thing therein mentioned. As for those who are sorry for our breaches, and dislike the furious and factious crew who scorn and revile us, all that I had to say to them was, as you may remember, to desire them to separate themselves from that herd, by frequenting the public worship of God, disclaiming their unlawful practices, opposing their bold and proud spirit, and reproving their insolent and wicked speeches. If they will not be persuaded to this, but still continue among them, countenance their cause, and join with them as if they were a more select and holy people, and so find themselves wounded by any thing I have writ; all that I can say to that is only this, which a very grave author said in the like case[f]: "It may be, some of you know, or have heard of that noble moralizer's fable of Amphialus[g], who when he was in all his military accoutrements to give combat (as he thought) to Argalus knight of the sun; this man's wife dressed herself in her husband's armour and

my; as if the depth of all learning were included in the chancle of his braine."—p. 28. of the "Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat," &c. 8vo, n. p. or d.]

[d] Sober Answer, p. 143, 144, 225.

[e] A sermon at St. Paul's Cross, Nov. 1, 1607, by S. Collins. [p. 18. 4to, Lond. 1608.]

[f] Mr. Robert Abbot. Trial of Church Forsakers, ['or A Meditation tending to still the passions of unquiet Brownists,' a sermon upon Hebr. x. 25.] 1639. Epistle to the Reader. [8vo. Lond. 1639.]

[g] [Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, book iii. Works, vol. ii. p. 509.]

fought his enemy. Amphialus spared not his blows, gave a cut in the neck, closes, overthrows, and gives a mortal wound in the body. But when he opened the armour and viewed the body, he found to his great sorrow it was Parthenia, to whom he meant no hurt at all. Such is my case here, I dare not write against any of our communion, the love of brotherly peace is glorious, even among men that other way differ in opinion. But if they thrust themselves among the enemy, nay, put on the arms of those with whom I contend for truth, I cannot help it if they meet with a blow: though I glory not in it, yea, am sorry there should be any such cause."

N. C. You have given too many blows to your betters. "For I doubt your ministry hath hardly produced those good effects as yet (so richly and plentifully I mean) as theirs have done. I doubt you can hardly say of so many as they can say so, These are the children which God hath given me, &c. Cease to vilify those that God hath honoured above you, as to the conversion of souls. Discover not an envious spirit."———

C. You need not repeat any more, I have his words in mind[h]; and remember withal, that such men have been wont of old to vilify all preaching besides their own, and to challenge to themselves, if not solely, yet above all others, a converting ministry. So we were told long ago, and "I speak no more," saith my author[i], "than I know by good proof." Thither no doubt that speech of theirs tended, which was so famous in those days, that "all the flour was of their bolting, throughout the land[j]." Which conceit continued in those that succeeded, as Dr. John Burges observes. "If," saith he, "for shame they cannot deny Conformists to have excellent gifts, yet they limit the use of them, only to the breeding of knowledge, or reprehension of some grosser faults; but that their ministry, as well as others that conform not, may work faith and repentance to salvation, they will not easily acknowledge, yea, some flatly deny[k]." This man is one of those doubters; being soured very much with that old leaven which heaved and swelled them up so much. He is inclined indeed to hope that

[h] Sober Answer, p. 54.

[i] Sermon at Paul's Cross, 1607, pp. 73, 74.

[j] Preface to their first petition offered to king James. [quoted ibid. p. 74.]

[k] Preface to the answer of bishop Morton's book, p. 5, 1631. [See vol. v. p. 640.]

it is possible we may convert some; but alas! they are very few in compare with the numbers that they convert. Our ministry is not so powerful, and works not so much upon the heart.———

N. C. He speaks only of you.

C. You forget yourself; upon the mention of me, (who had rather learn, as I told you, than teach,) he tells[l] you of an image now adored, which is nothing else but the preaching of conformists, that must fall before theirs, "as Dagon did before the ark." They have the Ark of the Covenant, they have the presence of God among them, they behold the beauty of the Lord in the sanctuary: who therefore can stand before them? The word is given forth, and we must fall down, down to the very ground. For "fire," you know, "goes out of the mouth of the two witnesses," (i. e. yourselves,) so that, "when they testify (as another of your interpreters expounds it[m]) against any thing, any man, any creature, any way, any ordinances, any judgment, saying, this is heathenism, this is Gentilism, this is carnal, this is fleshly, this is the creature, this is man and not God, or of God; presently it is destroyed, consumed, blasted, and brought to nothing." This he is so confident of, that he repeats it again and again; "Whosoever shall hurt or oppose the witnesses, (the Spirit and spiritual actings of Christ and his people,) be he never so great, wise, powerful, devout and religious; he shall not be able to stand, but fire proceeds from the Spirit, which torments, consumes, and destroys him. For when the two witnesses declare that it is not of God, it is not Christ, it is not the holy one of God; but it is man, it is flesh, it is the outward court that is excluded, not the inward temple, therefore measure it not, leave it out, exclude it from having the dews and showers of heaven fall upon it; presently heaven is shut, and they have no rain, and they wither as a plant which God hath not planted." These are your powerful men, that can shut heaven when they list with a breath of their mouths. It is but speaking a word, and we study and plod, and beat our brains, and toil, and labour to no purpose; that blast spoils us all.

[l] Page 14.

[m] Sermon of the two witnesses, Death and Resurrection, 1648, p. 203, &c. [Probably by William Sedgwick, mentioned above, p. 115.]

N. C. This man had too much fire in his head, which made his mouth so hot.

C. Too much pride, you should have said, in his heart, which makes so many of you despise the labours of other men as weak and unprofitable. Thus an impudent libeller told the good bishop of Galloway, that "others had wrought more faithfully and fruitfully than he had done," and could teach him "how to behave himself, though he seemed to himself (these men you must understand can search the heart) a great doctor in Israel[n]." And thus also the covenanters in later times upbraided the reverend professors of Aberdeen, and they no mean persons[o] neither, that "their pains in preaching were not fruitful." To which they answered then, as I do now[p], that "though it should be true, yet the parable of the seed sown in divers sort of ground, and the dolorous complaint which those most painful and thundering preachers, Elijah, Isaiah, St. Paul, yea, and Christ himself, made of their hard success in their labours might learn you to be more benign in your censures of us than you are." To which I add, that it must be left to God to judge who doth most good and makes the best men, for all are not good nor all bad, that such rash and ignorant men as this are wont to call by those names. We know very well, that many men who are converted to you are so far from being good, that they become worse than they were before: more haughty and conceited of themselves, more unmannerly to their betters, disobedient to their masters and governors, unbridled in their language, unpeaceable and troublesome to their neighbours. It is an easy matter to say I wrong you, but I know what I say, and others have said it before me. It is an old

[n] Answer to Tripartite Apology, 1614, p. 180. [By William Cowper, bishop of Galloway, referred to above, p. 47.]

[o] Dr. John Forbes, Rob. Baronius, &c.

[p] Duplies, p. 112. ['The 'Duplyes' are subscribed by

"John Forbes of Corse, Doctor and professor of divinity in Aberdene.

Robert Baron, Doctor and professor of Divinity.

Alexander Scrogie, minister at old Aberdene, D. D.

William Lesley, D. D. and Principall of the King's Colledge, in Aberdene.

Ja. Sibbald, Doctor of Divinity, a minister at Aberdene.

Alexander Ross, Doctor of Divinity, and minister at Aberdene."—p. 133.

For an account of the compilation itself, see p. 103, above.]

observation of Mr. R. Bernard's[q], that as soon as ever men enter into the way of separation, immediately they "grow peremptory, and though never so simple, yet presently they see the truth without any study, and can pertly champer against us and condemn us all for false Christians and false churches." Nay, they are so bewitched with that way, that they are nothing like themselves in what was good and laudable in them. Before humble and tractable, then proud and wilful; before they could find the word work, and themselves moved by our preaching; but afterward they judge the minister to have lost the power of his ministry, because they themselves are in affection altered; blaming the teacher when the fault is in themselves. They can with understanding judge between cause and cause, reason and reason; but then they lick up all which comes from themselves as oracles, be they never so absurd." And have we not all seen how light they all make of this great sin of separation? The New England ministers themselves complain, that "there is scarce any truth or error nowadays can be received, but it is maintained in a way of schism, directly contrary to the gathering and uniting Spirit of Jesus Christ[r]." And what should be the reason, think you, that men are so ready to follow this evil spirit that is in the world, but that they have no sense of spiritual wickedness, nay, look upon divisions, separations, and all the evil consequences of them, not only as innocent, but holy things? While the devil, as Mr. Greenham well observes[s], "was known only by horns and claws, or by the hollow voice, he was wonderfully feared; but being now revealed to be a more secret adversary, a spiritual tempter, a privy overthrower of souls, no man almost regards him. And therefore as some have feared him too superstitiously, so now it is come to a more dangerous extremity, that he is not feared at all." He enters into men's hearts securely, and they are not aware of it; he rules and domineers there, and they rejoice at it, thinking they are full of the Spirit of God. O how happy would it be, if all would labour to throw this devil out, which possesses too many! pride, high conceit of their own

[q] Separatist's schism, 1608. [p. 29, 39.]

[r] Mr. Allen and Mr. Shepherd, Defence of the nine positions, p. 27. [See part 2. vol. v. p. 494.]

[s] Grave counsels and Godly observations, p. 37. Works, fol. Lond. 1612.]

knowledge, glorying in their gifts, crowing over others as carnal or moral men, together with all the rest of his company which I have mentioned. This would be a better work than to persuade them they are already converted, when they are become proselytes to a party, and too many of them, as far as we can see by their fruits, like those made by the Pharisees, who were no less laborious, and perhaps successful than yourselves.

N. C. You are mistaken, we do not call this conversion, to become Non-conformists.

C. You may speak for yourself, and such as you know very well, for too many do; they glory in the conversion of those who have only changed their vices, not their natures; and of profane or neglecters of religion, are become schismatical, proud, censorious, and highly presuming of their knowledge which they have got in a moment; in one word, have exchanged the sins of the flesh for those of the spirit. Tertullian's[t] words are an exact description of them, if you do but invert the proverb; "They go out of the coal pit into the lime kiln," where, though they become white, yet they remain still dirty and defiled. And look, how much these excel other men in zeal and earnestness, in height of fancy and warmth of affection, in fluency of speech and notable strains of devotion; in so much the worse condition they are. "As men in a phrensy," saith Irenæus[u], (out of Hippocrates,) "the more they laugh and appear to be vigorous and strong, doing all things like men in health, nay, some things above what any sound men can do," so much the more dangerous is their disease: in like manner, the higher these people are in their own thoughts, the greater store they have of religious heat, the more vehemently they bend their thoughts and strain their unpurged souls, (drawing the arrow, as he speaks, beyond the bow,) the less wise they are, or rather the more mad and furious, and the more unlikely ever to return to any sobriety of mind. I would not for all the world be guilty of that envy, which his ill-natured adversary would make you believe I am infected withal. I rejoice, I thank God, not only that men are made truly good, whosoever be the instru-

[t] Pervenimus de calcaria in carbonariam.—L. de Carne Christi, cap. 6. [p. 311 B.]

[u] L. 1. cap. 13. [al. 16. tom. i. p. 83.]

ment of it, but that they are made wiser and better than myself; yet I am taught for all that, by your own books, to lessen the number of such converts as this man brags of. For they have informed us, for many years, of an evil generation that have separated from us, in whom, as one of them tells us[x], "you shall see Christ and Belial, God and Mammon, in one and the same person; Christ in show, and the other in reality. They let themselves loose to lying and dissimulation, slandering and backbiting, and all kind of circumvention. God, religion, reason, virtue, are but mere terms and notions with them, serving them to no other purpose but to deceive the more effectually." And that particular of lying is confirmed by Mr. H. Peters himself, who to cry quit with those among you that exclaimed against the army as guilty of many crimes, said, there are some other diseases as much considerable among others, which may be of greater influence; and the last he mentions is, "a spirit of lying and false witness bearing, even to the undervaluing of our enjoyments[y]." Much more I could relate to this purpose from some of your own mouths, which if it should have been writ by any of us, I know what you would have said of us.

N. C. Truly you have said too much to gratify the common enemy; "and so far," saith Philagathus[z], "as a man may gather from your book, you would sooner promote a Cassandrian design, viz. of union betwixt protestants and papists, than that betwixt Conformists and Non-conformists. For you instigate rulers to much severity against Non-conformists, but never against papists."

C. As far as a man may gather from his answer to my book, he would sooner turn a Turk than a son of the Church of England; for he hath expressed a great deal of wrath and spite against some of us, but none at all against any of the Turks. What an untoward adversary have I to deal withal, who, if we will not be impertinent, leave our business and go out of our way to dispute with a man, concludes that we have nothing to say to him! He loves so to ramble himself, that he takes it much to heart if we will not bear him company. As W. B.'s

[x] Fountain of Slander opened, p. 25, 1649. [By William Walwyn, merchant: see p. 133, above.]

[y] A word to the Army, and two words to the Kingdom, 1647. [By Hugh Peters, 4to, Lond. p. 9.]

[z] Preface, p. 10.

pottage, you know, led his profane fancy to the story of the girl that cried "Butter, butter too," when her mother taught her the Lord's Prayer, and came to those words, *Give us our daily bread*[z].

N. C. Why should it be called profane? It is but a merry story.

C. In the child it was not profane, who knew not what it said; but in him it is impious to suppose it possible that I should mislike those holy words of our Lord's, and think them defective and dry, unless I might pray with this addition, "Give us our daily bread, and butter too." I did not think there had been a divine among you who was so much a child, or else so little a Christian, as to write such stuff as this. Martin Mar-Priest, indeed, was so bold as to desire the Lord he would put it into the assembly's heart to divide the Directory, not only into chapters, "but into verses, into verses too;" that so we might have a "new Directory-gospel:" but this, you know, was called an horrid blasphemy———

N. C. Pray do not you tell stories too?

C. Mine is no old wife's tale, like his, but to be seen in print, in a book[a] where you may find more such scoffing prayers, from the men of the new light, whom Philagathus is resolved to defend.

N. C. I pray God deliver us from their darkness.

C. Shut your windows then against them. And pray withal that God would send Philagathus more wit or more modesty, that he may not trouble the world with such wretched prefaces and books any more. As for the advantage which you fancy the papists may make of what I have said, it is not to be considered in compare with that which they make of your schism, and your loud clamours for more liberty than the laws

[z] "I hope you do not mislike the word *bread* in the Lord's Prayer, and as thinking that expression too dry, cry out as a child did," &c. p. 265. [Sober Answer, &c.]

[a] A fresh discovery of some new wandering, blazing stars, &c. 1646. § 5. ["A Fresh Discovery of some prodigious, new, wandring-blasing stars, and firebrands, stiling themselves New-Lights, firing our church and state into new combustions; divided into ten sections, &c. published for the common good, by William Prynne of Lincoln's Inne, Esquire,"—4to, Lond. 1645, with an epistle dedicatory to the "High and honourable court of Parliament."]

allow. "We did swear," saith Mr. Rutherford[b], "the extirpation of popery, &c.: now we preach, profess, and print that liberty is to be given for the consciences of men; and how can this be denied to papists?" This design of liberty, which you have in your heads, is that "white devil," that "noon-day devil," (if you will believe Mr. Edwards[c],) which, "coming under the merit of much suffering, and well deserving, clad in the white garments of innocence and holiness," is like to do the more hurt. And it was the opinion, I find, of an old doctor in Cambridge, long before you or I was born, that if ever popery come into this land again to have any power, it would be by the means of such precisians as you.

N. C. Why do you call any body by that name?

C. Let Dr. Featley tell you: an author whom Philagathus quotes very often. "Our refined reformers," saith he[d], (as they would be thought,) "according to their name of Precisians, pare the nails of pretended Romish rites in our church so near, that they make her fingers bleed. For fear of monuments of idolatry, all ornaments of the church must be taken away. For fear of praying for the dead, they will allow no prayer to be said for the living at the burial of the dead. For fear of bread worship, they will not kneel at the communion of Christ's body and blood." But how fairly you have contributed, more than any body else, to bring that which you fear upon us, by disturbing the government of church and state, and still continuing a lamentable separation from us, there is none now among us, of any understanding, but easily discern: for he is blind indeed, that cannot see through the holes of a sieve. It is possible you may remember also, who that gentleman was that told the city of London when he was upon the scaffold[e], that "it was part of his prayer to Almighty God, that the tumultuous people of this nation might not be like those Pharisees and

[b] Sermon 25, June 1645, at the Abbey, p. 6. [Before the House of Lords on the day appointed for solemne and publique humiliation, and ordered by the House to be printed, Die Jovis, 26. Junii, 1645.]

[c] Antapolog. [p. 304.]

[d] A Consecration Sermon, March 23, 1622. ["The Apostolick bishop," a sermon on John xx. 22., preached at the consecration of Robert Wright, D. D. bishop of Bristol, March. 23, 1622; printed in Featley's Clavis Mystica. See p. 125: fol. Lond. 1636.]

[e] [Archbishop Laud's speech, published by John Hinde in 1644, and reprinted in Harl. Misc. vol. viii. p. 601. Heylin's Laud, p. 499.]

their followers, who, pretending a fear of the Romans coming and taking away their place and nation (when there was no cause for it, but they only made use of that suggestion to further their mischievous design of murdering the innocent) had at last the Romans brought upon them indeed, and were utterly ruined by them." Truly, "the factious and tumultuous people of this nation," saith my author[f], "have in all other things the most resembled the Pharisees that ever any people did: God in his mercy grant that they do not also resemble them in this."

N. C. There is no fear of that, I warrant you.

C. A great deal the more, because you are not sensible of the danger. For as if it were a small matter to make such a wide breach in our church, you seek to make it wider, by advancing yourselves above all other men, disparaging us and our ministers, and loading them with reproaches, as if they were not worthy to be named together with you. Which forces us to say that of you which otherwise should never have come out of our mouths: though, alas, it could not have been hid; you proclaim it so loudly yourselves. This very advocate of yours hath given such a character of you in his book, as may satisfy all wise and sober men what you are, though we should hold our peace. For he hath one faculty, you must know, wherein he surpasses most other writers, and that is, after he hath made a long discourse to prove a thing, at last to overthrow it all. Or to speak in his own phrase, he is such a cow, as having given a great deal of milk, throws it all down with her foot. For after all the evil he had said of me, in conclusion, as I showed you, he acknowledges so much goodness in me as is inconsistent with his accusations. And in like manner, after all the praises he had bestowed on the Non-conformists for their

[f] England's Complaint. *an.* 1648. ["Englands Complaint: or a sharp Reproof for the inhabitants thereof; against that now raigning sin of Rebellion. But more especially to the inhabitants of the county of Suffolk; with a vindication of those worthyes now in Colchester. By Lionel Gatford, B. D. the true, but sequestred rector of Dennington in the said county."—4to, Lond. 1648. See p. 29, where he also quotes the preceding extract from the speech of archbishop Laud. The tract appears to have been written early in the autumn of the year, when the designs of the army upon the life of the king began to be undisguisedly developed, against which the writer protests in the most earnest language.]

piety, sincerity, modesty, patience, and such like things; in the end he grants the worst things that I charged them withal, and makes them as bad as bad can be: though you may be sure it was not his design, only truth would out when he did not observe it.

N. C. You should not study revenge, by taking notice of "the motes that are in the eye of his discourse," because he did so by yours [f].

C. If I sought for motes, I could find a great one in that very phrase. These are logs which I am going to speak of, that a man may see with half an eye. First, he confesses that they are "self-conceited, impatient of contradiction, wedded to their own opinion;" such as will "rule even their ministers," if not despise and abandon them, unless they please their humour: else why should they so easily run away from them, "nay, spew them out of their mouth [g]," if they persuade them earnestly to that which they think in their conscience is their duty? They are so currish also and hard-hearted, that they will give such a minister a "bill of divorce, and he may starve if he will, for any thing that they will do for him [h]." But the reason is, that they are in a rage, in a "violent fermentation [i]" and boiling against our church, and therefore must not be meddled withal, but let alone; for fear, as he tells you, of making them "stark mad," which it is thought would be "the effect of an attempt to reduce them to that which I call sobriety [k]." So uncapable they are of good instruction, that they speak evil of our bishops and others with open mouth, being the authors or abettors of false and scandalous stories concerning them, and yet cannot be persuaded that they have done it sufficiently, or that they can open their mouths too wide in this case.

N. C. A horrid slander.

C. Say you so? I will read his very words then to you, that you may be convinced, though others will not. "Neither must they [l] (i. e. your ministers) presume to keep a day of humiliation for the sin you there mention, p. 235, viz. speaking

[f] Sober Answer, p. 11.
[g] They are his own words, p. 228, and see p. 223.
[h] His own words, p. 229.
[i] [P. 227.]
[k] P. 227.
[l] P. 228.

evil of bishops, &c., though either to raise or take up a false report against any man, especially if in authority, is a great sin: yet to keep a day of humiliation among the people upon such an account as that, (who will not be convinced that they can open their mouths too wide in that case,) were immediately to divorce themselves from them, or to cause the people to give them a bill of divorcement, and to be married to some worse husband"——.

N. C. I am astonished at his negligent writing: I shall not be angry hereafter if you call him a shattered-brain scribbler——

C. Who not only confesses that you cannot be convinced that you can bawl too loudly, though falsely and scandalously against our governors, but that the hearts of your people are alienated from us, and have an antipathy against us, as he tells you in the next page. And that some of them hate our worship worse than a toad, as he assures us upon his own knowledge[m]: and are so ungrateful withal to our sovereign, that they will not so much as wish for the peace and prosperity of their native country, unless they can enjoy such quiet as they desire.

N. C. There is no such thing sure in his book.

C. No! read then what he saith in another place, p. 221, 222: where he tells us we must not expect that you should be persuaded to seek our peace by such easy means as I directed you to, for men cannot easily so much deny themselves as "to promote the interest of those by whom they have been ruined, and are ruining all the day long. If you urge that text[n]," saith he, "*Seek the peace of that city whither I have caused you to be carried captive, and pray to the Lord for it:* some are ready to reply, (how many who knows,) Yea, and so we will seek your peace and prosperity, when you make good what is there added, *for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace.*" They will condition, you see, with his majesty, or else he must not have the benefit of their prayers for the tranquillity and happiness of his realms.

N. C. Would he had held his peace, and never undertaken our cause.

[m] P. 224. 'Cane pejus, et angue.'

[n] [Jer. xxix. 7.]

C. There is a plain reason, he tells you, for this surliness. "They are grown high and proud; they swell with grief, anger, and vexation [o]," because they cannot have their will, or, as he calls it, "are trod and trampled upon." And though they are, it seems, so low, yet their spirits are so high, and so far from humble and silent patience, that they "have clamoured both upon king and parliament up and down the nation, for the undoing of many families [p]," which tells you what excellent Christians they are; for that word "clamour," as one [q] told Mr. Saltmarsh, "sounds in a bad sense in the holy Scriptures, as arguing an ill-tempered spirit, with a mixture of pride and impatience;" for which he cites Prov. ix. 13, Eph. iv. 31. But some of them are gone higher, and have a "rebellious principle" in them, as he confesses, if what I said be true [r], as I am sure it is. And yet for all that, there are no such people as they; the power of godliness is their peculiar portion: thus far this man himself is possessed with those proud fancies, that he thinks, from what I have said against them, "it will be enforced that all that which is called religion is mere hypocrisy and imposture [s]. Lastly, as for lying and speaking falsely, you shall not easily meet with a greater example of it than in himself. And if one of your guides be so addicted to this vice, that he blushes not to put them in print, when he may be so soon confuted, what a number of lies, in all probability, are there whispered in corners by your common people!

N. C. You should say they are mistakes, and no more.

C. I would willingly have called them all by no worse name than falsehoods; but upon serious consideration of all things, I cannot but conclude that too often there was something of his will in it, and that he had a mind to calumniate. And for our more orderly proceeding, this being, you know, part of my charge against him, I will first set before you some of the lies

[o] P. 281.

[p] So he tells us, p. 236.

[q] Mr. Fuller's Vindication of his Sermon, 1643. ["Truth maintained, or Positions delivered in a Sermon at the Savoy, since traduced for dangerous, now asserted for sound and safe, by Thomas Fuller, B. D., late of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge, printed at Oxford, anno Dom. 1648." p. 16.

Some account of the controversy in which Fuller was involved by means of this sermon has been given in vol. v. p. 546.]

[r] Sober Answer, p. 105.

[s] Preface, p. 22, 23.

and falsehoods in his preface, and then some of those that are in his book. For the former, there is no truth in those words you meet withal, p. 3, that I call some men al-to naught; nor did I say so much as this, which he confidently affirms, "that W. B. is the greatest impostor that ever I knew in the Christian religion[t]." These are forgeries of his own, like that which follows p. 8., "You bring in the Non-conformist saying, the king is a tyrant." But what will not he be bold to invent, who dare tell you (p. 10,) that I "knocked so hard (not only upon the act of indemnity, which I have showed you is notoriously false) but upon all overtures for peace and accommodation," that he was not "able to lie still," when part of my business was to show the way to it, and when it was fit for you to expect the favour you desire? If we say not what pleases him, it seems we had better hold our peace. If he like not our propositions, he will make no bones to say we offer nothing; nay, are against all peace and accommodation with them. They must have their own way, and be set at liberty (as he tells us) before "they will try to make us and you friends;" and then it is but upon condition neither; "if we will refer it to them, and be bound to stand to their award[u]." Such another ugly lie is that which immediately comes after this, that I "reflect obliquely upon most eminent persons, and insinuate that they never deserve to be loved or trusted more, notwithstanding his majesty's confidence in them[x]." This he found in the same place where he met with all those stratagems and maxims he tells you of in the following pages; as, that I "would put down religious conference, and bring men out of conceit with experiences," and have "spiritual preaching laughed out of countenance[y];" and that I have "used my wit to abuse earnestness in prayer, preaching of the love of Jesus Christ, and using of Scripture language[z];" with a number of other such like things, which are such gross lies that they cannot be forced from my words by doing violence to them, and putting them upon the rack. For I told you in plain terms what

[t] [Sober Answer, preface, p. 3.] My words are, "He is one of the principal impostors, that perverted the truth and adulterated," &c. Contin. [vol. v. p. 506.]

[u] They are his own words, pp. 220, 221.

[x] [Preface, pp. 10, 1.]

[y] Pp. 16, 17, of the Preface.

[z] P. 33. ib.

experiences the apostle commands; and when religious conference is profitable to ourselves and others, and what it is to preach spiritually, &c., which I do not mean to repeat over again for his conviction. Instead of that, I will recommend to his consideration one stratagem which he doth not think of; though he is very expert in it, and though it be a stratagem of Satan, who as Acontius might have informed him, in a book bearing that title[a], prompts men to "cavil at one another's words in their disputes; whereby opposition is made not so much against what is affirmed, as against what the opposer hath by a false interpretation feigned to himself:" which kind of practice "tends to nothing," saith he, "but to provoke the adversary, and to make a man's self ridiculous, by opening a window to himself whereout to cast a thousand follies, not a jot to the matter in hand." "Yet some men," as he adds, "are exceedingly conceited of themselves, if, misinterpreting their adversaries' words, they can infer some great absurdity therefrom. Howbeit, this custom ought to be left to vain sophisters:" who, as another excellent writer observes[b], "can make use of true propositions to infer an erroneous conclusion, and like pettifoggers, still cite the law to authorize their injustice." Such a caviller is this Philagathus, between whose maxims, aphorisms, &c. and my propositions, there is as wide a difference, as we find ofttimes between the text and the commentaries, the meaning of the author and the criticisms of grammarians. So he will confess himself, if he will but take the counsel of Acontius, and forsaking the devil with all his works, report what I say without addition, diminution, or alteration. I can warrant only my own words, which are sound and innocent, as the other writer speaks in the like case; not those of my adversary, which are full of malice and rancour. For what I have written I am responsible, and am ready to maintain it: but all the visions and fancies that come into other men's heads are not in my power, nor am I accountable for them. If Phila-

[a] Satan's Stratagemes, book ii. p. 50. translated, 1648. ["Satan's Stratagems, or the Devils cabinet-councel discovered, &c. by Jacobus Acontius, a learned and godly divine banished for the gospel." — 4to, Lond. 1648. with a prefatory epistle by J. Goodwin, dated Feb. 9. 1647.]

[b] Mouns. Balzac. [Modern Epistles, letter 31. June 7, 1633. p. 35. 8vo, Lond. 1654.]

gathus will say, that I affirm "one of W. B.'s sermons is not so good as a play[c]," &c. what remedy is there? who can defend themselves from being abused by such squint-eyed readers? I cannot make my words plainer than they are, which were only these, that "the sermon about the cupboard of plate, and God's departing from us, &c. hath more of fiction in it than many of the plays[d]." Whatever other words I should go about to place in the room of them he may as well deprave as he hath done these, and many other throughout his whole book; making them depose such things as were never in my thoughts. But now we have to do with the preface, in which there are so many falsities of this nature, that if I could find the like in my book, I should think (as Dr. Corn. Burges saith in another case[e]) "that it deserved the reward of the hangman, and I would either burn it myself, or hire him to do it for me." It would tire you to hear them all, and therefore I will only add that notorious one which you find in the first of those "stratagems of Satan" which he hath invented, to cast that blame on us which justly lies upon themselves. It is this, that we have "brought all the practical divines, such as Scudder, Culverwell, Rogers, &c. quite out of request, that nowadays there is no inquiring after those kind of books[f]."

N. C. He only tells you that "a grave bookseller" told him not long since "that the rational divines (as some would have them called) had brought all our practical divines," &c.———

C. Take heed you do not falsify too: he hath made this lie his own, in these words which follow[g]; "Sure I am, the writings which you have taught the world to set at naught have been as great seminaries and nurseries of religion as most in the world."

N. C. Is it not too true?

[c] Preface, p. 20.

[d] Friendly Debate. [vol.v. p.400.]

[e] Antidote against Anti-Sobrius, p. 31. 1660. ["Two Replyes: the one An Antidote against Antisobrius, or against those sad revilings of purchasers of Cathedral lands, in a late foul pamphlet, falsly intituled Anti-Sacrilegus, or A Defensative &c. which is now replyed unto, and directed to Dr. Gauden. The other Reply is to Dr. Pearson's Answer to Dr. Burges his Word: by C. Burges D. D. (4to,) London, printed in the year 1660."

A copy of this scarce tract, which Anthony à Wood mentions, but appears not to have seen, (Athen. Oxon. iii. 686.) is in the possession of the editor.]

[f] Preface, p. 12.

[g] Ib. p. 13.

C. There cannot well be a more impudent falsehood. For it was the canting of some among yourselves which first struck those books out of your people's hands, and destroyed those great nurseries which he speaks of. They made them believe there was a greater gospel light now broken forth than had been since the apostles' times; that they brought them more glorious discoveries of the love of God, and held forth free grace more clearly and fully; and that there was both a freer streaming of Christ's blood to poor sinners laid open, and a more plentiful pouring out of the Spirit in these latter days, than our forefathers had seen: in short, that there was more of law and of Mount Sinai in those old preachers, and now more of gospel and Mount Sion in themselves. This was one of those things which turned their eyes from authors now named, to look for some greater thing which these new teachers had to reveal to them.

N. C. I must confess I have heard some of our own divines complain of this. But I doubt you have helped to make the people "reject those authors as weak and frivolous, and to listen to what new rational doctrine yourselves are about to bring:" as he tells you, p. 13.

C. He talks idly; and spitefully opposes his own imaginations to the plain and manifest truth. They were laid aside, and other books come in their stead, before those whom he strikes at begun either to preach or write. And some of those very ministers of yours who complained of the new lights and discoveries have contributed to it not a little, by affecting of new words and fine phrases, and devising sauces for that food which those old divines delivered in a plainer and more simple manner. These many people began even then to long for, when Mr. Rogers his book was writ; as we may learn from one that prefaces to it. Mr. Fr. Merbury[h] there tells us that some professors in those days liked none but such conceited cooks as this Philagathus, who commends so heartily T. W.'s sauces, and tells us "an anchovy or two gives the gravy a fine relish:" and rather than fail can be content with "carrier's sauce, an onion, to get a man a better stomach to his meat[i]."

[h] [Merbury has been introduced before, p. 14.]

[i] All these are his words, p. 50.

But he himself did not like them, as he tells us in these words: "The rest of the professors, which are like wanton children, and begin to play with their meat, and brook nothing but conceited writing and speaking, are to be bewailed." And therefore he desires the good readers in the conclusion of that epistle, to receive Mr. Rogers' provision made for them of wholesome meat, not caring for conceited cookery, but remembering that hunger is the best sauce for heavenly food. This is a plain demonstration to me, that this busy informer and reprover hath not been conversant himself in those writers which he so much commends, but is one of those who hath laid them aside, though he be no rational divine, I dare say for him. At least he is never the better for them, being one of those that writes not elegantly but conceitedly, (if ever any man did,) and that labours hard in this fantastic trade of cookery, which those grave writers did so solemnly condemn. Witness the "bread and butter" I told you of before[k], the "hot broth of reproof" which he talks of, p. 123. The "beef and bacon," the "rabbits and chickens," which he fetches in, to make a "savoury mess of W.B.'s bowl of pottage[l]:" and the conceited jest which he makes a shift to strain at last out of a galimaufry of Latin and English compounded together; for which he would be soundly firked if he were I know where, and at every lash be told in his own language that he had both *jus in re*, and *jus ad rem* too, far more than any boy in the school.

N. C. Did not you bring in your cheese too in the Epistle to your Reader?

C. And I take it neither for an "outstretched allegory[m]" (as he would have it) nor an unhandsome resemblance. Others, I am sure, who are no bad judges, think it as far from conceited as they think him from being witty.

N. C. You must consider the matters about which he writes are not very grave, and so it may be pardonable if he be a little fantastical.

C. No? I thought all this while he had been defending the use of these sauces in T. W.'s book of Repentance and such

[k] [See p. 191, above.]
[l] Pp. 264, 265.
[m] Like his discourse of this matter; which takes up three pages, p. 264, &c.

like, that have taken the place of those better writers: which are the less acceptable to many of you for another reason that he thinks not of, being, I have cause to think, but little acquainted with them.

N. C. What should that be?

C. They resolutely maintain the lawfulness and usefulness of a form of prayer, which now is so much despised, if not abhorred; and withal approve of the public service of our church, and commend some other things which are now neglected.

N. C. Can you prove what you say?

C. I tell you nothing but what my eyes have read. Mr. Rich. Rogers, for instance, whom (p. 13.) he sets in the first place, in his Seven Treatises[n] dedicated to king James in the beginning of his reign, tells you[o], that the "public prayers solemnly offered to God in the congregation, and praising God with psalms, is one of the public helps to godliness to be used by every Christian. In the which," saith he, "if that mind be in us with the which we have been taught to come to all holy exercises, and so be prepared for them, who doubts but that we may receive much help by them? Yea, and the better a man is, the more he shall profit by them. And when a man doth not profit, it is partly of ignorance, partly from a prejudicate opinion and rash zeal, which makes men give themselves to slight and negligent hearing of and attending to them." And then having answered the objection of those who said the ministers in some places were ignorant and unreformed, (sots and idle drones in Philagathus' language, p. 284,) and resolved that notwithstanding we ought to join with them in prayers; he proceeds to satisfy those that said "a minister should use no set form of prayer, but as he is moved by God's Spirit." To such he saith, "It is a fond error so to think———".

N. C. I know many would not like those words.

C. I told you so: but hear his reason. "For as there be necessary things to be prayed for of all men and alway, and those are the most things which we are to pray for; so there may be prescript forms of prayer made concerning all such

[n] Commended by Mr. Culverwell, one of the authors Philagathus praises.

[o] Treat. iii. chap. 4. [p. 222. fol. Lond. 1603.]

things. Which being so, what letteth that in the reading of such prayers, either of confession of sin, request or thanksgiving, what letteth (I say) that the hearers' heart may not profitably go with the same, both to humble, to quicken, and to comfort? For is the reading itself unpure, when the minister in his own behalf and the people's uttereth them to God? I speak not, you see, of the matter of prayer, but of reading it; for if the matter be nought, the pronouncing of it makes it not good any more than reading doth; if it be good and pure being uttered and pronounced, the reading cannot hurt it, or make it evil...And further to satisfy them, they may know that in all churches and the best reformed there is a prescript form of prayer used, and therefore they who are of a mind that it ought not to be must separate themselves from all churches[p]." And then he concludes with a persuasion to all good Christians, "to lay aside contention and endless and (many of them also) needless questions about this matter: and seeing it must of all who are well advised be granted that the public prayers are helps to stir up God's graces in us, and to convey to us the many good blessings of God which we want, to look therefore to themselves every way so carefully that they may be fit to be helped and benefitted by them; and with the same well ordered hearts and minds to attend unto and apply to themselves the prayers which either before and after sermon are uttered, or the other which through the whole action of God's worship are read in their hearing: and not to be led by opinion that they can take no profit by them."

N. C. I see very well what kind of writer he is.

C. And you see he is not for the tooth of the men of these days: in which Philagathus confesses your ministers dare not persuade the people in this manner; much less tell them that all who are well advised are sensible of the benefit that is to be received by the public prayers read out of a book. This one passage is enough, I doubt not, to make such books as these to be rejected, as well as their admonitions.

N. C. I believe these very good men, and meant exceeding well——

C. But were weak and in a lower dispensation.

[p] [Pp. 223, 4.]

N. C. I dare not say so, but I think they would not please now.

C. No, I warrant you: especially when they met with a form of prayer which this author himself hath drawn up at the end of the fourth treatise[q]: in which, among other things, he teaches the people to acknowledge the great goodness of God in giving them "to live under a most Christian and religious prince and king, defending and maintaining the gospel against all anti-christian malice and tyranny and other adversary powers, and the same truly and sincerely preached," &c. These are words which do not sound well in many of your ears: they would be loath to join in this acknowledgment. For we are told by one that God "hath eclipsed the light of the sanctuary[r]:" by another that "our Aarons too often make golden calves[s]:" and by Philagathus that "the gospel is gone from many congregations in England and elsewhere[t]:" and that "the Goshens that were (when the Non-conformists were in them) are grown as dark as the land of Egypt[u]:" and were it not for some reasons he tells you, he would not have spoken of it, "but let it alone, till the cry thereof so came up to heaven, as to cause the God of heaven to say, as in Gen. xviii. 11 concerning Sodom, *I will go down and see if they have done altogether according to the cry of it which is come up unto me*[v]," &c. By which it should seem——

N. C. No glosses, good sir, nor inferences.

C. There needs none. We may plainly observe what judgments they expect to come upon us because of their removal. We are in Egypt already, (though the word of God be read every where,) and must be made like Sodom and Gomorrah. I wish heartily that instead of such acknowledgments as good Mr. Rogers taught the people to make, though many in those times were suspended and deprived, they do not now clap petards on heaven's gates, that they may fly open and send down fire and brimstone upon us.

[q] Chap. 20. p. 537 &c. Edit. 5. 1630. [p. 406. ed. 1603.]

[r] T. W. Godly man's picture, p. 114. ["The Godly Mans Picture, drawn with a Scripture-pensil; or some characteristical notes of a man that shall go to Heaven, by Thomas Watson, minister of the Gospel,"—4to, Lond. 1666.]

[s] Rebuilding of London, p. 359. [See p. 73, above.]

[t] Sober Answer, p. 284.

[u] P. 285. [v] P. 286.

N. C. Are you mad? what wildfire hath got into your head? Philagathus called you a crack; now he will call you a cracker.

C. You are not well read, I perceive. T. W. tells you that "prayer hath a power to destroy the insolent enemies of the church." For "the two witnesses have a flame at their lips: *fire proceeds out of their mouth, which devours their enemies*[x]; and this fire is certainly to be interpreted of their prayers[y]." Now that you may better understand their power, he tells you that "prayer is a petard which will make heaven's gate to fly open[z]."

N. C. I cry you mercy; I did not expect to have found such expressions any where.

C. Not in Mr. Rogers, I warrant you, nor any of the seminaries before named, who will never trouble you with such conceited language as this, nor tell you that "prayer is a seed sown in God's ears[a]."

N. C. Good, now dismiss both him and Mr. Rogers; I have had enough of them.

C. Let me tell you first that this book of his was abridged by Mr. Egerton[b], (who commended it in his preface to Mr. Henry Scudder's Daily Walk,) and called the Practice of Christianity. A book well known and much read when I was a child; and hath an epistle of Dr. Gouge before it, and at the conclusion certain advertisements concerning prayer[c]: in which he declares that it is lawful, and in some cases expedient, to use a set form of prayer. And there being in respect of place and company three sorts of prayer; public in the church, private in the family, and secret by a man's self; he concludes that the greatest liberty may be taken in solitary prayer, by a man's self; because we are sure, provided we be humble and upright, that God will not upbraid any man for his method, order, words, or utterance. In private prayer he thinks we may not take so great a liberty as when alone; and justly fears that some well affected people have been somewhat faulty

[x] Godly man's picture, by Mr. Thomas Watson. [p. 129.]

[y] Rev. xi. 5.

[z] Ib. [p. 130.] [a] Ib. [p. 128.]

[b] Anno 1618, and put in question and answer. [By R. Byfield, according to Wood, Athen. Oxon. ii. 325.]

[c] At the end of the seventh book, chap. xi. p. 691. Edit. 5, 1635. [p. 681. ed. 4. 8vo, Lond. 1629.]

and offensive in this; the weaker sort being not so capable of that kind of prayer which is called conceived or extemporal, varying every time in words, phrase, manner, and order, though the matter and substance be the same. But as for the public congregation, special care he tells you must be had, that nothing be done in praying, preaching, or administering the sacraments, but what is decent and orderly, because there many eyes do see us, and many ears hear us; and upon this account it is expedient for the most part to keep a constant form both of matter and words[d], &c.

This was the doctrine of the divines of those days, though it be not relished now by those who reverence their name more than their books. Dr. Preston himself (another name which this man vapours withal) declared his opinion about the lawfulness of set forms in the first sermon he preached before king James at Royston[e], upon 1 John xvi. where he hath these remarkable words, which will be thought too scornful by many of you now: "That a set form of prayer is lawful much need not be said: the very newness of the contrary opinion is enough to show the vanity and falsehood of it." The truth of it is, it was so new, that there were few of those old divines but they opposed it in their constant practice. This doctor now named, Dr. Sibbs, Mr. Hildersham, Mr. Dod, Mr. Bradshaw, &c., alway using one set form of prayer before their sermons, (and some of them in their families.) For which the last mentioned gave this reason, as Mr. Gataker tells us in his life[f]; "because hesitation in prayer is more offensive than in other discourse, unto profane ones especially; whereof in mixed multitudes and meetings some lightly, too many usually are." And he affirmed this also to have been Mr. Thomas Cartwright's practice with whom he sometimes conversed. And Mr. Clark, I remember, confesses that Mr. Sam. Crook, who died no longer ago than 1649, was "the first man who brought conceived prayer into use in those parts where he lived," in Somersetshire[g]. If you would see more of this you may read Dr.

[d] [P. 687.]

[e] Preached before he was chaplain, as Mr. Ball tells us in his life, published by Mr. Clark, p. 112. [Appended to his Martyrology, fol. Lond. 1677.]

[f] Life of Mr. William Bradshaw, published by Mr. Clark, p. 67 in fol. [ibid.]

[g] Collection of lives of ten Divines, p. 38 in quarto. [Lond. 1662.]

Preston's book, called the Saint's daily Exercise[h], set forth by Dr. Sibbs and Mr. Davenport; where you will find this question largely handled, "whether we may use set forms of prayer;" and resolved affirmatively. For which he gives many reasons.

N. C. I will seek them when I am at leisure.

C. Only remember this for the present, that he saith "he knows no objection of weight against it." How do you like this doctrine now?

N. C. Is not the spirit straitened in stinted prayer? And doth not a man find his spirit bounded and limited when he is tied to a form?

C. That is the main objection, he tells you, to which he gives three substantial answers. The first is, that "those very men who are against this, and use this reason, do the same thing daily in the congregation; for when another prays, that is a set form to him that hears it; who hath no liberty to run out, though his spirit should be more large, but is bound to keep his mind upon it. And therefore if that were a sufficient reason that a man might not use a set form, because the spirit is straitened, it would not be lawful to hear another pray, (though it were a conceived prayer,) because in that case his spirit is limited." Secondly, he tells you, "though the spirit be limited at that time, yet he hath a liberty at other times to pray as freely as he will. It is no general tie, though he be then bound up." And thirdly, he adds, that "there is no tie and restraint upon the spirit, because there is a tie to words. For the largeness of the heart stands not so much in the multitude and variety of expressions, as in the extent of the affections, which have no tie upon them, when we are tied in words[i]."

N. C. Too many words will not do well in any other thing. Let us therefore make an end of this.

C. I shall only tell you, that if you turn a leaf or two further[k], you will find another case resolved about the gesture of prayer, which he would have to be very reverend, especially in

[h] Edit. 6. 1631. [p. 80.] ["A treatise unfolding the whole duty of prayer," delivered in five sermons upon 1 Thess. v. 17.]

[i] [P. 82.]

[k] Saints daily Exercise, p. 84.

public: and that Mr. Hildersham exhorts to kneeling as the fittest gesture; and complains of those that neglected it, as also of such as would not sit bare at the reading of the holy Scriptures; wishing withal that when we come in and go out of the church, we would give some signification of such reverence as now is rather derided than approved. By all which you may see, without travelling through the rest of the authors which he mentions, that they will not down with your squeamish stomachs, and have been thrust out of doors by a number of frivolous writers among you, who can better humour the childish fancies and the corrupt appetites of the professors of this age. This very man is one of them who jeers those old Puritans (as they were called) as well as us, when he compares a man that uses a form of prayer to "an horse in a mill, which goes round and round, and cannot easily go out of his way, if he do but jog on, though he be hoodwinked and blindfolded[l]."

N. C. But "religion," as he says, "is like to suffer greatly" by the not reading of those good writers.

C. That is spoken only upon supposition that our ministers have made them to be rejected; but if they have been the cause of it themselves, he can tell you another story. Doubt not of it, he can find you authors enough as good as they, if not better; and as many as you please, twenty, or forty, or more. Say how many you would have, for it is all one to him whether it be twenty or forty[m], (one is as soon said as the other,) and they shall be such treatises that there are not better extant in the world of those subjects.

N. C. Do you think he will write against himself?

C. That is a very small matter with one that minds not what he writes. In a twelvemonth's time you may think it is easy for a man to forget what he hath writ; and so no wonder that he who told us in 1668, that "some good scholars were put to such hard shifts as to beg their bread, the laws at that time being too hard for them, and too strictly observed to let them get any sufficient employment for a livelihood[n]," &c., should tell us now, 1669, that the severe ordinances signified next to nothing where he was conversant; and should ask "to what

[l] P. 97 of his book.
[m] Pp. 55–57.
[n] Rebuilding of London, p. 331. [See p. 73, above.]

purpose it is to mention them, as long as I tell of no execution done by them [o]." But he can do a great deal more than this comes to: in an hour's time or so he can forget what he hath said, and say the contrary. In p. 31 of his preface he tells you, that he hath endeavoured "to restore me with a spirit of meekness;" notwithstanding that, but two leaves before, p. 26, he had excused himself for not making a milder answer; "flesh and blood being not able to bear some of my expressions." In his book also, if you mark it, he desires you to believe he is far from being one of those who say, (as if we were the Jews or Gentiles he speaks of in another place,) "For what acquaintance" should we persuade our people to join with you? Or how came we to owe you so much service [p]? And yet he hath not writ many leaves before he tells us in plain terms, without excepting himself, that "the Non-conformists do think that they or some of them have been martyred by you or by your means, and are *killed all the day long;* now they think it unreasonable upon that account (if upon no other) that they should also be martyrs for you; that they should be repairers of your breaches, who have been the makers of theirs [q]." But there is nothing so pleasant as to see him who laughs at a ratherism, (as he calls it,) which he brings in by head and shoulders, not knowing who it was that spoke those words, "the plotting of treason is dangerous rather than otherwise [r]," fall into a gross one himself, and not know it. "It is just with God to punish you with perpetual barrenness, as he did Michal. But I would rather deprecate than wish it." So he [s], "as if he had been at a stand [t] and at some uncertainty," whether he might not altogether or almost as well pray God to curse his neighbour, as desire he would not: "and therefore brings in his opinion, but with a modest rather, or in the way of ratherism [t]."

N. C. I had rather he had let both alone.

C. Come, leave off that idle toying with words, which he and his fellows are so guilty of.

N. C. And are not many among yourselves in the same pre-

[o] Sober Answer, p. 254, 255.
[p] P. 221. [q] P. 229.
[r] P. 266.
[s] P. 27.
[t] They are his own words in the other case. [p. 266.]

dicament? Doth not he tell you what ware he is able to furnish you with all of this kind? p. 51.

C. He may open his shop when he pleases, but it will be nothing to the purpose; for we do not call such by the name of powerful men, as you do, nor do they pretend to such high illuminations, and to speak as men inspired, which makes toying and fooling far worse in your preachers than it can be in any of ours.

N. C. He wishes that those whom you reprove "would avoid speaking and writing of some things."

C. What they are is hard to tell, for he justifies all that I have noted, and imagines also that I have done my worst; which I will not now demonstrate to be false, because if what he wishes be done, I protest I have my end; which was not to abuse any man, much less to make books of the follies I see in theirs, but only to give such light touches of them, that they and others, on all sides, might write and speak after a better and more sober fashion. This which I tell you now in short is the very bottom of my heart; if he will not believe it, he may choose. Let him take his course and force me, if he think good, to say that in our defence which I have no such mind as he imagines to meddle withal.

N. C. For my part, I have so little list to hear more of these matters, that I am inclined to bid you good night.

C. Stay a while, we have scarce looked into the body of his book for those falsehoods and lies which are scattered there without number. But since you begin to grow weary, I will only note some of the most notorious: this for one, that our ministers "appropriate and arrogate to themselves the name of rational divines[s];" nay, "entitle themselves and their party to all the reason and learning in England[t]." A pure calumny, and so ungrounded, that we have all the reason in the world (which is a great deal more) to say that he is a liar. For any man, till this new logician took the chair, might pretend to speak better reason in some matters than another man, without being thought to engross all the reason in the country, or to have commenced Dr. in reason either.

N. C. You said you are master of reason.

[s] Page 16, 17.

[t] Page 143, and he is at it again, page 168, and other places.

C. So is everybody that hath any, and I believe he needed not to commence master or bachelor either, to have as much wit as he hath at this present.

N. C. Your ministers, he saith, have worn those phrases threadbare, "the reason of the thing," and "the nature of the thing[u]."

C. He will wear his credit so bare by writing on this fashion, that no man will take his word for a farthing. They affect no such phrases, as all know that hear them: though it concerns us all, I must tell you, to look to our reason, when we have been told by those that robbed us of so many other things, that perhaps we shall "find them plundering us of our reason and understanding[x]," that is, imposing spiritual nonsense upon us.

N. C. Pray enter not into that matter now.

C. If you have any reason left, you cannot but see how much he wrongs me when he tells you in round words that I "deny a man can pray by the assistance of the Spirit of God," p. 47. This is a rapper.

N. C. He explains himself afterward, p. 89.

C. What if his readers never look so far into his book? Then down goes this lie as glibly as that assertion of T. W., that "the Platonists deny the immortality of the soul[y]."

N. C. I understand none of their opinions.

C. There are no philosophers that are so zealous for the immortality of souls as these whom he joins with the Lucianists, who derided all philosophers whatsoever, even Epicurus himself, when the humour took them.

N. C. They are all alike to me, who have no acquaintance with them.

C. Nor are like to have, if you trust such men as these, who venture to say any thing that you may think them learned without any reason. To which Philagathus is such an enemy, (whatsoever he pretends,) that when I only mention many things which I have heard from our minister, which are not commonly preached on by yours, and plainly intimated that I

[u] [Page 17.]

[x] Epistle to Flashes of Lightning, &c., 1648. [By John Sedgwick. Compare p. 115, above.]

[y] "The Lucianists and Platonists deny the immortality of the soul."—Morning excercise methodised, 1660, p. 615. [Quoted above, p. 51.]

could name more[z]; he concludes boldly that I have quoted the things which our minister doth mainly insist upon, p. 139, and saith, this is the "body of his divinity, the whole compass by which he seems to sail in the whole course of his ministry[a]." What cannot such a man do to uphold their cause, who can form such a palpable lie as this? And when I speak expressly of growth in godliness, and of things superadded to what are vulgarly talked of, and did not mention all neither, spends several pages to show how defective the body of our practical divinity is. And what a case are those poor people in, who follow such guides as make no conscience of speaking truth themselves, or have not wit enough to apprehend it when it is plainly spoke by other men!

N. C. You are troubled, I perceive, at these things.

C. For nothing, I protest, but the naughty humour of such men as these. Otherways, it is a great confirmation of the strength of my book, that he is fain to make lies his refuge, that he may make a show of a confutation. And as the blind, we say, swallow many a fly, so will you, I doubt, many a lie. For if you follow him to p. 144, he will tell you that the passages which I quote concerning their railing and bitterness against us are but few, when the contrary is apparent. He himself within two pages[b] takes notice of others besides those few which he here mentions; nay, he finds one more than I named to that purpose, whom he calls one of the Malchuses; who was not quoted for any speeches against those by whose decree he was cropped, (who it seems were apostolical men, according to the state of this resemblance,) but for bitter words against yourselves. It is something strange that they being so few, if you believe him whom I cited, he could not name them right. But I am fain, he saith, to look back as far as 1642 for some of them, and as far as 1621 for others, (that is, for one,) which insinuates that I could not nor did not cite many of later days; both which are false, for I noted several passages out of Mr. Bridge, printed within these two years, wherein he plainly makes us antichristian, and the prelates all one with the beast———

[z] Friendly Debate, p. 152, first edition; which I desire the reader to consult, that he may see what this man is. [Vol. v. p. 376.]

[a] Page 137.

[b] Page 146.

N. C. Pray repeat them not, nor name any more.

C. Which I can as easily do as show the loudness of that lie, that we "began with them first[c]," p. 146, and the nakedness of that excuse for their railing, from the "general conflagration of church government," p. 145. As if that could be a provocation to them, when they had desired and contrived it themselves, and clapped their hands at the flames. Witness the great expressions of joy and glorifying which we then heard, and his own acknowledgment, when he tells you, "they were as firebrands newly plucked out of the fire[d];" which deliverance, it seems, instead of provoking their thanksgivings to God, enraged their spirits to throw about firebrands, arrows and death. These were very great saints, without all doubt, who deserved his apology, and may in good time come into the catalogue of martyrs.

N. C. I believe he would only try what he could say for them———

C. Like a true sophister, who I am afraid strained his conscience a little, to make excuses for that which he knew was too black to be blanched, and therefore I less wonder that he makes bold with it that he may be able to calumniate me. Making you believe that I would "persuade the people that there is nothing of true religion in a sincere aptness and promptness to good discourse," p. 171. (a most horrid lie.) And that they "may be better employed the mean time," p. 172; where he is at his old trade of curtailing my sentences, for I did not positively say that they might be better studying other things, but only upon supposal that they did not understand what they said[e], which shows what an inclination this man hath to falsify, and how vain he is in going about to make me contradict myself, and also how much nearer he is to madness, or something else, than he thinks me. For in fine, he pronounces that I say, "heavenly discourse may be spared or let alone," p. 186. Such another forgery is that principle which he saith seems to be mine, that "no man can love another but in the sight and upon the account of a reward," p. 192; which is as true, as that I was the "aggressor, and first set upon the Non-

[c] Against which Martin Marprelate is a witness.

[d] Page 146.

[e] See Friendly Debate, p. 179. [Vol. v. p. 393.]

conformists[f]," and that my books have been magnified " as if they deserved to be bound up, if not with the Bible, yet with the Liturgy[g]."

N. C. Why, did you not fall upon them before they meddled with you?

C. No, I only vindicated and defended our church and ministers from the odious aspersions cast upon them by words and writings, as if they were antichristian, Babylonish, apostatical, superstitious, formal, and without the power of godliness————

N. C. You did more than so.

C. That is, in defending myself, who am a member of this church, and other men, I turned the charge upon you, and that is called an assault. But it is very new reformed language, for I never heard that they who defended themselves, though they gave a wound to their enemy, were accused of any crime. Surely, as the Scotch gentleman saith[h], " you, who have been so much for defensive arms, may at least allow us to defend ourselves as well as we can with our tongues and pens."

N. C. I will give you leave to do any thing, if you will but make an end.

C. You shall be troubled with no more upon this head than these two things, the one about excommunication, the other about plays.

N. C. It is well you bring them to my mind, I thought to have asked you about those very things. He tells us of " lay-thunders," and " lay-dispensers of excommunications, who are the nimblest at casting abroad the thunderbolts," p. 240.

C. He doth so, and deserves to be soundly rattled for that calumny. There are no laymen who excommunicate anybody, as he might have learnt, if he had been a careful student, from a substantial book. It is the answer[i] of the vice-chancellor

[f] Page 290.

[g] Page 291.

[h] Modest Conference, 1669, page 63. [See p. 165, above.]

[i] Printed at Oxford, 1603, p. 21, 22. [On the fourth of April, 1603, the famous Millenary Petition, so called from the number of signatures of ministers in different counties loosely said to be attached to it, was presented to the king, setting forth the complaints of the Puritans against the liturgy, government, and discipline of the church, and praying for a conference of learned men for the further exposition and discussion of their alleged grievances. The petition was speedily disclaimed by

and doctors of the University of Oxford to the petition of certain ministers desiring reformation, when king James came to the crown. Among other enormities in discipline which they complained of, this was one, that excommunication came forth in the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, &c. To which the reply was, that suppose it true, yet the chancellor or commissary is not a layman in this case; the ordinary and he are but one judge, or rather, whatsoever he doth in this behalf, he doth it in the authority of the ordinary, according to the power committed to him: a thing not unusual in the civil state wherein the lord chancellor doth dispose of many things which are originally in the king, &c. But secondly, no lay chancellor or commissary whatsoever doth at any time excommunicate any man, or sends out in his own name any excommunication. For this is the practice of the Church of England, in the censuring of notorious and more grievous crimes. The archbishop, the bishop, the dean, the archdeacon, or a prebendary, that is a priest, pronounceth the sentence in his own person; and in matters of less offence, as contumacy in not appearing, or the like, the vicar-general, official, or commissary, that is not in holy orders, holds this course. First, upon knowledge and ex-

both Universities. That of Cambridge passed a grace, June 9, that "whosoever in that university should openly oppose, by word or writing, or any other way, the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, or any part thereof, should be suspended from any degree taken, or from any degree to be taken, to be excluded *ipso facto*." Later in the same year appeared "The answer of the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and other the heads of houses in the University of Oxford, (agreeable, undoubtedly, to the joint and uniforme opinion of all the deanes and chapters, and all other the learned and obedient clergy in the Church of England,) to the Humble Petition of the ministers of the Church of England, desiring reformation of certaine ceremonies and abuses of the church." In this they reprint the petition itself, appending their refutation of its statements in detail. It was dedicated to archbishop Whitgift, the lord treasurer, chancellor of Oxford, and lord Cecil of Essingden, chancellor of Cambridge, with a request that they would lay it before his majesty. It drew forth from the sister University a Latin letter, recommending and adopting the language of the answer.—Strype's Annals, iv. 522.

A brief summary of the answer, as well as of the whole controversy, which resulted in the king's summoning the conference at Hampton Court, is given by Strype (Whitgift, ii. 479, &c.) and Fuller, v. 305; the latter of whom has reprinted the original petition at length.

It is strange that little or nothing, as Wood remarks, is found relating to the occasion in the registers of the University.—Annals &c. ii. 282.]

amination of the cause, he adjudges the party worthy to be excommunicated. Then the minister (associated to him by express authority from the ordinary) doth pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him. Lastly, the chancellor sends to the pastor of the parish where that party dwells, requiring him publicly to declare the said party to be a person excommunicated by the sentence of the minister his associate. And all this according to the form of the Articles set forth by her majesty, 1597.

N. C. I am satisfied there are no lay-thunderers, but methinks they should not meddle at all in this matter.

C. You reprove that in others which you allow in yourselves, who, if you could have had your wills, would have brought in a great many lay persons that should have had a hand in excommunication. And as for the slender offences which this man talks of, we know well enough what they are; no less than contumacy and contempt: concerning which read what the Scottish discipline saith in the order of excommunication[k]. The words are these, "thus any small offence may justly deserve excommunication, by reason of the contempt and disobedience of the offender." But this is not all that I have to say to this man: he receives reports against some of the elders of the church, when he confesses he can charge none of them particularly, and thereupon accuses them for passing that direful sentence so suddenly, as that they say, "I admonish thee, I admonish thee, I excommunicate thee," all in a breath. A most foul calumny, of which I may say, as bishop Hall to Robinson and his faction, "having separated from us, you devise slanders to colour your sin. We must be shameful, that you may be innocent[l]." Some heathens would not have done thus: for Papinian, a famous lawyer, chose rather to die, (as sir J. Heywood observes[m],) than defend the murder which the emperor Caracalla had done upon his brother Geta:

[k] Printed 1571. chap. iv. [The First Book of Discipline. — See Calderwood's History of the Kirk, vol. ii. p. 73.]

[l] Apology against the Brownists. [sect. 32. Works, vol. ix. p. 435.]

[m] Life of Edward VI. p. 84. ["The Life and Raigne of king Edward the Sixt; written by Sir Iohn Hayward, Kt. Dr of Lawe."—4to, Lond. 1630. P. 202 of the second edition, "with the beginning of the raigne of Queene Elizabeth," 12mo, Lond. 1636.]

but some divines are still found who destain their profession and the good arts they have learnt, not only by defending factions, but by publishing odious untruths upon report and credit of others only. And yet, if this were true, it is a thing which they of the separation have alleged against one another as much as they did against us. For George Johnson told his fellow-separatists at Amsterdam, that they "had excommunication as ready as a bishop hath a prison[n]." To which you may add, that no excommunication can be more suddenly and rashly pronounced, than many of you have excommunicated yourselves from our public prayers and the supper of the Lord. So your predecessors were wont to speak of the separation in which you now are. "Divers," say they[o], "have left our assemblies because of a stinted liturgy, and excommunicated themselves from the supper of the Lord, and having turned aside themselves, labour to ensnare others:" and how headily and suddenly many did this, is so well known that we need not stand to debate it now.

N. C. No. Now, I pray you, give me leave to play.

C. I hope you are not yet tired, because you are so jocular; I was going to tell you that he accuses me with the same face that he hath said all the rest, as an "advocate for plays[p]," when I only undertook to justify some, whom you falsely call ungodly, merely upon the score of going to a play: and he would make you believe that I "plead for them," and says, "we need not wish for plays[q];" when I say in express words, our ministers do allow them to go to a play, and in due measure: "encourage them to it they do not[r]," &c. What think you? Is there any shame left in this man———

N. C. He tells you, if it be ordinary in public plays to introduce obscene or profane passages, he is an enemy to them so far forth.

C. What need he tell me that which I had told him before[s]? Have we nothing to do but to say the same thing over and over again? or can he say it better? If he can, let us hear it.

[n] Bishop Hall, ib. sect. 50. [p. 464.]

[o] Letter of many ministers in old England to those of New, 1637. [See vol. v. p. 457.]

[p] P. 180.

[q] P. 182, 184.

[r] Friendly Debate, p. 182. [Vol. v. p. 395.]

[s] Ibid. p. 192. [p. 397.]

N. C. In these days men are apt to take too much liberty, and so, if you give them leave to go to any, they will go perhaps to all.

C. That is better said than any thing I find in him; but there is an answer ready in a divine that he hath mentioned[t], if you do but apply what he hath discreetly said in the case of lusory lots to this of plays. "Albeit," saith he, "we are all apt to take too much hold of any point of liberty reached unto us out of God's word;...yet God's truth must not be suppressed because of men's errors, neither is it a safe way to go about to cure an error in practice by another error in judgment; I mean, to reform the abuse of plays by totally condemning the use itself of them. Though a chirurgeon mean never so well in letting his patient blood when he needs it much, yet if he strike not the right vein, he had better have spared his pains. The Lord open the eyes of all that seek to serve him in sincerity and singleness of heart, that neither by enlarging their liberty they open a gap to licentiousness, nor yet by too much restraining it lay a snare on weak consciences."

N. C. A good prayer: but to acknowledge the lawfulness of going to them, opens a gap which they will make as wide as they please.

C. I cannot help that. But I no more make way to the abuse by defending the use of them, (as Mr. Gataker speaks in the other case,) than some of the ancient fathers made way to the abuse of wine, when they defended, against the Manichees, Tatianists, and Encratites, that wine was God's good creature which men might lawfully drink: or than so many of late writers as defend the lawfulness of an oath lawfully used, against the Anabaptists that utterly condemn all use of it, do thereby make way for the justification of that ordinary vain swearing which is as rife, nay, far rifer than any abuse of plays. For they are mostly, if not only, in London, but the other all the kingdom over.

N. C. But the abuse can hardly be separated from the use.

C. No? That's strange; why not as well as in drinking wine? To me this seems far more the easier of the two. For

[t] Dr. Featley's preface to Mr. Gataker's defence of his book of lots, against Mr. Balmford. [Dated Croydon, Sept. 2. 1623. Some account of the controversy is given in part 2. vol. v. p. 567.]

men can have no more of a play for their money than the actors have provided for them, but wine they may have as long as their money lasts in their pockets, and longer too. And if there be any thing immodest or profane in plays, that may be easily remedied by the master of the revels, who, according to the ancient constitution, ought to see that nothing be spoken but what is fit to be heard. Many, I am sure, who stand in need of some recreation, and find them no unfitting antidotes against melancholy and other untoward passions, desire none but those which are cleanly, and do no violence to honesty. And they are not so dull but they conceive it possible to reconcile pleasure with virtue, and that as there is a composed melancholy and folly, so there may be a free and merry wisdom. You perhaps have not, but others have met with one that tells them there is an art of using pleasure innocently; which was professed anciently by Aristippus in Greece[u], who never did any thing indecent or unbecoming, and yet was always merry. This art, as the same person teaches them, was corrupted by Petronius and Tigellinus at Rome, who abused it as poisoners do physic. And therefore as heretofore magistrates were created expressly to have a care of the pleasures of the people, and besides the edicts of the republic, there were under the emperors a tribune for pleasures; so they heartily desire it may be again. They would have none publicly allowed but what passes the severest judgment of wise and sober men; and would be glad to see such a science and discipline of pleasure as that gentleman says he hath seen in the formularies of Cassiodorus. They conclude, as he doth, that it is not just to accuse the purity of things for the intemperance of men; and that it is not credible the good things of this life were made only for the wicked.

N. C. But many intelligent men, who think plays lawful enough, yet wish you had not meddled with them.

C. Why so?

N. C. Because a running horse, they say, needs no spurring; men run to them fast enough already.

C. There is nothing new in this. I do not spur any running horse by my book, (as Mr. Gataker well answers in the like case,) but endeavour only to ungird some that have been girt

[u] [Balzac, Remains, letter 28, p. 60. 8vo, Lond. 1658.]

in more than is meet; and to ease such as might be thereby not girt only, but galled too. It was meet in the judgment of as intelligent persons as you mention, though not to invite men to them, which I have not done, yet to oppose your rigid opinion of the unlawfulness of them, because it invades a point of Christian liberty, and it is apt also to make you very censorious. If those two reasons be not able to justify my prudence, I will not defend it with more words.

N. C. I think they have been generally condemned.

C. By whom?

N. C. By godly men.

C. What? as unlawful?

N. C. I cannot tell: they generally shake their heads at them.

C. That is, they dare not say they are unlawful, and yet will not say they are lawful. And so they keep poor people in bondage to perpetual scruples, and leave a room for their own censoriousness. The lords and commons, I am sure, had no opinion of their unlawfulness in the beginning of the late wars.

N. C. How do you know?

C. By their ordinance of Sept. 2, 1642, concerning stageplays, which only saith, "that since public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stageplays with seasons of humiliation, it is therefore thought fit and ordained, that while Ireland continues in so distressed, and England in so distracted estate, and set times of humiliation are also continued for these sad causes, public stageplays should cease and be forborne [u]." And though it appear they were not entirely obeyed, yet in their ordinance of October 20, 1645, wherein they give rules and directions concerning suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's supper, they decree no more than this (about such matters) in the point of scandal, "that no person who uses any dancing, playing at dice or cards, or any other game, or makes or resorts unto plays, interludes, fencing, &c. upon the Lord's day," shall be admitted to it. But there is not a word of the exclusion of those who use these recreations on other days.

[u] [Exact Collection, &c. by Prynne, p. 593. Compare part i. of the Friendly Debate, vol. v. p. 395.]

N. C. Sure they did something more for the prohibiting of plays.

C. I am not ignorant of it. They put down all plays in London, Westminster, Middlesex and Surrey, by an ordinance of October 22, 1647 [x], and another of the 16th of February [y] following, and set a penalty on those that acted or went to them. And yet for all this, the ordinance for the settling of the form of church government to be used in England and Ireland, which came after these [z], doth not shut out such persons from the holy communion, unless they make or resort unto them on the Lord's day as aforesaid; and then they reject those who use hawking, hunting, coursing or fishing, as much as these.

N. C. However many wish you had been affected in writing as you say you are in practice, that is, not to have meddled with them.

C. They must let me have my wish too; that they would well consider what my reasons were which I have now told you.

N. C. "You have one pitiful reason wherewith you plead the lawfulness of plays, the sum whereof is this; that to see a play is not so sinful or not worse than 'to spend the time in hearing long stories of the bishops, or such and such a parson or neighbour,' as you say p. 187; therefore it is lawful....A most wretched argument; as if you should prove that theft is good and lawful, because adultery is as bad or worse than that. Are you a master of reason, and bring so weak an argument as this [a]?"

C. I have so much reason as to make you sensible, that either he doth not understand common sense, or else is so malicious as to disgrace good sense (after his pitiful fashion) among those who examine nothing, but believe as others inform them.

N. C. How so?

C. Do I grant or suppose that it is sinful to see a play? Is not the very drift of my discourse quite contrary, to justify those who go to them, if they be otherwise blameless? Doth

[x] [Rushworth, 848. Scobell, 135.]

[y] [Rushworth (p. 991.) dates it Feb. 9; Scobell, (p. 144.) Feb. 11.]

[z] Aug. 29, 1648. Die Martis, p. 31. [Scobell, i. p. 175.]

[a] These are his words, p. 184,185.

not he himself say as much, when he calls me an advocate for plays, and tells you I plead for them? What shall we make of such a pestilent corrupter of plain sense?——

N. C. I did not think of this, else I should not have mentioned it.

C. Nor he, either of this or of any thing else that I said, but "clatters out of the hollow cabinet of his cheek (as the bishop of Galloway somewhere speaks [b]) any thing that comes readiest into it," never going into himself, as becomes a wise and modest man, to advise with his own mind seriously before he utter any thing. For if he had, he would not but have instantly seen how inconsistent these two are, to make it lawful to go to plays, and to suppose it sinful: which contradiction if he could have found in my book, he needed not have troubled himself any further; for I had effectually confuted myself. But if he had only looked half a minute upon those lines which he refers you to, and be capable to understand a discourse, he would have seen that I did not compare one bad thing with another, but an innocent thing with that which is notoriously bad. Only I said, (after the fashion of those who speak modestly,) "Why should they not be thought to spend their time as well as you that can hear long stories of the bishops [c]," &c., when I might have said, "they spend it a great deal better," or there is no compare between them. And yet he hath the impudence to declaim on this argument, and to tell you what epithets he could bestow on it, and at last to conclude triumphantly that he hath convinced me of the fallaciousness of this reason [d], which he himself composed. You may think it too sharp, but I know one that bestowed such another censure on him, as Balzac did upon such another scribbler; after a tedious perusal of whose book he concluded thus [e], "My grammar cannot find construction in it, nor my logic common sense." When you have perused and considered this and several other

[b] Answer to Tripartite Apol. p. 171. ["A short answere to the Tripartite Antipologie of some namelesse authors," by William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, appended to his Dikaiologie or defence against Hume, and dated Edenburgh, Novemb. 25, 1613. See p. 47, above.]

[c] Friendly Debate, p. 187. [vol. v. p. 398.

[d] As you may see p. 186. [Sober Answer, &c.]

[e] [Letter to Hydaspe, p. 133 of Sir R. Baker's translation, 8vo, Lond. 1655.]

passages, do you judge how much is fit to be abated of the rigour of this sentence.

N. C. I have something else to do. Pray let me ask you one question which you find in him, (and he speaks much of it[f],) Why do you allow that to others in print which you deny to others in practice? Why do you not go yourself, if it be so lawful?——

C. I would ask him a question too, but that I think it vain to demand a reason of him that hath it not.

N. C. What is that?

C. Nay, it is a very easy one, and needs no long study to make an answer to it.

N. C. What is it then?

C. Why did he not read my book better? Must we write a new book for every particular man that will not be at the pains to mind what we have writ already, but only questions and catechises us about those points which every child can resolve from what hath been already declared? I told you there were some persons who were above them, and could entertain themselves with better pleasures to their liking[g]: and others who did not think this pleasure so expedient for them in their place and relation. Why could not he have supposed me at least among the latter sort, without asking any questions? or since it is a thing indifferent whether a man go or not, why should I be bound to give him a reason why I do not use them?

N. C. But may not the reason be, because you think them to be generally profane or obscene? He suspects they "would hardly take with a great many people, though they were never so ingenious, if there were not some such evil mixture in them."

C. He hath an ill-natured imagination. I do not think the generality of those that frequent them would have them stained, either with those or any other such qualities. However, the persons whom I pleaded for abhor such things as much as any of you can do; and some plays they abhor a great deal more.

N. C. I do not believe it: the better sort of us abhor all.

C. Stay there. Philagathus himself "can be present at a

[f] Pp. 181–183.

[g] Friendly Debate, p. 184. [Vol. v. p. 396.]

breaking up, and there see an innocent modest comedy acted by young scholars[h]:" which, either out of love of tautology, or lest you should not believe it, he tells you over again in his longwinded preface. But I can tell you of a play that, when time was, you could all be contented to read and see acted too, though more dangerous a great deal than this children's sport. It is called "England's tragedy, acted by four living creatures and two killing beasts[i]." The four living creatures, Rev. iv. 6, were "the militant church warring for the Lamb;" that is, your own dear selves. For the two killing beasts, Rev. xiii. 1, 11, he tells you were "the malignant party warring for antichrist;" the "servants of a strange God, and rebels against Israel," as another presently after styled them[k]. "The prologue of this tragedy began with Honorius and Arcadius; the acts and scenes are most of them past, and now," saith he, "it is come to its epilogue, and the witnesses are ready to draw the stage. Be with them therefore; act your part, knowing that God is not far off to make Satan's synagogue bow down at the feet of the true church[l]." By which it appears, that some of you could be content not only to read and see this horrid tragedy, but to be actors in it; persuading yourselves you saw the witnesses rising again and the saints sitting in the throne. So we were told the next year, that they who took the Oxford Covenant had entered in covenant with the devil, to serve him, to work and stand up for him, to do as he doth, open his mouth in blasphemy against God, his name, his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven[m], i. e. these reformers taken up from the stage to the high places of power. There they sat deriding us on earth; and this man, for his part, said he, "would laugh in spite of the devil[n]." And what was this ridiculous sight, think you? I will tell you: "the king's party were sworn by

[h] P. 179.

[i] I find not the year mentioned, but appears by the matter to have been written about 1642, being upon occasion of the commission of array. [It forms part of a work a copy of which is in the Bodleian library, wanting the title-page, date, &c., consisting of the following tracts: 1. The Aphorismes of the Kingdome, 2. The Commission of Array, 3. The Holy War of the Hellish Beast, 4. The Churches Tragedie, 5. England's Tragedie, p. 55.]

[k] Late Covenant asserted, 1643. p. 14. [Referred to above, p. 182.]

[l] [P. 60.] [m] Ib. p. 9.

[n] Ib. p. 10.

covenant to endeavour the maintenance of religion, and the subject's liberty." This and his majesty's most sacred protestation made a comedy for him, when the tragedy was ended; and the devil himself (how should he, when the man dwelt in heaven?) could not spoil the sport. By which I see you are not enemies to these recreations when the humour takes you; but would rather have all the mirth to yourselves. For we must not so much as smile at all these follies, unless we can be content to be thought profane; nor venture without trembling to go and see a play; for "who can be secure," saith Philagathus, "of seeing and hearing no wickedness there[o]?"

N. C. That is a question would be resolved.

C. It is as idle as all the rest. For many of those which are daily acted are to be seen in print.

N. C. Well! I never heard of any good, but of much hurt, that hath come by plays.

C. There are many other things of which you may say the same, and yet they may be innocent. But I can tell you of some good.

N. C. What is that?

C. The old history of Friar Francis being acted by the then earl of Sussex his players at Linn in Norfolk, wherein a woman was presented, who doting upon a young gentleman had (the more securely to enjoy his affection) secretly murdered her husband, whose ghost haunted her, and at divers times in her most solitary retirements stood before her; there was a townswoman till then of good repute, who finding her conscience at this sight extremely troubled, suddenly shrieked and cried out, O my husband, my husband, I see the ghost of my husband fiercely threatening and menacing me. At which shrill unexpected outcry the people about her being amazed, they inquired the reason of it. When presently, without any further urging, she told them that not seven years ago, to be possessed of such a gentleman (whom she named) she had poisoned her husband, whose fearful image personated itself (they are the words of my author[p]) in the shape of that ghost. This she also voluntarily confessed before the justices, and was condemned for it;

[o] Sober Answer, p. 180.

[p] Mr. Thomas Heywood, the Actor's Vindication, book third. [p. 42.]

of all which there were many eyewitnesses (besides the actors) living a little before this was written[q].

N. C. So! Conscience, it seems, hath been awakened at a play. No wonder then you say "one of W. B.'s sermons is no better than a play[r]."

C. I have left off now to wonder that he makes no conscience of what he saith. This I have shown you is a forgery of his own; which he hath further improved in his preface into these lying words, which you heard before, "one of his sermons is not so good as a play[s]." He hath a dispensation, it should seem, to write as he list; by which means he is able to confute any book, even the Bible itself. It is but changing the words, and leaving out some, or putting in others, according to his liking, and then they are for his purpose, to declaim against. Of this legerdemain there are so many instances in his book, that they alone are sufficient to make a volume, if I should go about to discover them all. If I say, "it would not be amiss that their folly were a little chastised, who fancy they are persecuted when they are not[t];" he shall tell you that I say, "they who fancy themselves persecuted ought to be chastised[u]." If I say you account him a painful preacher who preaches often[x], he shall say that I make you confess, you call him a plain preacher who preaches often: "as if he were so silly," saith he, "as to think that to preach plainly, and to preach often were the same thing[y]." Would not one think either that this man could not read, or read with other men's eyes, or else come so ill-disposed and with such naughty affections, that they disturbed his light? It is "painful preachers" as clear as can be in my book, and "plain preachers" as manifestly in his. He is like those people in Lucian[z] that had eyes to

[q] In king James's reign, as appears by the book. [The work is printed 'by G. E. for W. C.' in 4to, without date. The copy in the library of the British Museum is dated in MS. June 15, 1658. The author indicates, however, the reign in which it was composed, speaking of the license granted to his fraternity "by our most royall and ever renowned sovereign, and his predecessour the thrice vertuous virgin, queen Elizabeth,"—p. 45.]

[r] P. 187.

[s] P. 20.

[t] Friendly Debate. [Vol. v. p. 400.]

[u] P. 256 of his answer.

[x] Friendly Debate. [p. 402.]

[y] P. 267 of his answer.

[z] In his True History, book first. [Τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς περιαιρετοὺς ἔχουσι, καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος ἐξελὼν τοὺς αὑτοῦ φυλάττει ἐστ' ἂν δεηθῇ ἰδεῖν· οὕτω δ'

take in and out as they pleased themselves, or when they had lost their own eyes, borrowed of other men. He sees nothing, I mean, but what he pleases; and like the most of you, can be satisfied to believe others, and not see for himself.

N. C. You have made haste to get to the end of his book: I perceive notwithstanding your high charge he is not much to blame in such like matters.

C. These offered themselves most readily to my thoughts, but if you have a mind to go further back, with all my heart.

N. C. You shall not lead me through the whole book, if the labour be so tedious as you tell me.

C. I protest as bishop Hall doth[a] in another case, that "I never saw any writer that would dare to profess Christian sincerity, so foully to overlash, (and so shamefully to corrupt and pervert another's words,) as he doth: as if he made no conscience by what means he upholds a side, or wins a proselyte." He would have you think, for instance, that I maintain that "the gospel cherishes fear more than the law[b]," when I only said that a Christian is moved by fear as well as hope, and that the things which the gospel threatens us withal are more terrible than the threatenings of the law. This is the manifest scope of my discourse: and I still maintain it to be true, that a man may be of an evangelical spirit who is moved to do his duty out of a fear of what Christ threatens, as much as out of a hope of what he promises. Nay, I do not see but one may have an evangelical spirit, who is moved more by such fear than he is by hope, though that was not the thing I undertook to make good. It was only this, that it is not a just character of a gospel-spirit, that it is put on rather by promises than threatenings. This I said, and still say, is false: which is not to affirm, as he would have it, that the gospel cherishes fear more than hope, but that it cherishes them equally; or rather that one may be a good Christian who is moved as much by the one as by the other. By this you see either how dull and stupid he is, or how maliciously disposed, who cannot understand so plain a discourse. And yet he would have you think he is so saga-

ἐνθέμενος ὁρᾷ. Καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἀπολέσαντες, παρ' ἄλλων χρησάμενοι ὁρῶσιν.—§ 25.]

[a] Postscript to the Defence of the Humble Remonstrance. [Works, vol. ix. p. 702.]

[b] Sober Answer, p. 41.

cious, and hath so good a nose, that he can smell[b] my thoughts, even then when he misreports my words. You make, saith he, as if the Mosaical spirit did fear only temporal calamities upon body and goods, &c. That word *only*, is his own, not mine, as you may see if you will compare our books together; though, I must tell you, all that he hath said to overthrow that position is of no more force than a small puff of wind; for they might, and I doubt not did, know under the Old Testament, that there was a life to come of misery and happiness, though it was not declared by Moses's law. And so the mere Mosaical legal spirit (which we spoke of) may truly be said to fear only those calamities which were threatened by that carnal commandment. But he hath not done yet. He makes you believe that I "deny the legal dispensation to be terrible, and the gospel comfortable," p. 44. which is a gross abuse; for my position was, that this is not the difference between the dispensations, that the one is terrible and the other comfortable; because both are terrible: and knowing the *terror of the Lord*, the apostles persuaded men[c]. This he could not but see, and therefore to make work for himself, pulled my words asunder. And as he could not find in his heart to speak a word of the impertinences I noted in W. B., so he will needs undertake a defence of his words, when nothing is to be said but what will make them worse. To trade in promises, he tells you, is a phrase good enough: but do what he can to trade, or to deal (which he puts in the room of it) in promises, implies buying and selling, a traffic which quite overthrows his conceit of absolute promises. For we never heard of such traders, that can have commodities brought home to them and left with them for nothing, and without so much as their inquiring after them. Nor can all this tugging set him clear from his contradiction in making the promises absolute, and yet conditional. If they be the one, they are not the other; nor can he ever bring them nearer than thus, that they may seem to be conditional, but indeed are not.

N. C. Hath not God promised absolutely to give belief and repentance to a certain number of elect persons?

C. No.

[b] P. 42. "I smell what you would be at," &c.

[c] [Part i. vol. v. p. 287.]

N. C. Now I see plainly what you are.

C. Be not so confident: neither his nor your eyes are good, you have no considerable understanding in these matters. For whatsoever intentions and purposes God hath of doing more for some persons than for others, there is no declaration of this made by the promises to them, but they all run conditionally. And if I had not ceased all wonder at what this man talks, his boldness would excite that passion now, in maintaining this position against me, that God promises to some, do what they will, that they shall repent and believe. This I denied, and he opposes me in it, as you may see p. 37 of his book. But those very places, so unlucky he is in all things which he brings to prove his assertion, are a strong confutation of it, Ezekiel xi. 19; xxxvi. 26. *I will put a new spirit into you,* &c. For as these promises were not made to some particular elect persons, but to the whole nation of the Jews, so he elsewhere by the same prophet (chap. xviii. 31,) requires them to *make them a new heart and a new spirit,* supposing that otherways they should die. Nay, he expressly tells them immediately after this promise[d], that *as for those whose heart walked after their detestable things,* (notwithstanding that he had *put a new spirit into them to walk in his statutes,*) *he would recompense their ways upon their own heads.* All this shows he did not promise to amend them and make them walk in his ways whether they would or no; but that he only assured them of his grace, and the means of being made better, which if they did not use, and make them a new spirit, after God had put it into their hearts, they were like to perish. Let him overthrow this if he can in as plain words as I have spoken it. And there is another task also, and indeed the main business, if he will defend Mr. Br., which he hath not yet attempted; and that is, to show that it is proper to the New Testament spirit to trade most or altogether in absolute promises. He must reconcile this also with his own confession, that "nobody knows how to apply an absolute promise to themselves[e]," and that "unconverted persons can depend on no promises but those that are conditional[f]." How then, I pray you, can this be the mark of those that are in covenant, "to

[d] Ezekiel xi. 21. [e] Sober Answer, p. 39. [f] Ib. p. 40.

be begot again by a promise, especially the absolute promise," as I cite Mr. Br.'s words[g], though he will take no notice of it? Can they be begotten without faith? And can their faith depend on promises when there are none? Mr. Rutherford in my mind deals more sincerely and plainly with us, who tells us of a believer's "relying and confiding in Christ through instinct, and know no ground."

N. C. I do not think he says any such thing.

C. I assure you they are his words[i], if you can believe he saith true. And he tells you withal, that "faith is sometime from instinct of grace, rather than from light of discourse, especially when we first believe, and have nothing but a mere command, and know not whether the promise and the Saviour belong to us or not; even as the infant that can make no use of discourse only trusts to the mother or the nurse for milk by mere instinct, having neither promise nor experience for it." In like manner he saith afterward, "though the promise may be forgotten and out of mind, and the assurance that Christ loved me before the world be none at all, a believer yet may rely and confide in Christ through instinct, and know no ground." This is to speak out and not mince the matter. There are no absolute promises that you can find at first; but it is as well, for you can believe without them, and know no ground; and then afterward you find these absolute promises by the same secret instinct, as I suppose, for we can find none by all our discourse.

N. C. I did not intend to engage you in this dispute.

C. Nor I to enter further into it than was necessary to show you how unjustly he vapours upon this occasion, as if he had brought me upon my knees, when he hath not said one word to the business. He talks, I remember, of "arrows[k] that he hath shot at me alone," whom he hath singled out from the rest of the herd. But I find—would you think it?—that there is no such way to be secure from them as to run to the mark. As for those that I have shot, I will take so much confidence as to think, that though, like the buck, he may stand a while with the arrows in his side, and while he is hot not feel them much, yet you shall see him fall at last.

[h] Friendly Debate, p. 44. [Vol. v. 297.]

[i] Sermon at the Abbey, June 25, 1645, p. 51. [See p. 192, above.

[k] Preface, p. 31.

N. C. The loudest barkers are not always the sorest biters.

C. I find it so. Few men have been more bawled against by others, than I have been by him. He raises such an outcry as the philosophers were fained to do against Lucian[l], when they cried Arm, arm, against this common enemy, &c. But after all I am whole and sound enough, he having rather snapped and nibbled at some little bits of my book, than fastened solidly on any entire proposition in it. When I say that "the most that sober men have said (as far as I can learn) concerning our respect to the recompense of reward is, that he who doth well only in sight of it is in a weak estate, but yet endowed with an evangelical spirit[m]:" he leaves out these words, "is in a weak estate;" and then snarls and quarrels with me on this fashion: "unless he eye the glory of God, he hath no evangelical spirit." On this theme he makes a long declamation, though a very sorry one, and to no purpose[n]; for it is not possible to separate these two, the one from the other.

N. C. I do not understand you.

C. Can a man give greater glory and honour to God than by quitting his present pleasures and other enjoyments, merely in hope of good things to come which he doth not see, but only takes God's word for? Doth he not magnify the goodness, the truth, the faithfulness, the power of God, and declare the high thoughts he hath of all these glorious attributes, who relies purely on them for all his happiness? There is nothing plainer at first sight; upon which account I cannot retract what I have said, but he ought rather, according to his promise, to write no more on this fashion. Let him reform his sermons, (a leaf or two of which he seems here to have transcribed,) and talk more understandingly and discreetly of glorifying God. And above all things, let him take care to expound the Scripture better, which he hath perverted most grossly twice or thrice in this very argument. Who before him expounded those words, *Israel is an empty vine, he bringeth forth fruit to himself*[o], of their having respect only to their own good in

[l] In the Dialogue called the Fishermen. [Ἁλιεῖς ἢ Ἀναβιοῦντες, Dialog. xv.]

[m] Friendly Debate, p. 27. [Vol. i. p. 286.]

[n] P. 32, &c.

[o] Hosea x. 1.

their actions, and not to God's glory? It is a place as many ways rendered and expounded as any I can now call to mind: H. Zanchy hath been at the pains to enumerate two interpretations of Rabbi Salomon, another of Dav. Kimchi, a fourth of Aben-Ezra's, (which is St. Hierome's also,) in short, there are no less than seven or eight ways of explicating these words, and yet none of them so much as lean towards the sense which this great censurer obtrudes upon us. Œcolampadius and others observe that they may be read with an interrogation, "Doth he bring forth fruit to himself?" that is, Doth he think the enemy will leave him any thing, who hath already stripped him so bare? No, he will take all away. Others render the words, "He shall lay up the fruit," that is, of his sins. A third exposition is, "He shall find no fruit," the reason is, because of his ingratitude. The simplest sense of all Mercer thinks is this, "As he is an empty vine, so he shall bring forth fruit like himself," i. e. none at all: as much as to say, He is spoiled by the enemy, and deprived by God of the power of increasing. This Zanchy also approves of as the best. But what needs so many words? He commends Mr. Calvin sometimes as one of the best interpreters in the world [p]: to Mr. Calvin therefore he shall go, who speaks not a syllable to this purpose; but after he hath mentioned several other senses, approves of this above all: "Israel is like a vine, which having been spoiled one year, brings forth fruit again the next." The Lord vouchsafed his blessing to him after he had let his vintage be destroyed. But what was the issue? The next words tell you; though God had let him bring forth fruit to himself, not his enemies, he grew worse rather than better thereby, "and according to the multitude of his fruit, he multiplied his altars." He that hath not these books may look into the Dutch annotations, who recite several expositions, but none of his. As for the Assembly's Annotations, those printed 1645 speak not a word of it. But those of the third edition, 1657, expound it first as Mr. Calvin doth, "he brings forth fruit to himself, not to others;" but consumes it on his own lusts and idolatries: and then mention some of those named before. There is but one that I have met withal who expounds the words of "serving

[p] Pp. 121. 129.

himself;" and he means thereby, "pleasing himself in his sins."

N. C. What need you make all this stir about this place?

C. It is not a delight in multiplying words that makes me use so many in such an argument, but only a desire to convince you, beyond contradiction, that he is a vain talker about the Scriptures: one that muses and dreams over them, as I told you before, rather than meditates in them. And yet, like one that having a noisome breath censures the ill lungs of his neighbours, he hath the impudence to charge me most unjustly with this, that my book "is full of Scripture misinterpreted," p. 142. Nay, to wish "I do not spoil all the holy Scripture I meddle withal," p. 122, when he cannot name one I have spoiled or misinterpreted; and he himself, I clearly discern, is no competent judge whether a man allege the Scripture aright or not.

N. C. I am sure I am not, being unacquainted with expositors.

C. And so are many of those who undertake to teach others, of whom the Quakers learned to apply the Scripture according to the sound of the words, not the sense. For they cite these words of another prophet[q] as learnedly, *the priests bear rule by their means,* to prove that our ministers' good livings keep up their authority, as this man doth the words now named, to prove that a good man must eye the glory of God, and not only himself in what he doth; or the words of St. Paul, *he hath chosen the weak things of this world to confound the mighty,* &c., to prove that God recovers men out of desertions and despair, by mistakes or misapplications of holy Scripture, p. 75.

N. C. I think he hath shown how much you were mistaken (to say no worse) in that business.

C. He pulls one half of my words from the other, and then makes a long babble upon them, consisting very much of impertinent comparisons, instead of clear proofs and reasons. I said that by fanciful applications of some Scripture or other, not belonging to their condition, well meaning people are cast down and again raised up[r], &c. This he cannot deny, and yet takes

[q] Jeremiah v. last.

[r] [Friendly Debate, part i. vol. v. p. 299.]

notice only of the latter, their recovery by mistaking God's word; and lets the former pass, their "falling into melancholy" by the same means. The reason is, because he had no questions to ask about that, nor any stories out of which to draw this conclusion, that God brings men into despair, as he saith he brings them out, by mistaking his meaning in his word. But abate him that, and yet he shall not hit the mark, for the business is not, as he states it, whether a man's melancholy "never had any considerable ground, because he was cured by mistake or misapplication of Scripture[s];" but whether men do not both fall into melancholy and again are recovered out of it, merely by such mistakes or misapplications. I say they do; and why he doth not honestly confess it too I cannot tell, unless it be that he may still keep such miserable patients under his cure, which he is better able to perform by misapplying the holy Scripture than other ways. And that he may maintain this trade of comforting poor souls with mere words without their sense, mark what a rabble of stories and examples he hath mustered up, which hang together with his conclusion like harp and harrow. These are some of his arguments. "A man was cured of a dangerous imposthume by a stab which was intended to take away his life;" therefore God cures men of their despair by misapplications of holy Scripture. "St. Austin's life was saved by missing his way, when one lay in wait to kill him," therefore God delivers men from their trouble of mind, by missing the sense of his word. "The prophet Elijah was fed by ravens," and "Jericho's walls fell down by rams' horns;" therefore God conveys peace into men's hearts by their fanciful interpretations and mistakings of what he saith[t]. These are some of his reasonings, which never a rational divine of them all can equal.

N. C. He saith God can do all this, and is able "to cause the light of comfort to shine through the chinks of men's mistakes," p. 75.

C. He means that he doth do it, or else it is nothing to the business. And if there were not some chink or flaw in his brain, he would have seen that he ought to say, he comforts them not only "through the chinks" of their mistakes, but "by their

[s] Page 73. [t] Page 73, 74.

mistakes." And he would have discerned also that these goodly arguments which prove he can do this, prove that he can comfort them by a leaf or sentence of any other book, let it be what it will. And the more "unlikely and improportionable[u]" the means are whereby the cure is affected, (suppose a bit of Tom Thumb or the like,) the more it will redound to his glory, and get him greater honour than if it were by a piece of Scripture, and that well understood.

N. C. Fie, for shame!

C. This is the force of his reasoning, as appears further by the illustration which follows. A physician is more to be admired, he tells you, who deceives his melancholy patient into a cure, than he that sets him right by a long course of physic. The consequence of which is clearly this, that the more absurd the conceit is by which he cures him, the more he is to be admired; and so the further a thing is from the mind of God, the more glory it will be to him if a man receive comfort by it. This, according to one of his resemblances, is like Elijah's being fed by a raven, which[x] was "more like to beguile him than feed him, &c., to bring him carrion rather than wholesome food."

N. C. I do not believe that God doth all that he can do.

C. Now you have overthrown all he hath said in a word. And happy would it be for him, and better much for you, if you could but teach him this one little piece of logic; for this mad way of talking and preaching hath debauched religion, and taught any man to set up for an instructor of others, who understood not common consequence. It is but putting on a bold face, and quoting a great many Scriptures, and scraping up some stories, and making a show with similitudes and examples, and then pitying all others and sighing over them as strangers to the mind and method of God, and without any more ado they shall be taken for great men by the ignorant. They can commence master of the highest knowledge in an instant, and without any study understand the mind of the Spirit. Or if they do not understand it, the difference is not so great but it may do as well. For Scripture misinterpreted can bring comfort from God, and therefore why not

[u] They are his words, page 75. [x] Ib. page 74.

other things. Say what you will, this confident folly shall be maintained. Such men as this are resolved, it is plain, not only to countenance and defend the never to be too much lamented misinterpretation of God's holy word, but to encourage and promote it, by interesting God in it, nay, making it for his greater glory to convey peace into men's soul by this means.

N. C. God forbid any man should be so resolved.

C. Rather than acknowledge their errors, I mean, or be thought to have less of the Spirit of God, than indeed they have, they will justify all their fancies and abuses of God's word; and by new faults maintain the old. And whatsoever this man pretends, I doubt not, but the ground of that wrath which he, and others like to him have conceived against me, is only this; that they find their follies laid open and exposed to the view of the world. They are not so much concerned for the credit of religion, as appears by his being contented the Scripture should be still misinterpreted, as for their own credit, which they think is impaired. Rather than suffer this, what is there they will not endure? To oppose the army, were it on foot again, would be without any control (for any thing I can see) "to resist the Holy Ghost, for that mighty things have been done by them cannot be denied[y]."

N. C. Meddle not with these things.

C. No, we must let it pass for the Word of God, if a reformer tell us that he staggers not at the promise through unbelief[z], though it will puzzle you, I believe, to find a promise to encourage you to reform the church after your patterns against the will of your prince.

N. C. I know none.

C. I will try to help you out, from the writings of those ministers who urged the taking of the covenant by this argument, "We have seen the day of the Lord's power in this land, wherein his people have most willingly offered themselves in multitudes like the dew of the morning[a]." If the people be but willing to assist you, presently you will find promises to encourage you in your designs———

N. C. I shall leave you if you proceed at this rate.

[y] Continuation of Friendly Debate, p. 156. [Vol. v. p. 531.]

[z] Ib. p. 162. [p. 533.]

[a] Answer to the reply of the ministers of Aberdeen, p. 15. [See p. 103, above.]

C. Stay a little. You cannot be content, I am sure, that this man should curtail the Scripture, as he doth my words, to make it seem on his side.

N. C. He is not guilty of that, I hope.

C. Read Colossians iii. 23, 24, to which he refers you for a proof of what he saith about "looking to our reward[b]," though little to his purpose. *Whatsoever you do, do it heartily, as to the Lord; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ.* So he quotes the place; but leaves out these material words for the finding the sense, *and not unto men,* and then expounds it thus; that we must have an eye to the glory of God and Christ in what we do, or else we shall not receive the reward; whereas the apostle doth not oppose *serving the Lord* to *serving themselves,* but to *serving men* (as appears by the words which he laid aside, as lying cross in his way), and would have them please their masters, though heathens, thinking all the while they were doing a part of Christ's work; who would certainly pay them their wages, because they were his servants. By this you see what men will do to serve their own cause, and how easy a matter it is presently to stuff up a book and to crowd into it a number of good words, and yet not write good sense. Rather than fail, there is a way to strain the holy Scriptures, and set them upon the rack, that they may reach their purpose; as he doth those words of the apostle, *supposing gain is godliness*[c], to reprove those who act only out of a sight of the recompense of reward. As if the apostle spoke there of *gaining heaven,* and these were the men from whom we must *withdraw ourselves.*

N. C. No more, good sir; these are the *perverse disputings,* I doubt, of *men of corrupt minds,* which the apostle there speaks of.

C. Very near of kin to them. But if I should proceed to show you how he hath perverted the sense of a great number of other Scriptures which he hath meddled withal, that alone would hold us half as long as we have been already. They are not words I cast out at random, but I speak deliberately, and as I think. Nor have I time to reckon up all the rest of the

[b] P. 33. [c] 1 Tim. vi. 5. p. 36.

places in my book, where he hath left out words, or abused the sense: I will name only a few more, when I mention prayer, communion with God, and meditation, as instances of such duties as may be performed between God and ourselves, and not such as are expressed in life and manners, p. 40. He tells you that I take these to be the things which are so "airy and refined that nobody can feel them, no, not with his most serious thoughts[d]." And because I affirmed that commonly well meaning people fancy themselves deserted by God, when they are not, (which is sober and good sense, and the sum of what I said,) he is in a rage, and fancies the devil to be entered into me, nay, no less than "seven devils;" and cries out, "The Lord rebuke you[e]." "For was our Saviour," saith he, "a melancholy and fanciful person?" &c. What led him to that wild discourse, I know not, unless it were his love to contradict, and his great wrath and passion against me. Which evil spirits (to speak in his own language) I hope have but a short time, they rage, and tear, and foam, and (as his words are) sputter so much. For he tells you I "carp at God," and "cast smiles of scorn and derision upon the words of the Holy Ghost;" and intimates I am approaching towards the "blasphemy against it;" and "had almost said I am in the same condition with Simon Magus[f]." And what is all this holy bluster about? Nothing but this, what I spoke of many persons now he would have you think was meant of all that ever were, even of our Saviour himself: and my exposing their fond talk of "shinings in and sealings" to that shame which it deserves, he makes account is an abuse of the language of the Holy Ghost. And yet they themselves cannot but smile at the pope when he pretends to the Holy Ghost, and at his priests who tell us of miracles and apparitions of Christ; and the Anabaptists in the beginning of the reformation, who talk of "illuminations, and ecstasies;" and the wild people of the late times, when they bragged of their "anointings, and teachings," and that they were the "people of the Lord:" all which are Scripture phrases, but by them most ridiculously used and applied to themselves, as you cannot but acknowledge. What is the matter

[d] P. 56 of his book.
[e] Ib. p. 72.
[f] All this stuff you may find, p. 76, 77.

then, that you are so angry with me for a smile or two? Would you only have the monopoly of these phrases? Will you have nobody to trade in them (as W. B. speaks), but only yourselves? And must we think you are full of the Spirit when you are only full of Scripture words, "shinings and sealings," and such like? Is it not possible to charge you with folly, but we must be thought to wound the blessed Creator too, and to be "offended at the Holy Ghost[g]?" Away with these proud conceits. Do not imagine God and yourselves to be so united, nor call all your own fancies by the name of "divine mysteries."

N. C. Take heed how you speak against gospel mysteries.

C. They are your mysteries, not the gospel's, which you make such a stir about; and call him profane who hath not the same reverence for them, which you have yourselves. And thus the Egyptians, I remember, when they worshipped apes, storks, and dogs, said, "These are very great mysteries; be not too bold in talking against them. As if," said Lucian, "there were any need of a mystery, or it were such a secret piece of wisdom, by which we know gods to be gods, and dogs to be dogs[h]."

N. C. I confess the gospel mysteries are plain now, being revealed by the Spirit in the apostles, as we have already discoursed.

C. It is very true. Hold to those, and we shall have no difference about such matters. But let this man rave as long as he pleases, and lift up his nose to the skies, if he can; he shall never persuade me that you are more extraordinarily enlightened, and understand more of them than other men; unless I hear you talk more wisely. Nor shall I think that I offend when I say many of you take their sudden fancies for gleams of glory, and irradiations of the Holy Ghost. Let him

[g] P. 76.

[h] Dialogue called Council of the gods.

[ΜΩΜ ... Αἰσχύνομαι δὲ ἴβιδας καὶ πιθήκους εἰπεῖν, καὶ τράγους καὶ ἄλλα πολλῷ γελοιότερα οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐξ Αἰγύπτου παραβυσθέντα ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν· ἃ ὑμεῖς, ὦ θεοὶ, πῶς ἀνέχεσθε ὁρῶντες ἐπ' ἴσης ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν προσκυνούμενα; Ἡ σὺ, ὦ Ζεῦ, πῶς φέρεις, ἐπειδὰν κριοῦ κέρατα φύσωσί σοι;

ΖΕΥΣ. Αἰσχρὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα φῂς τὰ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· ὅμως δ' οὖν, ὦ Μῶμε, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν αἰνίγματά ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πάνυ χρὴ καταγελᾶν ἀμύητον ὄντα.

ΜΩΜ. Πάνυ γοῦν μυστήριον, ὦ Ζεῦ, δεῖ ἡμῖν, ὡς εἰδέναι θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς, κυνοκεφάλους δὲ τοὺς κυνοκεφάλους.—Dialog. lxxiv. § 10, 11.]

babble also till his tongue be weary about experiences, I shall only believe that he was in love with wrangling and hearing himself talk perpetually. For I stated that doctrine plainly enough, but he takes no notice of it; and would have those who will read his book and never look into mine, believe upon his word that I am "an enemy to Christian experience[i]," and "persuade them to disbelieve it[j];" and, in short, am an "anti-experimentist."

N. C. You have made me out of love with hard words.

C. It is his own, (p. 158,) a compound of Greek and Latin, and therefore worse than "heterodoximony."

N. C. What a word is that!

C. O it makes a dreadful noise, and is very effectual to persuade the people that they hear a pope, not squeak, but roar in our belly. So he would have you think, that some preachers "make the pulpits echo to Rome ever and anon," and "by their heterodoximony have inflamed the people's fears[k]." But (to let that pass) he might as well have said I jeered at keeping the Lord's day, (commonly called the Sabbath,) as at laying up and communicating experiences, for they are both put together in my book, p. 167[l]. This, one would think, he was sensible of; for mentioning this passage out of my book afterward[m], and speaking of other particulars, he leaves out this; and then basely slanders me for putting experiences, or those that "treasure up and communicate them," among the workers of iniquity; when I only said that the power of godliness did not consist in such things as these. But there is so much folly which he pours out on this subject, that it would make too great a part of a book to lay them open. Would you think any man should be so senseless, as, when I smile at a man that brings his own experience to prove the truth of Christianity, to tell me of the experience the world hath had of the gospel being propagated far and near? Is this (to omit what might be otherwise replied) any of your particular experiences? Do you feel that the Jews are a miserable people at this day, which is another thing he mentions? If we must write books at this rate, it will be endless; for a man must be

[i] P. 158.

[j] P. 160.

[k] Rebuilding of London encouraged, p. 184. [Compare p. 73, above.]

[l] [Part i. vol. v. p. 386.]

[m] P. 162 of his book.

forced to write the same things over and over again to convince such opposers. And therefore fare him well; let him enjoy all his idle conceits about holy days, and tell us of their unwillingness to keep such days as we do not keep ourselves[n]; that this saint is better than that; and say, as he doth profanely, that they are "disposed to keep a fast rather than a festival in remembrance of St. Bartholomew[o]," one of the holy apostles, to whom some part of the world was beholden for preaching the gospel: let him prefer his major-general if he will before him, and make this an argument against observing our holy days, because they are no better observed[p]. I resolve not to trouble myself with such matters, nor all the rest of his impertinencies on this subject.

N. C. I am glad of it with all my heart: I hope we are almost at an end.

C. And I am as glad that he hath bestowed his six weeks' time (almost) in abusing me and perverting the sense of my book, if it have kept him from worse employment.

N. C. I know not what you aim at.

C. The same that a gentleman of a neighbouring nation did, who was used by another Phil.[q] just as I have been by this, and his comfort I take to myself. "This little mischief which is done me may be of some use to the commonwealth: and while malice amuses itself about matters of this concernment, it may not find leisure to intermeddle in affairs of higher moment. They that employ their time in perverting the sense of books, and falsifying men's works, are of such a disposition, that it is possible (as this man speaks) they might have been busied in forging of wills, or clipping of money. And he that

[n] St. Swethen, St. George, &c. p. 151.

[o] They are his own words, p. 153.

[p] P. 155.

[q] Philarchus, who writ against Balzac. [The name of Phyllarchus, or Prince of Leaves, was adopted by Goulu, the author of the most violent attack upon Balzac, "by way of allusion to his quality of General of the Feuillons." See Bayle, arts. 'Balzac' and 'Goulu,' who gives a detailed account of the origin and progress of that curious controversy, which, in the words of the English editor of the last portion of Balzac's letters, (8vo, Lond. 1655,) "grew up into a faction, and the pen-men came so fast into the field, that the Philarkes and Antiphilarks divided all France."]

comes only to desire a license or privilege for a book[r] might have sued for a pardon or a reprieve. It is much better that injustice should sport itself in the spoiling of a poor dialogue, than that it should trouble the public tranquillity; and that it should transpose words and alter periods, than remove the bounds of lands, or perplex men's estates. To say the truth, it is the most innocent employment that vice can have; and I might be thought to have served my country, if I had done no more than find such idle people some work, who might have proved dangerous citizens, if they had not chosen to be ridiculous censurers."

N. C. I hope you do not apply all this to him.

C. I must, at least, let him know thus much; that I am perfectly well content if the heat of his brain exhale this way, and his intemperate rage find no other vent. If he know not what to do with his zeal, let him continue to spend it on me, rather than suffer it to be more dangerously employed. If this scope and liberty which he gives to his folly will go no further, he may proceed as he hath begun. And let him call in what assistance he please to pelt me, and pour whole showers of stones upon me, it is like I may be able (as that gentleman said in his case) to build myself a monument with those stones which wrath and malice hurl at me without doing me any harm.

N. C. You will have good luck then, for you may expect other kind of stones than you think of, if all be true that he saith, hailstones or thunderbolts; for he tells you he hath but "anticipated others that would have come against you in a whirlwind, and all in thunder-claps, (whereas he speaks in a still and gentle voice,) which might have broken all your bones[s]."

C. Pish! They will prove but the noise of pot-guns, I warrant you. And I look upon this but as a vapour, and a piece of that vanity I told you he is guilty of; which hath contrived I cannot tell how many punishments for me. It is but a small

[r] As he did to lord Seguier, chancellor of France, in a letter to whom these passages are. [Dated Balzac, 1 of July 1637, and prefixed to vol. iv. of the English translation of his works by sir R. Baker and others, 8vo, Lond. 1655.]

[s] Preface, 31.

matter that in the beginning of his preface he supposes I deserve to be cut off[t]: he can tell you the manner of it. Either by a leprosy, like Gehazi, or by a worse means; being "in as much danger as most men he knows to die, like Herod, of the lousy disease[u]." And why so, think you?

N. C. Your pride and insolence is so great, as he tells you; as appears particularly by telling us of W. B's. "lousy similitudes," which he "cannot divine how it should come into your mind, unless your head be already full of lice."

C. Is not his pride and insolence greater than that he lays to my charge, who presumes, you see, there can be no good reason for a thing if he do not know it? Let him know now, once for all, that I did not throw any word carelessly into my paper, (as he doth,) but wrote deliberately, and gave such epithets to things as I judged upon consideration most proper. If he like me the worse for this I care not, I like myself the better.

N. C. Could you have any reason for so vile an epithet?

C. Suppose I had learned it out of your books, and only returned your own words back again to you; where had the fault been? I am sure I find some of your spirit in times past called the orders in the Common Prayer Book, "carnal, beggarly, lousy, and antichristian[x]."

N. C. But you should not have imitated such beggarly language.

C. Nor W. B. use such beggarly similitudes. For the true reason[y], I assure you, of that epithet, was this; that he compares an unconverted person to a beggar, who drops lice as the other doth sins wherever he goes. "You will say," these are

[t] Page 3.

[u] These are his words, p. 88.

[x] Dr. Bancroft's Sermon at Paul's Cross, p. 20. [Reprinted in Hickes' Tracts, p. 284. The bishop states it as the language of the puritan cavillers, that this book "hath in it at the least 500 errors; that it is full of corruption, confusion, and prophanation; that the orders therein prescribed, are carnall, beggerly, dung, drosse, lousie, and antichristian." He professes to quote the first Admonition to the Parliament: but it must be confessed that the precise terms of scurrilous abuse are not to be discovered therein, although the language is often coarse and opprobrious enough. They might be abundantly paralleled from other writings of that party, especially the Mar-Prelate libels. Compare Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, chap. 9. p. 56.]

[y] I told you I had a good one, Continuation, p. 116. [Vol. v. p. 495.]

his words[z], "a beggar is full of vermin, that drops his vermin wheresoever he goes. So men not converted, they are dropping their vermin wherever they go. If they come in good company, they are dropping their vermin there. Why? because they are full of vermin, full of sin." What think you? Will he be satisfied now?

N. C. I am even nauseated with the mention of vermin so often.

C. It would do well now that I have told him how this epithet came into my mind, if he would go to W. B., and desire to know how this similitude came into his. For this should put his divining faculty, I should think, harder to it than the other; since he is more kind no doubt to him than he was to me, and will not suppose his head to be full of these creepers. How is it possible then that they should come into his mind: especially if you consider that they are now past the equinoctial of their suffering; he having almost said, that they are run through all the twelve signs of that zodiac?

N. C. I did not think you would have mentioned this any more; and now methinks it comes in by the head and shoulders.

C. There is nothing more apposite, else you should have heard of it no more; for according to that famous cosmographer, Don Quixote[a]———

N. C. That is as bad as brachygrapher.

C. No, it is grown a common word, and as well known as if you say 'a describer of the world.'

N. C. Well, go on.

C. According to him, I say, as soon as any ship hath passed the equinoctial, immediately all the lice die, so that there is not one to be found about any man there, if you would give its weight in gold for it. And therefore he may spare that request which Don Quixote made to Sancho, whom he beseeched to grope a little, (when he was in doubt where they were, as they sailed in the enchanted bark,) for if he found never a live thing about him, he might be sure they had cut the line. There

[z] "Sinfulness of sin," &c. p. 27, which hath his name to it, 1667. [Bridge's Works, vol. v. p. 16.]

[a] Part ii. chap. 29. [Skelton's translation, p. 189.]

needs no more labour but to scratch his head for a reason to satisfy this inquisitive gentleman, how one so clean, so free from all vermin, should have such conceits crawling in his head.

N. C. This jesting doth not become you.

C. Had I not better laugh than be angry at his folly? Would you have me go about to confute seriously all that he talks about "lice, and the lousy disease," and the "black and yellow jaundice[b]," with such like "scabby stuff?" (Do not be angry, that is one of the things he there mentions.)

N. C. No, but you find fault with his endeavours to be witty.

C. You have very lucky words, and express my mind very well; wit is not a thing to be studied or learnt; men lose it (as is apparent by this man) in seeking for it, and while they labour to be facetious, they become ridiculous. Is there any thing more monstrous than a jest half English and half Latin? This is to play the fool in two languages, and to make a man's self a laughingstock to the wise, without being admired by the vulgar.

N. C. I confess I understand not his Latin.

C. He pleases himself in such English jests as would never have come into an ingenious man's head, and which a man of ordinary wit would have thrown away, had they offered themselves.

N. C. You will be thought intolerably proud for this very censure.

C. It must be by those who think it a mighty matter to hit now and then upon a pleasant conceit; and if they speak some things with a grateful sharpness, find it a hard matter to be humble.

N. C. I pray, sir, is it not the hardest thing in the world?

C. To those who have but a superficial sense of their Creator. But to others, who live in a continual remembrance of him, and are deeply sensible that they are but what he made them and helped them to be, it is the most natural and easy thing that belongs to our duty. But what do you tell me of pride, when he is guilty of such presumption as I have now named, and before I die of the lousy disease, threatens me with "perpetual barrenness," (p. 27.) "the blessing of Cham," (p. 29.[c]) "wrath

[b] Page 88. [c] "Surely the blessing of Cham will be upon you."

to the uttermost," (p. 54), and after all this, a portion worse than Dives had in the place of torment? p. 80. And with some kind of gust he tells me, that "God will certainly reward me for what I have done, either in this world or in the next[d]:" as if it were some pleasure to think how I shall be treated there, though they cannot show their kindness to me here. But with such bugbears they have been wont to affright others before me upon small occasions. When Mr. Coleman, I remember, did but desire "that as few things might be established *jure divino* as might well be," presently he was rattled with a "What, sir? Will you not speak for your Master's right? Are you ashamed to plead his cause? Take heed that fearful threatening befall not you, Mark viii. 38, *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, &c. of him shall the Son of man be ashamed," &c*[e]. And Melancthon hath also observed[f], that "they who defend absurd things when they want arguments, are apt to betake themselves to thundering of anathemas against their adversaries, to denouncing curses, to evil speaking or threatening of them." But nobody need be troubled at this, for I am of his mind who said, that "all the presages or wishes of enemies are of the same power with the imprecations of poets, and the false bruits of fame," which sound very dreadfully, but are able to do us no harm.

N. C. Nor would he do you any harm if he could, but rather save you from it.

C. But can he pass his word for others too? "Time was," he saith, "when if a man had spoken Irish half so distinctly as I speak fanatic, he had been sure enough trussed up for a spy[g]." These words, methinks, carry a scurvy intimation in them of the danger I should be in if that time return again.

N. C. Do not strain things beyond their meaning.

C. No, I will as soon swing by the head in a string, as deal with him after that manner he hath done with me. I have reported his words just as they are, and what you think of them I will think too.

[d] [P. 87.]

[e] Brief view of Mr. Coleman's Model, page 5, 1645. ["A brief View of Mr. Coleman his New Modell of church government, delivered by him in a late sermon upon Job ii. 20."—anon. 4to, Lond. 1645.]

[f] Upon Rom. xvi. 18.

[g] Page 156, first of them. [From p. 156 to p. 217, the pagination is interrupted, new sheets apparently having been substituted.]

N. C. I think they are none of the handsomest language, but had no bad intention.

C. Let it be so then. I am resolved not to wrangle about any thing that may have a fair interpretation; though I must tell you, he carps and wrangles with me without any cause in the world. Of which vice I must give you some instances according to my promise in the beginning: and because it is very late, they shall be but two, which lie also very near together.

Mention being made in the Friendly Debate of three sorts of Non-conformists, the last of which (as you may see, p. 206, &c.[f]) are said to be between both, he quarrels because they were not placed in the middle, "being a middle sort of men between the two extremes, and by the middle we must come at the extremes[g]." And yet this is the very man, who in another case gives advice quite contrary to this, and reasons too why the middle should come last. The building of the city, I mean, he would have begin at both ends, where it stayed, for "everybody knows (mark his words[h]) that it is better to proceed from extremes to the middle, (for virtue is in the middle,) to build first at both ends or extremes of the city, and so to proceed to the middle, from the two poles as it were to the centre."

N. C. I did not think men could cross themselves on this fashion.

C. Nothing more easy, when they are resolved to be cross to others in every thing.

N. C. It seems there is one rule for building of cities, and another for building of books, if you will let me so speak.

C. As you please. But he crosses this rule he hath made for me once more in that book. For when he had told us of two proverbs, "Nothing venture, nothing have," and "Venture all, and lose all;" both which sometimes proves true; he then brings us to the "middle way," which he saith "is best; neither venture all, nor venture nothing, but venture something, though not all[i]."

N. C. I begin to fear he hath an itching of finding fault where there is none: for how should a man know what the middle between two extremes is, till he first know them?

[f] See his book, p. 218. [g] [Vol. v. p. 409.] [h] Rebuilding of London, Discourse 19, p. 128. [Compare p. 73 above.] [i] Discourse 40. p. 245.

C. It is well that I can extort that little confession from you. Look a little further, and tell me what you think of that passage, p. 220, where, upon occasion of my desiring those ministers who are not against the Common Prayer, that they would instruct the people in the truth, and bring them to a modest and peaceable temper, in order to a compliance with us, he tells me in a jeering way, "Sir, they are your journeymen, and you may command them what you please," or rather your "poor apprentices," &c., as if I desired them to do us service, (which God knows was not in my thoughts,) and not to serve the truth and peace of the church of Christ. This is mere perverseness of spirit, and argues he did not read or write with a good mind, but studies more to keep up a party than to promote true Christian religion.

N. C. However he tells you they can do nothing for the making up the breach. Some have tried to satisfy the people about joining in a form of prayer, &c., and it will not do, p. 223.

C. He speaks diffidently, and saith, "some, it may be," have tried. But let us take it for a certainty; and since you mention it, let me say a few things briefly to it. First, he acknowledges then the gross ignorance and stupidity of your people, (which I told you of the last time,) who will sooner join with Quakers, as he saith more than once[i], than with us of the Church of England. For that is his argument against persuading them to be reconciled to us, that the next news we may hear of them shall be, that they have joined themselves to the Anabaptists, or to the Quakers, &c. But secondly, it would be duly considered, and sadly laid to heart, how they came by those prejudices and antipathies against so sober a way of worshipping God as is among us. "Let those mis-zealous men," saith bishop Hall[k], "who have infused these distastes into well-meaning souls, see how they will answer it at the great day to the Judge of quick and dead. Surely if the case were mine, I should fear it would fall heavy upon my soul." Thirdly, let them all come back themselves to our congregations, though they cannot bring the people with them. They will thereby

[i] Pp. 15. 227.

[k] Answer to the Vindication of Smectym. paragraph 13. [Works, vol. ix. p. 757.]

do what in them lies to take away the scandal they have given, and they will also leave those people who, when the humour takes them, may leave them, and run to the wild sects, where still they may enjoy more liberty. It was a good memento of Mr. Greenham's to Brown, when he first separated from our church, that he hoped he might be better informed, and return again to us; but he bid him bethink himself what would become of those poor souls whom he had seduced, and were carried away, who might run further and further from us, but never be reclaimed. His words proved true, for Brown returned and died a member of the Church of England[1], but his sect remains

[1] [Robert Brown, who gave his name to one of the most extreme sections of puritan dissent, was the son of Anthony Brown, a gentleman of good family at Tolthorp in Rutlandshire, and nearly related to the lord treasurer Burleigh. He completed his education at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and frequently preached at St. Bennet's church in that city, where his vehemence and zeal acquired for him considerable popularity. He subsequently became a schoolmaster in Southwark, then a lecturer at a church in Islington, and domestic chaplain to the duke of Norfolk. His dislike to the discipline and ceremonies of the church soon became notorious, and in the year 1571 he was cited before archbishop Parker, and the other high commissioners at Lambeth on the charge of Non-conformity. The duke interfering to protect his chaplain, some angry passages ensued between him and the primate, which seem at least to have procured for Brown immunity for a time.

Some years after, finding himself exposed to continual risk, from which his family interest could not altogether screen him, he emigrated to Middleburgh in Zealand, where he was permitted to construct a society or church on his own peculiar platform, the model of which he subsequently described in his "Treatise of Reformation," published in 1582. Internal dissensions having led to the early dissolution of this community, Brown returned to England in the year 1581, and settled in the ministry at Norwich, but was before long committed by Freake, bishop of that diocese, to the custody of the sheriff, and only released on acknowledgment of his error. Growing, however, bolder by degrees, he associated himself with one Richard Harrison, a country-schoolmaster, and planted congregations on his own new model in different places. His publications and harangues exposed him to such incessant prosecutions, as to enable him to boast in after-life that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. He is said to have been disowned by his father, on the plea that he would not own him for a son who would not own the Church of England for his mother. In the course of his itinerant life he was cited at Northampton before Lindsell, bishop of Peterborough, who, upon his refusing to appear, publicly excommunicated him for contempt. Impressed, it is said, by the solemnity of this censure, Brown renounced

to the great disturbance of it to this day. It had been well if all your ministers of this generation had thought of this, and so not begun to lead away so many souls into a mischievous schism, who may never be restored: but as it is, if they cannot reduce them, let them come back themselves, and not be worse than the father of the separation. And fourthly, I have hope hereby that they may do some good, whatsoever this man saith, upon the better part of your people, if they set themselves to it unanimously, and with all their heart. For what cannot be done by one man alone, (whose unsuccessful labours he untruly talks of,) might be done to great purpose if all were of the same pious mind, and joined in the same good work by doctrine and example: declaring that neither they nor their predecessors ever held there were any such foul corruptions in our worship or government, as should be a just ground for separation. And lastly, if there be no hope at all of this, what

his principles of separation, and sought once more the communion of the church. In the year 1592 he was appointed to the living of Achurch in Northamptonshire, through the influence of the earl of Exeter. His uncontrollable temper involving him in his old age in a dispute with the parish collector of rates, he was summoned before Sir. R. St. John, the magistrate, and for insolence in court committed to Northampton gaol, where he sickened and died in 1630, aged upwards of eighty years. —Fuller, v. 62—70. Brook's Puritans, ii. 366. Chalmers, Biogr. Dict. Hickes' Biblioth. Script. Angl. pref. p. 13. "I will never believe," is Fuller's opinion, "that he ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or in writing, as to the main of what he maintained. More probable it is, that the promise of his general compliance with the Church of England (so far forth as not to make future disturbance therein) met with the archbishop's courteous acceptance thereof: both which, effectually improved by the countenance of Thomas Cecil, earl of Exeter, (Brown's near kinsman and patron,) procured this extraordinary favour to be indulged unto him. His parsonage he freely possessed, allowing a sufficient salary for one to discharge the cure, and (though against them in his judgment) was contented, and perchance pleased, to take the tithes of his own parish.

"For my part, (whose nativity Providence placed within a mile of this Brown's pastoral charge,) I have, when a youth, often beheld him. He was of an imperious nature; offended if what he affirmed but in common discourse were not instantly received as an oracle. He was then so far from the Sabbatarian strictness to which some preciser Brownists did afterwards pretend, that both in judgment and practice he seemed rather libertine therein. In a word, he had in my time a wife, with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste: and a church wherein he never preached, though he received the profits thereof."]

makes this gentleman talk of an "accommodation and union between Conformists and Non-conformists," and that "a purpose of it seemed to be as it were publishing very lately [m]?" Sure he knows not the meaning of those words, or else contradicts himself, which it is as easy for him to do as it is to write.

N. C. That word *schism*, which you mentioned just now, is harder to understand than union. For he seems to plead the same reason for our separation from you, which is alleged for your separation from Rome.

C. That is one of his miserable shifts and excuses which he makes for things that are sinful: is he so little a divine as to think we separated from the church of Rome because they "impose terms of communion which are unnecessary to be imposed[n]?"

N. C. That might have been left out, I think: for he adds, "and which our conscience cannot submit unto."

C. But is he in good earnest? May we leave a church without sin, whensoever it imposes any thing that our consciences will not let us submit unto?

N. C. Pray do you determine.

C. You shall determine it yourselves, for we have not time to discuss this matter thoroughly now. Pray tell me, upon what account did you accuse the Independents of schism heretofore? They would not in conscience submit to your government; and yet Mr. Jenkins calls it, "the schism of Independency[o]:" and it is the third general reason given by the London ministers in their letter to the Assembly against toleration[p], "that Independency is a schism;" which they prove by such arguments as I cited in our first Debate out of your own authors, (which this man wisely passes over,) and among the rest by this; "they separate from a true church, and therefore make a schism." There was one, I know, who relied upon this, that it is no true church which uses compulsion; but he was

[m] Preface, p. 9. [n] P. 134.

[o] Blind Guide guided, p. 11. ["ΟΔΗΓΟΣ ΤΥΦΛΟΣ, The Blind Guide, or the Doting Doctor; composed by way of reply to a late tediously trifling pamphlet, entituled, The Youngling Elder, &c. written by John Goodwin, &c.; by William Jenkyn, minister of the word of God at Christ-Church in London." —4to, Lond. 1648.] and so doth Mr. Edwards, Antapologia. [p. 284 sqq.]

[p] [Quoted in part i. of the Friendly Debate, vol. v. p. 325.]

answered immediately, Then the churches of New England are false churches, for they will suffer no sectaries neither. But we must not debate this further unless there be another occasion; and I must also pass by several things I thought to have said about scandal, because it is not fit to weary you. It shall suffice to admonish you of that good rule of Mr. Baxter, "It is a private uncatholic principle, that a minister should more fear or avoid the offending and hurting of his own particular flock, than the offending and hurting of the catholic church, or of many particular churches, where the interest of Christ and the gospel is greater[q]," &c. If Philagathus had considered this, or what I said the last time, he would not have made that lame excuse for your ministers which you meet withal, p. 130; which shows he had a mind to make a book, rather than an answer. Such another is that which he makes for their meeting in time of divine service[r]; which he could not but know is a covering a great deal too short for them. Do they therefore meet at that time because "the churches will not hold all our people?" Open thy mouth, man, as at other times, and speak out; is this the cause, dost thou verily think, that they hold their assemblies at those hours when we hold ours? Let him assure himself, this very thing hath laid such as he is very low in the opinion of some who had better thoughts of them before; that they strain themselves on this fashion to allege those for the reasons of their brethren's actions, which they know in their consciences are not the reasons. It is a great discredit to themselves, and an affront withal to their neighbours.

N. C. How so?

C. By imagining them so silly as to be put off with such flams as these. But we may pardon such little things in a man who can presume many things to be true without any reason at all. Nay, he can "presume" (contrary to reason, and the very scope of my discourse, as I have shown you) that some things which I had learnt more than ordinary "contain an enumeration of all the material points our minister hath preached to us, after, it may be, six years' residence with us[s]." And that I would turn one of them, if need were, (p. 147,) and

[q] True catholic church, [p. 244.]

[r] P. 15.

[s] They are his own words, p. 138.

that "if our governors should put forth their hands and touch all we have, we would curse them as the devil said Job would curse God[t], though not to their faces, yet behind their backs," p. 28, and that they themselves "would not be so rigorous as they were, if they had power again," p. 84.

N. C. Some of them, he saith, would not &c.

C. Who are they? "A very worthy man," (as he tells you he is p. 111,) the author of Nehushtan[u], will not have it lawful to tolerate the Common Prayer. His auditors, you need not question, are of that mind, and thought those sermons would do well to be printed to make more proselytes. How many they are we know not; but will not they be earnest, think you, had they power, for the abolishing of the Liturgy as a monument of idolatry? And when indulgence was consented unto in some cases, was it not conditioned expressly, that it should "not extend to tolerate the use of the Common Prayer in any place whatsoever[v]?" How shall we be sure that such stiff men would

[t] You see whom he imitates in this wicked presumption.

[u] ["The present Liturgy, though there be many good and useful things in it, yet it hath been so much abused both heretofore among the idolatrous papists from whom we had it, and since amongst ourselves, that it hath for many years been the desire of several thousands of sober and godly people of all degrees in these nations, that it should after the other popish trash thrown out of the house of God in the beginning of the reformation, be laid aside."—Nehushtan, p. 174. (by John Wilson; see note to vol. v. p. 357.) The author further alludes to the remarks made by king Edward VI. in reply to the petition from Devonshire and Cornwall respecting the new service book; "As for the service in the English tongue, though it may seem to you a new service, it is indeed none other than the old," &c. (Foxe, Acts and Mon. vol. ii. p. 667,) and *inter alia* the saying of king James I. that the English liturgy was "an ill-said mass." (See Ball's pamphlet against Separation, p. 149.)]

[v] Four bills and propositions, ordered to be printed, March 11, 1647, p. 32. ["The four bills sent to the king to the Isle of Wight to be passed; together with the propositions sent unto him at the same time, which upon the passing of those bills were to be treated upon: and also the Articles of the Church of England; with the rules and directions concerning suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in cases of ignorance. Unto all which doth refer the late Declaration of both houses of the fourth of March 1647, concerning the papers of the Scots commissioners, upon occasion of the last address to the king in the Isle of Wight,"—printed by Ed. Husband, 4to, March 20, Lond. 1647–8. Reprinted in king Charles' Works, vol. ii. p. 641 sqq. and Parl. Hist. iii. 823 sqq.

The titles of the four bills are

I. "An Act concerning the raising, settling, and maintaining forces by sea and by land, within the

be more yielding if they were armed with their former strength? But this man hath such a strong belief (otherwise called conceit) that he can presume any thing; no less than this, that he deserves some countenance from our governors for writing this goodly book [x]: and from his party, no doubt, for presuming so lustily for them, that there is no such principle as this which the Non-conformists hold, "that things lawful enough in themselves become unlawful when they are once enjoined in the worship of God [y];" when the contrary is so apparent, that some say it is idolatry to use such things.

N. C. You tell me news.

C. It is easier a great deal to write a book about this bigger than any I have made, than to say all those things which we have now discoursed. Did I not tell you the last time of one, who makes "the imposing of any form, model, or method of worship, though made by a council of elect angels, to be an usurpation of divine authority, and a setting up of a man's self for God [z]?" How come you to be so forgetful?

N. C. Now I remember it. No more words.

C. Let me tell you, he is not singular in this; but it is a common opinion spread very much among you, that "no man on earth hath power in matters of religion [a]:" and therefore any ordinances about such matters are an "evacuation of Christ's death," an "apparent apostasy from him," and suit not with "the liberty of the gospel," wherewith Christ hath made us free. The most moderate of this sort of men, and many that go under the denomination of Presbyterians, tell us that it is an invasion of their Christian liberty, which they ought to

kingdoms of England and Ireland, and dominion of Wales, the Isles of Guernsey and Iersey, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed.

II. "An Act for justifying the proceedings of Parliament in the late war, and for declaring all oathes, declarations, proclamations, and other proceedings against it, to be void.

III. "An Act concerning peers lately made, and hereafter to be made.

IV. "An Act concerning the adjournments of both houses of Parliament."]

[x] Preface, p. 35. [y] P. 105.

[z] Continuation of the Friendly Debate, p. 386, &c. [Vol. v. p. 647.]

[a] Christ on his throne, p. 60. ["Christ on his throne, or Christ's Church-government briefly laid downe; and how it ought to bee set up in all Christian congregations, resolved in sundry cases of conscience, printed in the yeare 1640." —4to, anon.]

maintain: but the more zealous say it is an invasion of Christ's own royal prerogative, which is incommunicable to any, to all the powers on earth, and which they ought not to betray, to prescribe rules to men which he hath not enjoined[b]. "You may as well bring a clean thing out of an unclean, as make a spiritual extraction out of a secular root," saith one[c]. "Christ hath committed the power of the keys to every particular member of the church, and will of every one demand an account," saith another[d]. "The power of the representatives

[b] Vindication of Independent churches. ["A Vindication of churches commonly called Independent," &c. in answer to Prynne, by Henry Barton, 4to, Lond. 1644.]

[c] Reply of two of the brethren to A. S. [p. 33.]

[d] Mr. Eaton's sermon at Knuttesford. [This sermon seems never to have been published in an entire form. The present extract was no doubt taken from a notice of it in Sir Thomas Aston's Remonstrance against Presbytery, (of which Patrick seems to have made copious use throughout the present work,) who has preserved "Certaine positions (eight in number) preached at St. Iohn's church in Chester, by Mr. Samuel Eaton, a minister lately returned from New England, upon Sunday being the third day of Ianuary, 1640, in the afternoone; and in addition, Certaine other positions preached by the same man at Knuttesford, a great market towne in the same county: viz.

9. "That every particular congregation is an absolute church, and is to have all ordinances and officers within it selfe; the members of it must be only saints, and these must enter covenant amongst themselves, and without such a covenant no church.

10. "That the power of the keyes is committed neyther to the porters nor governors, but to the whole congregation, and to every particular member of the same; and Christ having committed them to every one, would of every one demaund an account of them, and therefore charged the people, as they would answer it at the dreadfull day of judgment, to keep the keyes amongst themselves, and not to suffer any authority to wrest them out of their hands.

11. "That it is an heynous sin to be present when prayers are read out of a book, either by the minister or any other," &c.—p. 6.

Samuel, son of Richard Eaton, vicar of Great Budworth in Cheshire, was born at Crowley, a little village situated in that parish, and educated at Oxford, but at what particular house Wood was unable to ascertain. He is not to be identified with a student of the same name, who matriculated in April 1602 at Broadgate's Hall, being then in his seventeenth year; as appears from his age at the time of his death. After leaving the university he took orders in the church of England, and held a benefice in his own county, but finding his non-conformist principles expose him to trouble took refuge in New England in the year 1637. Dissenting from the system of government and discipline enforced there by Mr. Davenport, which was of the presbyterian type, while Eaton maintained strong independent or separatist views, he left the place by the advice of his brother Theophilus, governor of Newhaven, and resolved on return-

shall not extend to things spiritual or evangelical," said the Agreement of the People[e]. All which was so well known not long ago, that one told them in plain terms, they made "the civil magistrate a kind of bat," i. e. confined him to the twilight of nature: and that "the child may not adventure to take his

ing to England, where the change of times opened to him a secure and prosperous career. On the way he was earnestly solicited to accept a charge at Boston, which however he declined. On his arrival in England in the year 1641, Col. Robert Dukinfield, one of the parliamentary commissioners for the county of Cheshire, and subsequently governor of Chester castle, nominated him his domestic chaplain at Dukinfield Hall, near Stockport. There Eaton found an ancient chapel, the ruins of which still stand, which had been in former days a chantry for the priest attached to the Dukinfield family. In this he gathered a numerous congregation on independent principles, the foundation of it dating from about the year 1644, since he himself says in one of his controversial pamphlets written in 1647, "It is not yet full three years since the constitution of our church." About 1654 he removed to Stockport, and exercised his ministry in that place, preaching in the free school of that city. Through his patron's influence he was made chaplain to the garrison at Chester. He was silenced at the restoration, and discontinued his ministry, settling at Denton, near Manchester, where he attended on Mr. Angier's ministrations. He died childless, Jan. 9, 1664, aged 68 years, and was buried in the chapel at Denton. —These particulars are in part compiled from Wood, Athen. Oxon. iii. 672; Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial, ii. 361; Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, iii. 213; and in part communicated to the editor by Eaton's present successor in the independent ministry at Dukinfield, the Rev. R. Brook Aspland.]

[e] P. 24. Jan. 20, 1649. [The Agreement was drawn up by a committee of officers, Col. James Berry chairman, appointed by the general council of the army, in whose hands the conduct of public affairs virtually rested, pending the trial of the king. The frame of it, Whitelocke states, "was thought to be for the most part made by commissary-general Ireton, a man full of invention and industry, who had a little knowledge of the law, which led him into the more error."—Memorials, p. 361. It was presented to the house by Hammond and other officers in the name of the army, Jan. 20, and printed by an order of the house made the same day, together with the Commons' Reply, in a quarto pamphlet, entitled, "A Petition from his excellency, Thomas, lord Fairfax, and the general council of officers of the army, to the honourable the Commons of England in parliament assembled, concerning the draught of an agreement of the people for a secure and present peace, by them framed and prepared. Together with the said agreement presented, Saturday, Jan. 20, and a Declaration of his excellency and the said general council, concerning the same: tendered to the consideration of the people." It is signed "by the appointment of his excellency, and the general council of officers of the army, Jo. Rushworth, Secr. Whitehall, Jan. 15, 1649." Reprinted in Parl. Hist. iii. 1267.]

lesson out of any book, but nature's primer[f]." In short, this is an opinion as old as the second Admonition in queen Elizabeth's time[g], where you find these words, "though there were never an ill word or sentence in all the form of our prayers, yet to appoint that form to be used, though the words be good, the use is naught." What doth Philagathus think now of his presumptuous undertaking in the behalf of the Non-conformists? And what will he do for all those who are of this opinion, whom he hath with full mouth proclaimed rebels[h]?

N. C. Let them agree it among themselves, for I am none of them: and if you will, let them take the rest which concerns that matter among them, and do what they will with it.

C. I could make fine sport, if I should enter further into that wild discourse. For like a distracted man he runs from the point in hand, and cries out, "God forbid that any of them should say that things commanded by God ought not to be done, if seconded by the command of the magistrate[i]."——

N. C. If you love me, do not follow that wildgoose chase, as we call it. I know very well we were speaking of indifferent things, and so lawful in themselves; not of things necessary.

C. I have done, and shall only note two or three more of his presumptions. "To lie a soak" in the blood of Christ, he presumes is an allusion to what is said "of the adamant stone steeping in the blood of a goat," p. 46, which conceit, as ill luck would have it, is quite contrary to another presumption which he relies much upon, that these men speak to tradesmen, to farmers or ploughmen[j], (and therefore may be allowed rude expressions,) who know as much what belongs to adamants, as you know what belongs to algebra.

N. C. Divines do ordinarily make use of this, as he tells you.

C. Do they so? Among "the country hearers too," the "honest farmers and ploughmen[k]," who are better pleased to hear of a "mess or bowl of pottage, than with a resemblance from the sun, moon and stars?" And yet they have seen them oftener a great deal than the adamant stone. Surely they will

[f] Apology for Mr. J. Goodwin, 1653, p. 5. [Quoted above, p. 157.]

[g] [Written by Cartwright, 1572.]

[h] A rebellious principle it is, &c. your mouth waters to be calling Non-conformists rebels, Ib. [p. 105.]

[i] [Ibid.]

[j] See page 36, and page 264.

[k] They are his expressions, p. 264.

not thus forsake their plain preaching; and, notwithstanding this man's presumption, I do not believe that one reader of a thousand thought of this adamant. Let us see therefore if he can do any better in other things: he makes bold to presume that because the Spirit suggested words to the apostles, therefore it doth so to us; and because to them in preaching, therefore to us in prayer. That is the force of his reasoning, p. 96. "The apostle," saith he, "acknowledges himself beholding to the Holy Ghost[l] for words as well as affections," and that in his "ordinary preaching." "Now if the Spirit do suggest words in preaching, why not in prayer?"

N. C. Now that you speak of prayer, it will keep you here a little longer. Pray tell me, why did you forget to mention that all this while? Have you no care of your credit and reputation, which is lost by what you have said of it, unless you can redeem it? Nay, you have "made your name to stink," as he tells you, "in the nostrils of many, who before had better thoughts of you[m]."

C. That is the smallest matter of a thousand, nor is it any prejudice to me, "if they hardly expect," as it there follows, "to meet me in heaven." It is certain they shall not, unless they get thither themselves: and how to secure that, is a thing should more employ their thoughts than to be dreaming what will become of other men. But as to the business you speak of, I did not forget it, but fully intended to have shown all the folly of his discourse about it, as I have done in the rest; particularly in denying that to be a rule to us which is "infallibly dictated by the Holy Ghost[n];" and in making public prayer (which was the thing we debated about) to be for private use. But now I am sensible it is too late, and we shall part better friends if I let it alone; for your prejudices, I doubt, are so great, that they will either make you angry at my plainness, or misunderstand that which you are not used to think of.

N. C. I hope otherwise, and would gladly stay so long, if you can tell me your mind in short.

C. Part of it I can. *Praying by the Spirit* signifies in the holy language, as I take it, the uttering such petitions as were

[l] 1 Cor. ii. 13. [m] Page 95. [n] Page 92.

immediately suggested, both matter and words, by the Holy Ghost, according as the necessities of the church required. Such a gift I acknowledged there was in the apostles' days; but finding no promise that it should continue to ours, nor any such qualification required by St. Paul in a Christian bishop, I made bold to say that no man now can *pray by the Spirit*, meaning as the apostles did. Nor dare this man say the contrary, but pours out a great many words (as they are wont to do, when fewer would better become them) concerning the Spirit's bringing some things to our minds, he "cannot tell how much nor how little[o];" but for any thing he knows, it may be nothing at all. But if it do, it makes nothing against me, who told you in plain words, if he could have read, or would not have cavilled, that I spoke of a "prayer immediately dictated by the Holy Ghost, as some were in the apostles' days[p]." This he should have opposed, and shown us that there is such a divine gift, which I deny; and affirm that the gift of prayer, which is now so much talked of, is partly natural, and partly acquired by study, observation, and orderly digesting of things in our minds. So that to the performance of what belongs to it in a complete manner, there is required a competent knowledge of the will of God revealed in the Holy Scriptures, where the matter of our prayers is already declared to us by God's Spirit. Next of all, an orderly and distinct apprehension of those things which we know, then a firm memory to keep them in mind and in that order; a ready invention also that we may find out what is most proper on all occasions, together with an easy utterance and fluent expression. All these are to be improved by use and exercise, and when this gift is to be exercised in the presence of others, some degree of confidence and boldness is necessary, either from nature, or acquired by frequent practice. And the greater the company is, and the more unacquainted we are with them that we pray withal, the more of that quality last named is necessary for him that makes the prayer. If any of these be wanting, either there is no such gift, or it is very lame and defective; as Mr. Egerton observed it was not only in many of the common people, (who thought they had it when they had it not,) but in some reverend and

[o] Page 93.

[p] See more in the Friendly Debate, [vol. v. p. 334.

worthy ministers too, who knowing they had it not, always used a set form of words both in the church and in their private families, and were men furnished with so much piety and learning, that he could hardly prefer any other men before them[q]. They that have a solid and clear understanding, but no more, have no such gift as this. If there be superadded a good memory, but no quick invention and words ready to follow it, they will find themselves at a loss or confused sometimes, even when nobody hears them. And so may those who have all these, if they have not withal got a habit of speaking fitly by frequent exercise. Nay, they that have this habit, if they be too bashful, may find their gift fail them before a great congregation. On the other side, we find that they who have little understanding, and are endued only with a memory, are wont to pray over the same phrases, and put together the several heads of a sermon sometime in one order, sometime in another, and that is all. As for the men of brisker imagination, better memories, and whose tongues are well hung, though of a shallow judgment, they will make a fairer show, and please themselves and others with variety of expressions and conceits, when the matter is very mean, and many times but their private opinions turned into petitions. But as for them who, beside their weak memories and want of understanding, are of a slow invention or expression, and have only boldness and confidence equal to other men's knowledge and judgment, they will either hum and haw, or use endless tautologies, or speak nonsense, or piece it out with certain words which shall make a part in the beginning, end and middle of every sentence. Whereby it is apparent that very excellent men may wholly want this gift, and others of little worth may have much of it, such as it is: nay, that men of great holiness may be without it, and bad men have it to admiration. For if they have furnished themselves with notions, and laid them together in a method, and can hold them fast so as they are disposed in their memories, and readily run to them, suddenly produce them, fit expressions to them, and be daunted with nothing; they may ravish the people and themselves too, though they have little or no sense of God and good-

[q] Practice of Christianity, p. 690. [by R. Rogers, epitomized by Egerton, 4to, Lond. 1629.]

ness. He also that is but dull and slow may be more ready and brisk when his fancy is heated, and find things coming faster before him, and presenting themselves in that order wherein they lay in his mind; so that one part of his prayer shall be more taking than the other. But all this is nothing of the spirit of prayer, which consists in such things as I told you at the first, and must not now repeat; nor is it praying by the Spirit neither, as any man may see that hath not a mind to deceive himself or others. It is not denied but that, when a good man seriously sets himself to meditate, the Holy Spirit of God may, and I believe doth oftentimes, set things in better order before his mind than he could cast them into himself, and brings withal some things to his mind which he had forgot, and not only excites those passions and affections in him which are suitable to what he intends to ask of God or thank him for, but raises him extraordinarily above himself; and yet all this will not amount to a praying by the Spirit, but only by its assistance: whereby a man who hath a gift of extemporate speech sometimes excels all that ever he delivered before, and yet no man will say he spoke by the Spirit. I must add also, that notwithstanding this assistance of the Divine Spirit, it is most certainly true, that many have spoken to the astonishment of their hearers, (as I can prove from certain stories which you perhaps are not acquainted with,) who were not moved by the Holy Ghost at all; and other devout men who have the Spirit of God as much as any, after all their premeditation, and digesting things in their mind, have not been able to make such prayers, nor found any such assistance (as this man would have us depend upon) to bring that matter on a sudden to their mind, which they had forgot or not thought upon. I have endeavoured to explain my mind as briefly and perspicuously as I could about this business; in which, notwithstanding, I know a man of ill will may find some word or other to snarl and cavil at. But if this man think good to continue still in that humour, I shall throw one bone in his way for him to gnaw a little upon, which may perhaps something abate the edge of his fury. It is the words of a great man dissatisfied with many things in our church, who writing upon occasion concerning this matter confesses a great part of the most distasteful things that I have said, and upon his own experience.

"'Now what worship,' saith he, 'or prayers do you use? I am ashamed to name the boldness and folly of some who, scarce able to utter three words orderly, will yet take upon them to babble out a tedious and stuttering prayer, where in every tenth word shall be the repeating of O heavenly Father, O merciful Father, O dear Father, O good God, O merciful God, &c., and also so foolishly packed together, that their praying seems rather to be the prating of an infant that would tell some great tale but cannot hit it.' Thus far the reformer, and yet he saith not all," as my author[r] adds, "for sometimes they will so wander either by error or malice, in framing their prayers answerable to their affections (which are ofttimes maliciously bent against any thing or matter wherewith they are displeased), that no true Christian, if he had time to consider of their meaning, ought in charity, when they had done, to say Amen." All this I will undertake to make good, when it shall be required, by such instances as are undeniable.

N. C. I have enough: but I wish "you be not like the fox, that persuaded others to cut off their tail because he had none of his own."

C. I remember his words very well, p. 99. But he had better have been more modest, and not meddled with that story; because there is another hard by it in the same author which will give him a slap in the mouth, worse than one with a fox-tail. It is this.——

N. C. I thought we had been in more haste to be gone than to stay to hear tales.

C. It is but a short one, and I will leave you to make the moral. A fox went to a player's house, and turning over all his implements, when at the last he found a vizor, which made a very fair and goodly appearance without, but was hollow within, he cried out, "What an head is here! the mischief is, it hath no brains[s]." But to be serious: must all be supposed to want this gift who tell you it is not so divine as he imagines? For my part, I pretend to nothing more than what I have told you, but only this; that I think it is an art that may be very easily taught those who are of an ordinary capacity, and which many

[r] Dr. Bancroft's Sermon at the Cross, 1588, p. 23. [Reprinted in Hickes's Tracts, p. 288.]

[s] Οἶα κεφαλὴ, καὶ ἐγκέφαλον οὐκ ἔχει. [Æsop. fab. xi.]

people learn by imitation. It is plain the boy was taught (after a fashion) in a small time, who was lately hanged for murder: and it was no such wonder when we consider that there is a certain form and road both of matter and words where many men are wont to run, only they change their place, and put them in other rank and order. And as this is very easy for some men to attain, so it is very delightful when they have it, which makes them so fond of it, and so much to admire it. For their spirits being heated and their fancy warmed, many things start up on a sudden which they thought not of before; and these surprise them with their novelty, and withal are apt to persuade less cautious souls that now they are full of the Spirit of God.

N. C. I wonder to hear you talk of easiness. You mean sure of praying by a book.

C. No indeed. I think it far more difficult to pray by a book than otherways, if a man be able to do both. For beside the delight which it gives the natural man to have new conceits springing up continually in his mind, and the joy he is apt to conceive from an opinion that then he is extraordinarily inspired from above; it is no small matter in his esteem to have the whole public service of God rely upon his invention, and hang upon his lips. This makes him to be a little pope of another kind: upon whose mouth alone the divine worship in the church as much depends among you, as the divine faith doth on the pope's mouth among the papists. There is this difference only, (besides the number which depend on each,) that he takes a long time and much advice about his resolutions of faith, and your worship oftentimes is but a sudden effusion.

N. C. I think I had best arrest you here, for I doubt you begin to take a delight too in hearing yourself talk——

C. Doubt and hope and fear, all as you please yourself; it shall please me well enough: who am resolved to be unconcerned, by the help of God, in what you say, unless you talk more soberly than this man hath done, and appear to be more in love with truth than any worldly interest. Which that we may all be, let us both pray to that eternal Spirit, (as I find one in the late times concludes his book[t],) "who first moved

[t] Mr. J. Goodwin's Queries questioned by one query, &c. [p. 17. Quoted above, p. 263.]

upon the face of the waters, and out of a chaos of confusion brought forth this beautiful frame of things, and in the shape of a meek and peaceable dove descended and sat upon our Saviour, the head of the second creation, and who is not the Author of confusion, but of order; that he would cast out of this nation every evil spirit, the spirit of blindness, giddiness, and delusion, of pride and presumption, of contradiction and perverse disputing; and endue us with the spirit of judgment, sobriety, and a sound mind; of humility, peace, and meekness; that we may not, instead of discovering a greater light of truth, return into former darkness of error, nor be spiritual Athenians and novelists in religion, nor deserve the censure which the apostle passed on the Jews, that we are contrary to all men." And God, I hope, who is the Author of all good thoughts and designs, will open some men's eyes or other, even by this that hath been said: be it but of one or two, I shall not think my labour ill bestowed. They will see, I hope, in what danger they are of being misled, when one of their guides, and of no small account in his own opinion, if not others,' is so ignorant, quarrelsome and contentious. They will at least learn to be more wary whom they trust, and to read both sides before they judge; and not be moved by the bold declamations of men without reason, when they clearly see the example of a minister before them, who speaks with the greatest confidence of things whereof he hath no knowledge.

N. C. Take heed you hope not too much, and fall not into presumptions as well as he.

C. No, I have been cautioned against that long ago. I know, as Mercury says in Lucian[u], that the multitude are bewitched with ignorance and error, and their ears so stopped that they can hardly be bored through with an auger. Ulysses could not make his followers' ears more fast with wax from hearing the Syrens. You may break your heart with calling before they will hearken to you: for look what virtue the

[u] In his Charon. [ΕΡΜ. Ὦ μακάριε, οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅπως αὐτοὺς ἡ ἄγνοια καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη διατεθείκασιν, ὡς μηδ' ἂν τρυπάνῳ ἔτι διανοιχθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ὦτα· τοσούτῳ κηρῷ ἔβυσαν αὐτά, οἷόν περ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἔδρασε δέει τῆς Σειρήνων ἀκροάσεως. Πόθεν οὖν αν ἐκεῖνοι ἀκοῦσαι δυνηθεῖεν, ἢν καὶ σὺ κεκραγὼς διαρραγῇς; ὅπερ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἡ Λήθη δύναται, τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἄγνοια ἐργάζεται.—Dialog. xii. §. 21.]

water of Lethe is said to have in the other world, the same operation hath ignorance with them here. Yet there are some among them who will suffer no wax to be crammed into their ears; that are more attentive to truth, and will see plainly how the world goes, and judge accordingly. To them I appeal, hoping they will be convinced that I have spoken nothing but the truth; and that others also will be admonished by these things to abide in the truth, and make much of it, and defend it as becomes honest men, though they draw thereby upon themselves the hatred of others, whose ignorance they reprove.

As for that gentleman whom I have dealt withal thus long, I leave the same advice with him which bishop White[x] gave another person, that he would not be "too well conceited of himself, nor affect popular applause," and so "refer the handling of such matters as these to men of better judgment, learning and modesty: and not give just occasion to have Solomon's sentence applied to him, *Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him*[y]."

And since he hath some experience of his own forward humour, and sees that he is apt to be "imprudent and desperate" (as he hath confessed, p. 2.), I would further advise him, that when he suspects a furious fit of scribbling to be coming again upon him, he would desire his wife or servants to lay pen, ink and paper out of his way, lest he shame himself yet more in the face of the world.

THE END.

Job vi. 24, 25.

Teach me, and I will hold my tongue: and cause me to understand wherein I have erred.

How forcible are right words! but what doth your arguing reprove?

[x] Conclusion of his Answer to the Dialogue between two Divines, A. B. 1637. [pp. 160, 2. See above, p. 49.]

[y] Prov. xxvii. 22.

AN APPENDIX

TO

THE THIRD PART

OF

THE FRIENDLY DEBATE,

BEING A LETTER OF THE CONFORMIST
TO THE NON-CONFORMIST.

TOGETHER WITH

A POSTSCRIPT.

THE PREFACE.

IF I was not swayed more by the love of truth than of my own credit, I should, for many reasons, have suppressed this following letter: which discovers so many gross falsehoods in the reflections which have been made on the Friendly Debate, that, whatsoever censures may be passed on me, the reader may receive some profit from it. Which that I might not hinder by putting too big a book into his hands, I have cast away a great deal of what I had writ about other untruths and absurd reasonings: hoping that this will be sufficient to make those that peruse it wary and observant; and then they may detect the rest themselves without my assistance. And truly the greatest difficulty I met withal in this work was to resolve what things I should single out as instances of the impertinences, falsifyings, and misunderstandings, &c. of my new adversary. Which proved, I confess, a business so tedious, in such a great number as lay before me, that to ease myself of too great a labour, I was constrained at last to take them just as they came next to my thoughts. If it chance by this means that I have left any thing untouched, which some desired most of all should have been handled, there is no remedy: and it is better that they should want complete satisfaction, than that all should be tired with the length of my discourse. Besides, I find that I myself have suffered by it; for I have passed by sundry reflections wherein my private person was more particularly concerned; which came not to mind till my letter, I thought, was swelled to too large a bulk. This is some sign that I am not so melancholy as my adversary muses, (for such men use to be more resentive than to forget the injuries that are done them,) and that I have no list to write a book merely to clear myself from false imputations. And indeed I found other matter to make this treatise larger than I intended: which was a case that came to my hand after I had considered the apology. Whatsoever

belonged to me in those sheets, I have also spent a few thoughts upon: but took not myself to be concerned in his bold challenge to answer a book, which I have not the least knowledge of, and which another person, he tells me, is more particularly bound (I am sure is better able) to reply unto, if he think it worthy his pains. I cannot tell neither whether that person be engaged in honour to accept the challenge; no, though he proclaim him a coward if he do not: for to answer some men (as one well speaks) is but to comment upon their gibberish for those that understand it not, and thereby to bring their folly into more credit and request. I apply not this to that book, which, as I said, I am perfectly ignorant of, and may deserve consideration: but to such vainglorious challenges as I have seen from mere barbarians and savages, who imagine roaring and being furious is far more noble than speaking and reasoning. Mr. Vavasor Powell, I remember, made a challenge[a] to

[a] June 11. 1652. [Vavasor Powell may be viewed as the type of a class of men to whom an unsettled state of society opens the most propitious career; to whose ephemeral success or ascendancy over the multitude, no amount of shallowness of mind or laxity of principle seems sufficient to oppose an obstacle which audacity or fanaticism does not enable them to surmount. He was the son of Richard Powell, an innkeeper at Knucklas in Radnorshire, and Penelope, daughter of William Vavasour of Newtown in Montgomeryshire; born in the year 1619. From the same humble walk in life he was advanced by the favour of a more prosperous uncle, Erasmus Powell, to the benefits of a university career, of which he but sparingly availed himself: entering for a short time at Jesus College, Oxford, but never proceeding to a degree. He first held a school and curacy at Clun in Shropshire, but his orders being found invalid or counterfeit he was inhibited from exercising his ministry. Adopting an itinerant life as a preacher of nonconformity in Wales, he encountered so much persecution as compelled him to fly from the principality, and he settled in London in August 1642, where he preached for two years, and an equal period at Dartford in Kent. In the year 1646 he returned to Wales, having received presbyterian ordination, and a stipend from the sequestered funds of the church, for the levying and disposal of which he held a commission. By this means he is said to have amassed enormous wealth, of which he was deprived at the restoration, and was thrown into the Fleet prison. In the year 1662 he was transferred to Southsea Castle near Portsmouth for five years. Regaining his liberty in 1667 he returned to Wales, but was in the course of the next year incarcerated once more at Cardiff, and from thence removed to the Fleet prison, (then at Lambeth, the original building having been destroyed in the great fire,) where he died Oct. 27, 1671. He was followed to his grave in Bunhill fields by a long train of Non-conformists. His writings catalogued by Wood are numerous.

The same author furnishes an account of the controversy alluded to by Patrick. Powell during his residence in Wales put forth a challenge June 11, 1652, to any minister or scholar to dispute on these two questions: 1. "Whether your calling or ours (which you so much speak against) be most warrantable, and nearest to the word of God. 2. Whether your mixt ways, or ours of separation, be nearest the word of God." The challenge was taken up by Dr. George Griffith of

any minister or scholar of ours to dispute publicly or privately on this question (and another), Whether our mixed way, or their way of separation, was nearest to the word of God. But it was drawn up in such rude and kitchen Latin as never, I think, saw the light since the Goths sacked Rome; and as evidently demonstrated that he thought his sufficiency to be greater than it was, and that men take themselves sometimes to be true owners of things of which they are but mere usurpers.

As for the Ecclesiastical Policy[b], (which he also carps at,) a work of equal strength and beauty, it hath an author who needs no assistant to defend it against the ablest champion they can bring into the field. Time will show the truth of this; and therefore I shall say no more of it, lest those commendations which that author hath in kindness bestowed on my poor endeavours should look in the eyes of our enemies like bartering with praises for the return of others.

I have but one thing more to add, which was omitted in its proper place, but fit to have been inserted page 118 of the following book. There you will find Mr. Baily affirms, that both houses abjured episcopacy (whatsoever some pretended to the contrary) by the oath

Llanymynech in Shropshire, who made his reply in Latin, accepting the disputation on certain conditions. On the 19th of the same month, Powell returned an answer in Latin from Redcastle, "but so full of barbarities," as Wood describes it, "that any school boy of ten years of age might have done better. After this the doctor wrote a rejoinder in elegant Latin, wherein he corrected Powell for his false grammar, barbarisms and solecisms, and did set a day whereon they should meet to dispute on the aforesaid questions; but the time, place, and method, with conveniences, being discussed and delayed from time to time, the disputation was not held till the 23rd of July following. At that time both parties meeting in the company of their friends, Powell's cause fell to the ground, meerly as 'twas conceived, for want of academical learning, and the true way of arguing."—Athen. Oxon. iii. 915.

Powell's challenge, together with Griffith's Latin letter accepting it, Powell's rejoinder, and his adversary's sarcastic criticisms upon its defective Latinity, were published in a 4to pamphlet by Griffith, in 1652, entitled "A bold challenge of an itinerant preacher modestly answered, by a local minister," &c.

Powell himself published an account of the disputation, in the Perfect Diurnal, nnmber 138, Aug. 2, 1682; which called forth from Griffith in the following year, "A Welsh narrative corrected and taught to speak true English, and some Latin animadversions on an imperfect relation in the Perfect Diurnal," &c. To this Powell or some friend of his rejoined in "A relation of a disputation between Dr. Griffith and Mr. Vavasor Powell, and since some false observations made thereon by Dr. Griffith, (or one of his symoniacall brethren,) to keep up the cracked credit of their bad calling and cause."—4to, Lond. 1653.

Foulis has stigmatized his pretensions in still lower terms than Antony Wood, with a sneer at his early menial calling, as "one more fit to rub horses' heels, than enter a pulpit."—p. 28 of his History of Plots, &c.]

[b] [Samuel Parker's Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity, &c. published 1670.]

and covenant; which may be confirmed, I must add, by their declaration of the fifth of August, 1645, sent to the lords states general of the United Provinces [c]; who by their ambassadors had, among other things, propounded and offered from the king the calling of a national synod to correct and redress the government of the church by bishops. One of the answers there given why they could not admit of that mediation was, that "not only the kingdom of Scotland, and the members of both houses of parliament, but also many thousands of others of his majesty's subjects of England and Ireland, stand bound by their late national covenant to endeavour the extirpation of the church government by bishops in England and Ireland, and to hinder the setting of it up again in the kingdom of Scotland [d]." This passage I find the commissioners of Scotland remember the houses of, both in their papers of the 20th and 24th of October, 1646, about their disposing of the king's person [e], and in their answer upon the new propositions of peace, and the four bills, signed December 17, 1647 [f], which I thought good here to mention, as a further confutation of the apologist; whose pretences I now leave you to consider.

[c] ["A Declaration of the Parliament of England written to the high and mighty lords the Lords States Generall of the United Provinces of the Low-Countreys, concerning their last embassie extraordinary into England;" ordered to be printed Aug. 5.—4to, Lond. 1645.]

[d] [Page 23.]

[e] [Not in the papers themselves bearing the dates specified, which relate to the evacuation of the kingdom by the Scottish forces, and provision to be made for their payment; but in a document to which those pieces are appended, forming together a 4to pamphlet, entitled, "Some Papers given in by the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland to the honourable houses of the Parliament in England; in answer to their notes of the 24th of September, 1646, concerning the disposing of his majesty's person:" p. 7, printed at Edinburgh, 4to, 1646.]

[f] [P. 12 of "The Answer of the Commissioners of the kingdome of Scotland to both houses of Parliament, upon the new Propositions of Peace, and the foure bills to be sent to his Majestie:" signed "by command of the Commissioners for the Parliament of Scotland, Io. Christie, Decemb. 17, 1647."]

AN APPENDIX

TO

THE THIRD PART

OF THE

FRIENDLY DEBATE.

Sir,

I HAVE received the book you sent me, "An humble Apology for Non-conformists, with modest and serious reflections on the Friendly Debate[a]," and wish it had come to my hands before, as it came after the last term, that so it might have been considered by us when we discoursed together about Philagathus. This apologist or catechist (I know not which to call him) should indeed have been otherwise treated, because he is of another strain: and though he commits the very same faults, yet not with the same confidence and braving that Philagathus did; whose over-daring carried him in a ridiculous manner to catch a Tartar; that is, in plain English, to lose himself.

I. You cannot but observe, sure, with what a grave and serious impertinence this Non-conformist's Catechism begins: alleging these words, (wherewith bishop Bramhall concludes his Vindication of the church of England[b],) for a reason why an answer was not given sooner to my book; viz. "We little imagine with what difficulties poor exiles struggle, whose minds are more intent on what they should eat to-morrow, than what they should write." It was very unadvisedly done, methinks, to put us in mind at the very first dash how cruelly they used

[a] [Published anonymously, "by a lover of truth and peace;" printed in the year 1669.]

[b] ["A Just Vindication of the Church of England," &c. chap. 10. Works, vol. i. p. 276.]

such excellent persons in time past, who, as the bishop there feelingly complains in the words immediately following, " were chased as vagabonds into the merciless world to beg relief of strangers[c]." He shows himself also a very careless writer, who in the very entrance of his work confesses that extreme rigour and severity against the men of the church of England, which afterwards he denies ; telling us, that scarce any man in those days, who was able, sober, and peaceable, but might, if he had pleased, have employment and a livelihood[d]. But to use the bishop as their advocate in this case (as he speaks) that is, to make his heavy complaint a reason for their silence, is such an absurdity as none could be guilty of but one whose wit is turned vagabond, and gone a wool gathering. For suppose he be an exile, (which I do not believe,) are the rest of the Non-conformists, and they who are best able to write a book, either banished into a strange land, or exposed to those hardships which the bishop there sighs under? One would think rather that this apologist (for his part) is in so good plight that he hath time to be idle and trifle ; or that he hath not yet lost that niceness and delicacy which I noted in this sort of men, who complain of every little restraint as if it were the hugest oppression. They are exiles, forsooth, because some of them may not live within five miles of their former dwelling : they are banished, because they are confined to a country town, and may not dwell in a corporation. I can make no other meaning of his application of those words to themselves, unless you will have it that he had a mind to sport a little as Luther sometimes did ; who was wont to call the place of his retirement, when the pope thundered against him, by the name of his Patmos[e], though it was a good castle where he lay obscured from his enemies, was well entertained by his friends, had the liberty sometimes to gather strawberries, or to go a hunting in the neighbouring places ; and, which is best of all, had there the happy leisure to translate the New Testament into the German tongue. And so indeed this writer tells us, (p. 47,) that the Non-conformists are turned out to grass, and for that cause,

[c] See p. 275, and his Pathetic Address to England, p. 277.

[d] Humble Apology, p. 23, and 151.

[e] Melch. Adam, p. 121, &c. [Vit. Lutheri inter Vitt. theol. German. 8vo, Heid. 1620.]

the circingle will not become them. By which merriment you may see the animal is in good case, and that you are like to find wonderfully serious reflections on the Friendly Debate. But let it be as he supposes, that they are poor exiles, and the pasture into which they are turned out is but short; yet I hope they are not such *evil beasts, slow bellies*[f] as the Cretians were, that is, (as some understand their character,) such great feeders, but that they might have chopped a little logic with me without pinching their guts, and given an answer to a book that hath so little reason in it, if he may be believed, without endangering the defrauding of their stomachs. The great work of eating might have gone on, and this not have been neglected. For it would not have cost much more time to confute, than it did to read a book, in which, as he tells you[g], "the words are more than the matter, the rhetoric far beyond the logic, and which hath smitten them not so much with the fist as with the palms of the hands." I should think it would cost him a great deal more to reconcile these words with those that follow in the end of his preface, that I have made so many hard and desperate thrusts at them, (which it is not easy to do with the palm of one's hand,) that it hath forced them at last to draw in their fence.

O, may some say, but to what purpose had it been to draw sooner? Besides that they are exiles, "If an answer had stolen forth without license, would it not have been arrested for a seeming breach of a late act about printing[h]?" &c. This is another solemn piece of impertinence, (to say no worse,) wherewith he closes his answer to the first question of his Catechism, why a reply came out no sooner. May not I better ask with what authority this comes out now? Was there a greater privilege for unlicensed books this last Michaelmas, than there was in Hilary or Easter term before? This very apology confutes itself, and lets you see how little you are to expect from this undertaker, who stumbles in such a lubberly manner at his first setting out. For as that bishop, now mentioned, speaks in another case, "It were strange if he should throw a good cast, who soales[i] his bowle upon an undersong[k]."

[f] Titus i. 12. [g] Pref., p. 5. [h] [P. 1.]

[i] ['Soal' to ground or start the bowl. Compare Bramhall's "Schism Guarded," vol. ii. p. 366.]

[k] Reply to S. W.'s Refutations, p. 1. [Works, vol. ii. p. 285.]

II. If he had not wanted substantial matter to allege in excuse of their faults, he would not have fallen, I persuade myself, into so many of the vices of Philagathus, (whose Sober Answer stands but for a cipher in this man's account,) being a little more modest. He wants not his 'it may be's[l],' 'it is possible,' 'for ought I know,' and such like words, which signify nothing, but that he knew not what to say, and yet was big with an apology. This barrenness of weighty matter made him serve us up the same insipid coleworts twice or thrice over. He begins his preface and his book too[m] with the same complaint, that I have smitten them on the right cheek, and on the left. And Bonner's beef and broth he sets before us three times at least[n]. He is for cookery too, sauces, and garnishing of dishes[o]. And tells vagrant stories very prodigally[p] out of their unwritten traditions, from whence they furnished so many brazen legends in the beginning of the late tumults: News from Hell, News from Rome, News from Court, News from Ipswich, Cathedral news from Canterbury, and many more. All which I shall pass by at this present, because they are peccadilloes in compare with the other faults that he hath committed.

III. He makes no bones, for instance, as modest and humble as he seems, to talk of several things which he doth not understand, nor hath examined at all. The very second page of his book gives you a proof of it; where he tells you, he humbly conceives that every transgression of an human law, though but penal, is not so culpable or criminous as is pretended. Truly I conceive so too, that all offences are not of equal guilt; but I must let him know, that as I did not pretend every transgression of a law to be so culpable as the trans-

[l] Pp. 6, 29, 34, &c.

[m] See Answer to Question 2. [p. 2.]

[n] ["If we consider further what is reported of bishop Bonner, namely, that when he saw the reformation, and how many of their ceremonies were retained, being asked what he thought of it, If they like (said he) to taste of your broth so well, they will eat of our beef shortly." p. 42, and see pp. 89, 191.]

[o] ["All men write not in the same stile and phrase, or in the like method; as all cooks dress not the same joynt of meat with the same sauce, and garnish not the dish in the same manner when they send it up."—p. 99.]

[p] Pp. 38, 41, 62, 64, 65, 68, 74, 89, 100, 104.

gression of that I spoke of, so I humbly conceive he pretends to skill in the nature of laws but penal, which he is utterly ignorant of. For both that law which I mentioned, and all those that he instances in, are more than penal, as is manifest to every one that hath made the least search into these matters. A law that is but penal, as every ordinary casuist might have taught him[q], commands nothing; but only exacts a penalty in case a man think fit to do or not to do some things therein expressed; as if a man be chosen alderman of the city of London, and refuse to hold the place, he is by a law among them to pay a fine to them. Which is called a law but penal, because it doth not require or bind a man to serve this office, (he is at liberty whether he will or no:) it requires only the payment of such a sum of money if he think good not to serve. So that here indeed to pay the money doth ordinarily satisfy the law, because a law-maker binds us only by declaring his will to oblige us, and he declares nothing as his will to oblige a man in this case but the payment of a fine. Which is called a penalty in a large sense, as it is something which a man would not willingly undergo if it were left to his own choice, and is imposed on him instead of another burden which he refuses, viz. that of government. But what is this to the law which I had occasion to mention; which is not of this sort, but a law mandatory, as I may call it, requiring them not to inhabit in such and such places? Upon which account it is a moral law, to regulate men's manners; and for that cause it is a virtue to obey it, and a vice to disobey it. Nor doth the addition of a penalty to it alter its nature. For such laws are a rule of life, given with an intention to oblige men to obedience; there being few that know of themselves what is best and most profitable for common life: and the penalty is not to be undergone instead of the obedience, but is added to contain subjects in their duty by the fear of it, because even they who may know what is best will not otherwise do it. So that, in conclusion, such a law with a penalty lays a double obligation upon us, both *ad pœnam* and *ad culpam*, as they speak; to suffer the punishment, and to be sinners if we disobey it. There is

[q] Instead of all, let him consult Dr. Sanderson de Obligatione Conscientiæ, Præl. 82. [§ 17. Works, vol. iv. p. 184.]

no doubt of the former, and it is as unreasonable to question the latter, because the law contains a command, and sin is nothing but the transgression of a command: which transgression is greater or less according as the will of the law-maker is more or less to oblige us; and that is to be known very much by the greatness or smallness of the penalty whereby it is enacted to move us to obedience. This he might have learnt of bishop Taylor, whom he quotes directly against his meaning. For that question which this man resolves affirmatively, "Is it not enough to satisfy the law to pay the mulct or penalty in such cases?" p. 3, he answers negatively, and that within a few lines of that very place which this apologist alleges to a quite contrary sense. You may find it in his Holy Living, chap. iii. sect. 1. rule 7[r], which begins thus: "Do not believe thou hast kept the law when thou hast suffered the punishment," &c. Read the rest at your leisure; and do not believe this man, who abuses the bishop, and wrests his words (as their manner is) from their meaning: the rule that he mentions being directed to another purpose, and expressed in terms flatly against him. "As long," saith the bishop, "as the law is obligatory, so long our obedience is due[s]," &c. If obedience be due, then I hope it is not sufficient to suffer the penalty; and then this writer shamefully perverts the sense of that rule, or else doth not understand it; which is no more but this, that a fixed custom abrogates a law, and makes our obedience no longer due to it. While the law is in force, we sin if we do not obey it; but a fixed custom makes it not to be in force, and then we are free from it. This is the sense of the bishop; to which nothing need be added, but that whilst the lawgiver constantly declares his will that it should oblige, no custom can be pleaded nor excuse be made for doing contrary to it.

But you think perhaps that he may find some relief in Mr. Perkins, whom he also alleges. You may try if you please, but if you consult the place, you will see he had some reason not to tell you were to find it. For first he recites his words imperfectly, and doth not let you know that Mr. Perkins declares, where the law-maker intends obedience simply, the statutes are necessary to be kept. And again, that he doth not

[r] [Works, vol. iii. p. 117.]

[s] Ib. Rule the 4th, quoted by this Apol. p. 4.

excuse men from all blame who break some of the lesser local statutes, but only saith, "students may in some sort excuse themselves from the sin of perjury, though not from all fault, in breaking some of the lesser local statutes." They are his very words in his second book of Cases of Conscience, chap. xiii. in the latter end[t]. But to pass by this; that part of his words which he cites are so far from reaching his purpose, that they are against him. For first, the law-maker intends obedience simply to the laws that they break, as is manifest to all. For secondly, they are not laws merely for decency and order, (which Mr. Perkins speaks of,) but for the preservation of the being of Christian society, which is destroyed by separation and division. And therefore, thirdly, the penalty is not as beneficial to the state of the society as actual obedience.

As for that which follows in the end of his answer to this question, (which he repeats again, p. 128,) it is altogether impertinent; for we do not charge them with a bare omission of what our governors command, but with a direct opposition to it, and that to the great scandal of the people, and contempt of the royal authority. All which things considered, I think, instead of making an apology for the Non-conformists, he had better have followed the counsel of Alcibiades to his uncle, when he found him busy about his accounts, which was, that he should study rather how to give no account at all.

IV. For he is grossly ignorant in other learning as well as in this, as appears by his discourse about ordination by presbyters, which follows a little after. The Friendly Debate gave him no occasion to mention any thing of this nature, but he had a mind, it seems, to give us a taste of his skill in this great question; though it be so small that I know not how to excuse his boldness in meddling with it. He supposes that the *chorepiscopi* (which he makes the same with our rural deans) may lawfully ordain. And next, that suffragans were but such presbyters, so that he who was ordained by them had not episcopal ordination. And then, thirdly, he would have you believe that archbishop Usher[u], and other learned men concurring in judg-

[t] [Works, vol. ii. p. 96, fol. Lond. 1626–31.]

[u] ["The religious and renowned archbishop Usher, in his Reduction put forth by dean Barnard, was of judgment, that the *chorepiscopi*, or rural deans, might lawfully ordain."—p. 13.]

ment with him, were of his opinion. Every one of which propositions are notoriously false, as I will plainly show you by demonstrating these three things. 1. That those called *chorepiscopi*, 'rural or country bishops,' never had the power of ordination, being not of the order of bishops, but presbyters something advanced above the rest. 2. On the other side, that suffragans had the power of ordination, being not mere presbyters but bishops, as those in the city were. And lastly, that the late primate saith nothing contrary to this.

For the first, the country bishops, saith the council of Neocæsarea[x], can. 13, were but of such a degree as the seventy disciples, and appointed after their type; to whom the ancients, everybody knows, make presbyters to be the successors, as bishops are to the apostles. And therefore that council calls them only assistants to the bishops in that part of their diocese which was distant from the city. But that they had only a part of the episcopal power committed to them, not the whole, we learn from the council of Ancyra presently after, can. 13, which decreed that the *chorepiscopi*, or country bishops, "ought not to ordain either presbyters or deacons[y]." To which purpose he that pleases may find many authorities in Justellus's notes upon that place. And in the council of Antioch, can. 10, the same is decreed again, that they should know their bounds or measures, and appoint readers, sub-deacons, and catechists, but not dare to proceed further, nor to make a priest or deacon without the bishop of the city to which both he and his region were subject[z]. The same canons were in the Roman church, as appears by the body of the decrees[a]; the words of which

[x] About the year 314. [Οἱ δὲ χωρεπίσκοποι εἰσὶ μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα· ὡς δὲ συλλειτουργοὶ, διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς, προσφέρουσι τιμώμενοι. — Can. Concil. Neocæs. 14. (in Photii Nomocanone et in edd. Lat. 13.) Mansi, tom. ii. col. 542.]

[y] Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν. [Mansi, tom. ii. col. 517.]

[z] [Καθιστᾶν δὲ ἀναγνώστας, καὶ ὑποδιακόνους, καὶ ἐξορκιστὰς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι προσαγωγῇ, μήτε πρεσβύτερον μήτε διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν, δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, ᾗ ὑποκεῖνται αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ χώρα.— Concil. Antioch. can. 10. Mansi, tom. ii. col. 1312 E.]

[a] ["Quamvis chorepiscopis et presbyteris plurima cum episcopis ministeriorum communis sit dispensatio; quædam tamen auctoritate veteris legis, quædam novellis et ecclesiasticis regulis sibi prohibita noverint: sicut est presbyterorum et diaconorum aut virginum consecratio; sicut constitutio altaris, ac

being abbreviated by Sigebert, he calls them archdeacons; but afterward the council of Laodicea decreed, can. 57[b], that this sort of officers should be abolished, and no bishops should be appointed ἐν κώμαις καὶ ἐν χώραις, 'in the villages and in the countries,' and that they who had been already constituted should do nothing without the consent of the bishop of the city. But instead of them there should be περιοδευταὶ, 'visitors,' that should go about to find out what was amiss, and correct men's manners. In like manner we find in the body of the canon law[c] a decree of pope Damasus to this purpose, that the *chorepiscopi* have been prohibited as well by that see as by the bishops of the whole world. One reason of which prohibition might be, that they did not know their own bounds[d], as the council of Antioch determined, but ventured to appoint church officers without the bishop's consent. Upon which occasion St. Basil wrote a particular epistle to the *chorepiscopi*, requiring that no minister[e] whatsoever, though of the lower rank, should be made without him contrary to the canons. "It is a sad thing," saith he, "to see how the canons of the fathers are laid aside; insomuch that it is to be feared all will come to confusion. The ancient custom was this, that there should be a strict inquiry made into the lives of those who were to be admitted to minister in the church. The care of this lay upon the pres-

benedictio, vel unctio. Si quidem nec eligere eis altaria, nec ecclesias, vel altaria consecrare licet, nec per impositionem manuum fidelibus baptizatis, vel conversis hæreticis Paracletum Spiritum Sanctum tradere, nec chrisma conficere, nec chrismate baptizatorum frontes signare, nec publice quidem in missa quenquam pœnitentem reconciliare, nec formatas cuilibet epistolas mittere. Hæc enim omnia illicita sunt chorepiscopis, qui ad exemplum et formam lxx discipulorum esse noscuntur; vel presbyteris, qui eandem gestant figuram; quoniam quanquam consecrationem habeant, pontificatus tamen apicem non habent.—Decret. Gratiani,] part. i. Distinct. 63. [68.] c. 4. [col. 375.]

[b] [Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κωμαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ(ἀλλὰ om. Harduin.)περιοδευτάς. Τοὺς μέντοι ἤδη προκαθιστασθέντας μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.—Conc. Laod. can. 57. Mansi, tom. ii. col. 573.]

[c] ["Chorepiscopi tam ab hac sacra sede quam a totius orbis fuerant episcopis prohibiti.—Decret. Gratiani, part. i.] Distinct. 68. c. 5. [col. 375.]

[d] Εἰδέναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα.

[e] Epist. 181. p. 959. tom. i. ὑπηρέτας μὴ γίνεσθαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ. [Al. epist. liv. tom. iii. p. 148.] Readers and such ministers as those, Luke iv. 10.

byters and deacons, who were to report it to the *chorepiscopi*, and they having received a good testimony of them certified it to the bishop, and so the minister[f] was admitted into holy orders. But now you country bishops would make me stand for a cipher, and take all this authority to yourselves; nay, you permit the presbyters and deacons to put in whom they please, according as kindred or affection inclines them, without regard to their worth. But let me," saith he, "have a note of the ministers of every village, and if any have been brought in by the presbyters, let them be cast out again among the common people. And know that he shall be but a layman, whoever he is that is received into the ministry without our consent."

By this it is apparent that presbyters had not power so much as to make the lowest officers in the church; and that the *chorepiscopi*, though above the rest of the presbyters in office, yet were not so high as bishops, but were a middle sort of men between both[g]. An image of whom was remaining in the late Bohemian church, as I learn from Comenius; who in his book concerning the discipline and order among them tells us, that besides the seniors or bishops[h], and ministers or presbyters, they had certain ecclesiastical persons called conseniors, who were between the other two. For they were chosen out of the ministers, presented by them to the bishop, and then solemnly ordained by him to the office of conseniors by a new imposition of hands. But at the same time these conseniors promised obedience to the bishop[i]; as the ministers when they were ordained promised obedience to them as well as to the bishop[k]. Their office therefore was, among other things, (as we are told, chap. 1, p. 23, 24,) to keep good order, to observe what was worthy of correction, to inform the bishop of it, to provide fit persons for the ministry, to exercise discipline with the bishop, and visit with him, or without him if he required it, to examine those that were to be ordained min-

[f] Ὑπηρέτην ἐνηρίθμουν τῷ τάγματι τῶν ἱερατικῶν.

[g] [On the whole subject the reader is referred to Bingham, book ii. chap. 14.]

[h] For they had episcopal ordination after they had been made presbyters, and episcopal jurisdiction and succession from the bishops of the Waldenses.

[i] Ratio Discipl. and Ord. Eccl. cap. 2. p. 37. [8vo, Amst. 1660.]

[k] Ib. p. 33.

isters or deacons, to give them testimonials to the bishop, and in short, "to supply the place of the bishop in businesses of lesser moment." So it appears by the book, and by Comenius's annotations upon that chapter[l].

V. Thus much may suffice for the *chorepiscopi*, who had not such a power as he ascribes to them, and as the suffragans, I shall now show you, were invested withal; who were of the order of bishops as much as any other. Some have called them "titular bishops," ordained to assist and aid the bishop of the diocese in his spiritual function, and think they had their name from this, that by their suffrages ecclesiastical causes were judged. But the better to understand what they were, you must know that all the bishops of any province were anciently called by the metropolitan his suffragans; being to advise and assist him in the common affairs of the church. So the word is often used in the canon law; and in latter times in the provincial council of Salzburg[m]. The archbishop Everard speaks to all the bishops as his suffragans, being called together with him, *in partem solicitudinis*, 'into part of the care of the people under his charge.' Which are the words of our Linwood also, who saith, the bishops are called suffragans, because they are bound to help and assist the archbishop[n]. But since those times they only have been called suffragans who were indeed ordained bishops, but not possessed as yet of any see, and thence called "titular bishops:" which kind of bishops are no stranger than those ministers at Geneva whom they call *apostoli*, who preach in the country churches, and administer the sacraments, but have no certain charge. Yet in England I must tell you it was otherwise, as appears by the statute of 26

[l] P. 92. Minoribus in negotiis episcopi vices obirent.

[m] An. 1420. Cap. de Officio Ordinarii. ["Omnes et singulos nostros suffraganeos, qui una nobiscum super populum nobis creditum, in partem solicitudinis sunt vocati, et de contingentibus apud ipsos in clero et populo, quæ reformatione et emendatione indigent, habent notitiam certiorem, paterna exhortatione requirimus et monemus in visceribus Christi," &c.—Can. x. of the provincial council held at Saltzburg in Bavaria, under archbishop Eberhard, on the octave of the festival of St. Martin, Nov. 18, 1418, in the second year of the pontificate of Martin V.—Hansiz, German. Sacr. tom. i. p. 495. Mansi, Concill. tom. xxviii. col. 987 B.]

[n] Archiepiscopo suffragari et assistere tenentur. Annot. in cap. de Constitutionibus. [Provincial. lib. i. tit. 2. c. 1. p. 11.]

Hen. VIII. chap. 14°, where provision is made for "suffragans which had been accustomed to be had within this realm," as it tells us both in the beginning and the middle of it. And it is enacted that the towns of Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guildford, Southampton, and twenty places more besides them, should be taken and accepted for sees of bishops suffragans to be made in this realm[p], &c. For this end every archbishop or bishop, being disposed to have them for the more speedy administration of holy things, had the liberty given them to name and elect two fit persons, and present them to the king; who thereupon had full power by the act to give to which of those two he pleased, the style, title, and name of bishop of such of the sees aforesaid as he thought most expedient: and he was to be called bishop suffragan of the same see. After which the king was to present him by his letters patents under the great seal to the archbishop of Canterbury, or of York, signifying his name, his style, title, and dignity of bishopric; requiring him to consecrate the said person so nominated and presented to the same name, title, style, and dignity of bishop. For which purpose either the bishop that nominated him, or the suffragan himself, was to provide two bishops or suffragans to consecrate him with the archbishop, and to bear their reasonable costs. This statute, though repealed in the first and second of Philip and Mary[q], yet was revived among sundry other in the first of queen Elizabeth[r]. And it is sufficiently manifest from thence, that these persons had episcopal ordination (being consecrated by the archbishop, and two bishops more) as much as any other. And therefore, secondly, had episcopal power and authority as much as the bishop of the diocese; though, being dependent on him, the suffragan could not use or execute any jurisdiction, power, or authority, but by his commission under his seal; as the statute likewise provides. Upon which score Mr. Mason calls them "secondary bishops[s];"

[o] ["An Act for nomination and consecration of suffragans within this realm:"—Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 509.]

[p] [Compare Bingham, book ii. chap. 14. § 13.]

[q] Chap. 8. [Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. p. 247.]

[r] See chap. 1. [Ibid. p. 351.]

[s] De Minist. Angl. l. i. c. 3. ["Vindiciæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sive de legitimo ejusdem ministerio; id est, de episcoporum successione, consecratione, electione, confirmatione, &c. opus ex idiomate Anglicano traductum, et locupletatum ab

and further observes truly, that though in compare with others they may seem to have nothing but a title, because they had not their proper dioceses to themselves; yet if we speak absolutely, they had both the title and the thing signified by it. For they had for their episcopal seat some great town appointed to them by the act of parliament[t], in which, and some certain adjacent places to which the bishop of the diocese limited them, they exercised their episcopal function. From whence also they borrowed the name of suffragan of Bedford, suffragan of Colchester, &c. So that none of those who were consecrated bishops among us in England, whether primary or secondary, (as his words are,) were merely titular, but destinated all of them to the administration of a certain place, according to the sixth canon of the council of Chalcedon. Accordingly we find that such suffragans being made acted like other bishops in all things. For the register of the consecration of archbishop Parker tells us, that at the time of it, four chairs were set for four bishops; one of which was John Hodgskin, suffragan bishop of Bedford, who assisted also in the consecration of the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and divers others: which he could not have done, had he not had episcopal power, and consequently the power of ordaining presbyters, as well as of consecrating bishops. And so much this apologist might have learnt from him whom he calls a learned prelate, if he had read his books with care: I mean bishop Bramhall, who writes thus of the power of suffragans[u]; "The office and the benefice of a bishop are two distinct things. Ordination is an act of the key of order, and a bishop unenthroned may ordain as well as a bishop enthroned. The ordination of suffragan bishops who had no peculiar bishoprics was always admitted and reputed as good in the catholic church (if the suffragans had episcopal ordination) as the ordination of the greatest bishops in the world." Nay, if he had but read their own authors, he would not have doubted that suffragans were altogether (to speak in

ipso auctore, Franc. Masono, in S. Theologia Bacchal. Archdiacono Norfolc. et socio Colleg. Mertonensis apud Oxonienses,"—fol. Lond. 1625. p. 19.]

[t] Oppidum illustre lege parliamentaria illis designatum.

[u] Romphæa, printed 1659, p. 3. ["Consecration of protestant bishops vindicated," part 1. Works, vol. iii. p. 78.]

their style) as bad as bishops. For the Admonition to the parliament puts them among the titles and offices devised by antichrist, and declares that "though they take upon them (which is most horrible) to rule God's church, yet they are plainly by Christ forbidden, and utterly with speed to be removed[x]." You may read more to the same purpose in the preface, as I find it cited in the censure of the pamphlet called, Humble Motives for Association, an. 1601, p. 23, 25[y]. In which year I find this a part of the secular priests' complaint against the Jesuits, that they would not be subordinate in any manner to the ordinary prelates of England, as bishops and suffragans; and that they withstood their endeavours to have bishops or suffragans[z]. By which you may see they were numbered among the prelates to whom all priests were to be subject, which made those fiery dissenters from our church to declaim so loudly against them. And all this serves to convince our apologist of unskilfulness in these matters, who pronounces roundly that Mr. Gataker never had any episcopal ordination[a], because he was ordained by (a suffragan of one of those places mentioned in the statute, viz.) the suffragan of Colchester. Suppose he were[b], he had notwithstanding episcopal ordina-

[x] ["And therefore titles, liuings, and offices by Antichrist deuised are geuen unto them, as Metropolitane, Archbishop, Lords grace, Lord bishop, Suffragan, Deane, Archdeacon, Prelate of the garter, Earl, Countie Palatine, honor, high commissyoners, iusticier of peace, and quorum, &c. All which, together with their offyces, as they are strange and unhard of in Chrystes Church, nay plainly in God's word forbidden; so are they utterly with spede out of the same to be removed."—First Admonition to the Parliament, attributed to Field and Wilcox; sign. A 3 b, 12mo, 1572.]

[y] ["Humble Motives for association to maintaine religion established, published as an antidote against the pestilent treatises of secular priests; *Virtus unita valet*: imprinted 1601," addressed to the queen, and signed "Thomas Diggs, gentleman." It is followed by an appeal "to the most reverend Archbishops, and right reverend Lord Bishops of both provinces."]

[z] Dialogue between a Secular Priest, and a Lay Gentleman, p. 73, 87, 90. ["A Dialogue betwixt a Secular Priest, and a Lay Gentleman. Being an abstract of the most important matters that are in controversie betwixt the Priests and the Spanish or Jesuiticall faction,"—by W[illiam]. W[atson]. 4to, Rhemes, 1601.]

[a] P. 13 of his book.

[b] As Mr. Clark tells us he was. Collection of lives of ten divines, p. 131. ["A Collection of the lives of ten eminent divines," &c. by Dr. Samuel Clarke,—4to, Lond. 1662. The suffragan of Colchester was Dr. Stern.]

tion, as I have demonstrated; and as good as if he had been ordained by the greatest bishop in the world. But he did not understand, I see by this, what those suffragans were, and contrary to what became an humble and modest man, and the title likewise of his book, wrote about things which he had not studied or considered. Which made him also confound these with the rural deans, alleging the primate of Armagh's judgment concerning the power of suffragans, to prove it to be his judgment, that the *chorepiscopi* or rural deans might lawfully ordain. In which he hath done him a notorious injury; for there is not such a word in his book as that the rural deans may lawfully ordain, "but only that the number of suffragans (which was twenty-six) might well be conformed to the number of the several rural deaneries, and, supplying the place of those who in the ancient church were called *chorepiscopi*, might every month assemble a synod of the rectors within the precinct, and conclude all matters brought before them by the major part of voices." These are his words, which do not signify that suffragans were the same with rural deans, or *chorepiscopi*, but that there might be as many of the one as there are of the other; and suffragans do all that which those ancient officers did, though they had power to do a great deal more: for I have proved a plain distinction between them. The *chorepiscopi* were made by one single bishop, viz. the bishop of the city to whom they belonged, as the council of Antioch tells us; Can. 10[c]. But the suffragans, being real bishops, were made as other bishops are by three at the least, according to the fourth canon of the first council at Nice. And so they had power to ordain presbyters, and join in the consecration of other bishops, which the *chorepiscopi* had not. Nor did our church ever acknowledge any such power residing in the rural deans, or any mere presbyters subject to the jurisdiction of our bishops, to ordain priests. But as Hadrianus Saravia tells the ministers of Guernsey in his letter to them[d], as many ministers as were naturally of the country being not made ministers of the church by their bishop or his demissories, nor any others according to

[c] [See p. 280, above.]

[d] See Clavi Trabales, p. 142. ["Clavi trabales, or nails fastened by some great masters of assemblies, confirming the king's supremacy, and church government under bishops," &c.—by Nicholas Bernard, 4to, Lond. 1661.]

the order of the English church, were not true and lawful ministers. Where by demissories I think he means the suffragans of the bishop of Winchester, to whose jurisdiction they belonged.

VI. Yes, may some say, our bishops have sometimes declared otherwise. For this Apologist[e] alleges the story of the three Scots bishops, who never had been ordained but by presbyters, and yet bishop Bancroft's opinion was that they need not be ordained again; which hath often been alleged heretofore by others, particularly by the Lancashire ministers of the first classis at Manchester, in whom he might have found a great deal more than this amounts unto. For they fly to a letter of the late primate of Ireland, with the animadversions of Dr. Bernard upon it[f], in which this story is cited, and the

[e] P. 13. out of archbishop Spotswood. [The 21 of October, 1609, having been appointed for the consecration, at the chapel attached to London house, of John Spottiswood to the archbishopric of Glasgow, Andrew Lamb to the see of Brechin, and Gavin Hamilton to that of Galloway; a question in the meantime was moved by Dr. Andrewes, bishop of Ely, "touching the consecration of the Scottish bishops, who, as he said, 'must first be ordained presbyters, as having received no ordination from a bishop.' The archbishop of Canterbury, Bancroft, who was by, maintained 'that thereof there was no necessity, seeing where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the presbyters must be esteemed lawful: otherwise that it might be doubted whether there were any lawful vocation in most of the reformed churches.' This applauded to by the other bishops, Ely acquiesced, and at the day, and in the place appointed, the three Scottish bishops were consecrated." —Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 209.]

[f] [Nicholas Bernard, who had been Ussher's chaplain, and enjoyed the archbishop's intimacy and confidence, published in the year 1657, "The Judgment of the late archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland;—

"1. Of the extent of Christ's death, and satisfaction, &c. 2. Of the Sabbath, and observation of the Lord's day. 3. Of the ordination in other reformed churches. With a Vindication of him from a pretended change of opinion in the first: some Advertisements upon the latter, and in prevention of further inquiries, a declaration of his judgment in several other subjects."

The statement of Ussher's views upon the third head is embodied in an extract from a letter written by him to Bernard, for the satisfaction of a person of rank. The interest attaching to the author will furnish sufficient excuse for inserting it here at length.

"Touching Mr. ——, I cannot call to mind that he ever proposed unto me the questions in your letter inclosed, neither do I know the D. —— who hath spread that report. But for the matter itself, I have ever declared my opinion to be, that *Epi-*

judgment of many other learned divines[g]; but nothing at all to the business. For as the gentlemen to whom the Lancashire ministers wrote their letter well observe[h], the primate did not make void the ordination by presbyters, but it was with a special restriction to such places, where bishops could not be had: which are the very words also of archbishop Bancroft in the case of the Scottish bishops. As for the ordinations made by our presbyters, the primate declared himself against them in the very same letter, (which they craftily concealed,) as you may read p. 112 of Dr. Bernard's book. The words are these: "You may easily judge that the ordination made by such presbyters as have severed themselves from those bishops, unto whom they had sworn canonical obedience, cannot possibly by me be excused from being schismatical." Which I find cited again in another book of his, called Clavi Trabales, p. 56. And both in that and the former book[i] he tells us the primate thought their ordination void upon another score: because at the imposition of hands, they neither used those ancient words, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost," &c., nor the next, "Be thou a faithful dispenser," &c., nor any other

scopus et Presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non ordine; and consequently, that in places where bishops cannot be had, the ordination by presbyters standeth valid; yet on the other side, holding as I do, that a bishop hath superiority in degree above a presbyter, you may easily judge that the ordination made by such presbyters as have severed themselves from those bishops, unto whom they had sworn canonical obedience, cannot possibly by me be excused from being schismatical. And, howsoever, I must needs think that the churches which have no bishops are thereby become very much defective in their government, and that the churches in France, who, living under a popish power, cannot do what they would, are more excusable in this defect than the Low Countries, that live under a free state. Yet for the testifying my communion with those churches, (which I do love and honour as true members of the church universal,) I do profess that with like affection I should receive the blessed sacrament at the hands of the Dutch ministers, if I were in Holland, as I should do at the hands of the French ministers if I were in Charentone." — pp. 125–127.]

[g] The judgment of the late archbishop of Armagh, &c. 1658. [Bernard's Animadversions, p. 135.]

[h] Excommunicatio excommunicata. ["Excommunicatio excommunicata, or a Censure of the Presbyterian censures and proceedings in the Classis at Manchester. Wherein is modestly examined what ecclesiastical or civil sanction they pretend for their new and usurped power. In a discourse betwixt the ministers of that Classis, and some dissenting Christians."—4to, Lond. 1658. See p. 74.]

[i] Judgment of the Archbishop, p. 122, &c. Clavi Trabales, p. 55.

words to that sense, (at least there is no order or direction for it.) And they also wholly omitted those words at the solemn delivery of the Bible into the hands of the person ordained, "Take thou authority to preach the word of God." So that there being no express transmission of ministerial power, he was wont to say, that such imposition of hands, (by some called the seal of ordination,) without a commission annexed, seemed to him to be as the putting of a seal to a blank. And if a bishop had been present, and done no more than they did, he thought the same query might have been of the validity of such ordinations.

As for other reformed churches, their case is widely different from that of these men, as he might have learnt from another bishop, whom he cites now and then to no purpose, viz. bishop Bramhall [k], who tells you, that he knew many learned persons among them who did passionately affect episcopacy, and some of them acknowledged to him that their church would never be rightly settled till it was new moulded. And others, he tells you, though they did not long for episcopacy, yet they approve it, and want it only out of invincible necessity. And that their principal learned men were of this mind appears from hence; that Dr. Carlton, afterward bishop of Chichester, protesting in open synod (which then sat at Dort) that Christ instituted no parity, but made twelve apostles the chief, and under them seventy disciples; that bishops succeeded to the twelve, and presbyters of inferior rank to the seventy; and challenging the judgment of any learned men that could speak to the contrary: their answer was silence, which was approbation enough. And after, saith he, discoursing with divers of the best learned in the synod, and telling them how necessary bishops were to suppress their schisms then rising, their answer was, that they did much honour and reverence the good order and discipline of the Church of England, and with all their heart would be glad to have it established among them; but that could not be hoped for in their state. Their hope was that, seeing they could not do what they desired, God would be merciful to them if they did but what they could. Upon which speech one

[k] Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, p. 71, 72. [Works, vol. ii. p. 70.]

well notes[1], that if they hoped for mercy that might pardon what they did, then they supposed they were not in the best estate, and that their necessity could not totally excuse them from fault; for then in that particular there had been no need to hope for mercy. Nor could they well think otherwise; since, being pressed, they denied not but that episcopacy was of Christ's own institution.

To this necessity Mr. Calvin himself hath recourse, declaring that their calling (being an extraordinary thing) ought not to be estimated by the common rule. "It were to be wished indeed, (says he in the same place[m],) that there were a continual succession of pastors, that the function itself might be delivered, as it were, from hand to hand; but the pope having broken the succession of such as preached the uncorrupted doctrine of Christ, God provided a remedy, exciting pious and learned men to reform the church, and committing to them an extraordinary office." This, saith Melancthon[n], God did in ancient times, "setting a greater value upon his church than upon the ordinary power in it." "If indeed the ordinary would have done their duty, he is worthy," saith Mr. Calvin, "of any

[1] Answer to a Letter written at Oxford, 1647. pp. 13, 14. [The letter is signed J. F., and has the following note appended, "I give you commission to show this to my Lord Dorset, (who by this + and something else can guess my name,) and to as many more as own Reason and Honesty." It was reprinted, together with the Answer, apparently by the Doctor himself, in the course of the same year, 1647.]

[m] Epist. ad Regem Poloniæ, p. 142. ["Hic, fateor, optandum esset, ut valeret continua successio, ut functio ipsa quasi per manus traderetur. Sed memoria tenendum est, quod prius attigi, quum ecclesiæ anima sit doctrinæ puritas, frustra quæ ecclesiæ propria sunt, et ab integro ejus statu dependent, apud eos homines requiri, quos constat esse professos evangelii hostes. Quia autem papæ tyrannide abrupta fuit vera ordinationis series, novo subsidio nunc opus est ad ecclesiæ instaurationem. Frustra quidem superbiunt papistæ vinculo illo quod ab illis ruptum esse dixi. Quid enim aliud est papatus, quam a Christo defectio? Qua autem fronte se apostatæ jactabunt successores? Remedium vero affert Deus ipse, dum idoneos et probos doctores excitat, qui ecclesiam in deformibus papatus ruinis jacentem ædificent. Atque omnino extraordinarium fuit hoc munus, quod Dominus nobis injunxit, dum opera nostra ad colligendas ecclesias usus est."—Dat. Genev. non. Dec. A. D. 1554. p. 87.]

[n] Enarratio in Evang. Joh. cap. i. ["Ac fremant quantum volunt ordinarii gubernatores, tamen Deus sua ingenti misericordia pluris facit ecclesiam quam ordinariam potestatem."—Opp. tom. iii. p. 614.]

execration who will not submit himself to that hierarchy that submits itself to the Lord." "And I protest before God and in mine own conscience," saith Zanchy, "that I hold them no better than schismatics that account or make it a part of reformation of the church to have no bishops[o]." Of this mind were the first reformers, who, as the Augustine Confession saith, had no intention to deprive the bishops of their authority; but the bishops refusing to admit them into holy orders "unless they would swear not to preach the pure doctrine of the gospel[p];" this compelled them, the public ordinary door being shut, to enter into holy orders in a private and extraordinary way. "Yea, we have often testified," say the authors of it, "our great desire to preserve the ecclesiastical polity, and even those degrees in the church which are but of human authority. This we declare again and again to be our mind: and this will and desire of ours shall excuse us before God and all the world to all posterity, that the overthrow of the authority of bishops may not be imputed to us[q]." It was mere necessity, you see, which drove them to ordination without bishops, which sometimes makes that lawful which otherwise would be unlawful. They are the words of the Gloss cited by Dr. Crakenthorp in this very business, who compares the case of the reformers with that of Scipio[r], as others I find have done since in his very words, without naming him. There being (as Valerius Max.[s] tells us) a need of money to defray some necessary charges of the commonwealth, Scipio demanded a supply out of the public treasury; which the quæstors refusing to open, because the law seemed against it, he opened it himself by a private key, and made the law give way to utility and necessity. The same was done in some reformed churches.

[o] Both these cited by Dr. Peter Moulin the son; in whom you may read a great deal more.

[p] Cap. ult. de potest. Eccles. ["Facile autem possent episcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere, si non urgerent servare traditiones, quæ bona conscientia servari non possunt. Nunc imperant cœlibatum, nullos recipiunt nisi juvent se puram evangelii doctrinam nolle docere."—Confess. August. A.D. 1531. p. 157; et A.D. 1540. p. 231. in Syllog. Confess. 8vo, Oxon. 1827: Melancthon. Opp. i. 38.]

[q] [Clytræus, Hist. Confess. August. p. 365.]

[r] Defens. Eccles. Anglicanæ, cap. 41. contra Spalat. 1625. [p. 231. 8vo, Oxon. 1847.]

[s] [Lib. vii. cap. 6.]

The apostles had commended their keys to bishops; nor were they ever lawfully used, saith he, by any others than bishops before that time. When the Roman quæstors (he means bishops) denying to open the door, and admit any to the office of pastors unless they would engage not to preach the pure doctrine of the gospel, some great men, like Scipio, chose rather to lay hold on the keys, and receive ordination from the hands of private persons, than that the church should be unfurnished and the people perish. They would not have gone out of the road if they could have avoided it, as our presbyterians did of their own accord: who ought therefore to acknowledge their error, to return into the regular course from whence they voluntarily strayed, and not stand upon the justification of their proceedings by the example of those who are nothing like them; but with all their heart would have entertained such bishops as our pretended reformers thrust out of possession, and joyfully received such ordination as here they rejected. But if they resolve still to continue to maintain what they have done, I would wish them to get an abler apologist than this man: and you, my good friend, I would advise to keep this old saying in your mind, Remember not to trust, no not those that pretend to learning, seriousness, humility, and modesty. For you see by what hath been said, that this person, who makes a show of these qualities, is grossly mistaken, (to speak no harsher word,) and too boldly endeavours to lead others into errors. I acknowledge indeed that there are both learned and modest men among them; but they are the confident talkers who generally carry the bell away, and are cried up for all worth and excellency. Do what I can, I must think there is too much truth in the censure passed upon you by the Second Fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline[s]; "That you

[s] Printed at the Hague, 1651, by Ri. Watson, p. 152. [The Second Fair Warning, intended apparently as a sequel to archbishop Bramhall's Fair Warning to take heed of the Scottish Discipline, was first published at the Hague, 4to, 1651, by Richard Watson, chaplain to lord Hopton, and reprinted ten years later, together with Bramhall's work, and a Review of it by Robert Baillie, minister of Glasgow, under a common title:—"Three Treatises concerning the Scotish Discipline, by R. B. G. (Robert Baillie of Glasgow,") 4to, Hagæ, 1661. The three treatises were again published together in 1662, if Kennet is to be credited, Register, p. 571.]

are not wont to prick any in the list of the learned, but the best read men in synopsis's and systems, in common place books and centurists, or in your own reformed fathers; whom you believe to be more proper than the ancients, because standing (as they tell you) upon their shoulders: when, if set on even ground, the longest arm they can make in true learning and eloquence will not reach half way up to their girdles."

VII. But you may imagine, perhaps, that though the apologist be not so well versed in the laws of the ancient church, yet he hath good skill in the laws and customs of our own land. So indeed any body would think that reads his book, and relies upon his bare word; but he that hath so much distrust as to take the pains to examine what he saith, will presently discover that he writes as if he were as unacquainted with them as with the laws and customs of Japan. The same heady forwardness possesses men now, that did in Gregory Nazianzen's days, when, as he tells us[t], all were wild to teach and talk about the Spirit of God, without the Spirit; and therefore no wonder they venture to talk of our laws, without any law. Thus this modest apologist puts in their exception[u] against our church for committing the power of excommunication to men that are not in holy orders. Which is notoriously false, and the contrary, I could show him, hath been acknowledged in their own books. But he needed have looked no further than to a book published not many years ago, concerning the practice in the ecclesiastical courts: where he might have been informed in express terms[x], "that the judge of the court having pronounced a man contumacious, and decreed that he is to be excommunicated in punishment of his contumacy, next proceeds to read the excommunication, if he be in holy orders; otherwise he delivers it to be read by the priest appointed by the archbishop for this purpose; which priest to this effect sits judicially with the judge himself." Or if he never heard of this book, yet he hath heard, I am sure, of the third part of the Friendly De-

[t] Orat. 9. p. 150. Τὴν νῦν κατέχουσαν πάντας φορὰν καὶ προθυμίαν, &c. [Ed. Ben. Orat. xix. § 2. tom. i. p. 364 C.]

[u] P. 20. ["And might we not say that it seems liable to exception, that chancellors and commissaries and officials, persons not in holy orders, should have power of excommunication?"]

[x] Francisci Clark Praxis in Curiis Eccles. Tit. 20. ann. 1666. [p. 24. ed. 2.—4to, Lond. 1684. edited by Thomas Blades, dean of Ardfort.]

bate; where, if he had been pleased to read a book before he had censured it, he might have found this bold error corrected in Philagathus, and so avoided it himself. But I see plainly, and am heartily sorry for it, there are more of that man's evil humour; who love to talk of things upon record, out of their own drowsy imaginations. The general cry against the Continuation of the Friendly Debate was, that it was a breach of the act of indemnity, or oblivion; which was raised merely out of their own brains, that are stuffed with words more than things, without consulting the act itself. But this cry Philagathus followed with open mouth, and now he hath got another to bear him company, who deserves in like manner to be chastised for his bold folly. Especially since he mentions this so often; first in his preface, then at least five times in his book[y], and in one place affirms my book seems to be a continued breach of the Act of Indemnity in the very design of it: and all this after I had evidently demonstrated in the Further Continuation, (which he also mentions, p. 150,) that whatever it seems to him, this is a gross and impudent calumny. But I shall spare him, notwithstanding this boldness; and have, I assure him, thrown away those apt illustrations of his vanity which offered themselves, because he hath more civility in him than the Sober Answerer. I shall only desire him to follow his own advice which he gives me on this occasion[z], viz. "to do justice upon himself, and execute his own book in the flames," for committing such crimes. For I must tell you there are a great many more of them. He tells you confidently that "the notes commonly called the Assembly's came out before the Assembly convened," p. 15, by which I see he is no better skilled in ordinances than in laws. For the ordinance for their convention bears date June 12, 1643, requiring them to meet the next first of July[a]: and the annotations came not out till two years

[y] P. 34, 73, 106, 112, 150.

[z] Preface, p. 8.

[a] ["An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the calling of an Assembly of learned and godly divines and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations, as shall be most agreeable to the word of God: with the names of all the ministers and others appointed for the same."—Ordered to be printed June 12, 1643. Reprinted by Rushworth, vol. v. p. 337.]

after, in 1645[b]. But you may think perhaps they did not convene at the time appointed. Know therefore, that on June 24, 1643, all ministers were required by an order to pray on the next fast for a blessing on the Assembly, who were to meet on Saturday July 1[c], and that accordingly they did meet on that day, as Mr. Fuller (quoted sometimes by this man) observes in his history[d]: and not long after[e] I find presented an humble petition for an extraordinary fast, beseeching, among other things, that justice might be executed on all delinquents; and after this an order[f] that those of them who were residents in the associated counties should be desired to go down and stir up the people to rise in their defence. By which it appears they not only convened, but began at least to be busy about that which did not concern them long before those notes saw the light. But let us pass by this; and observe rather how he falsifies in the lame excuse he makes for their not calling the apostles always by the name of saints. "In the judgment of our church," saith he, "it is not necessary; as may hence be concluded, that in all the Collects for the days set apart to commemorate the holy apostles in, there are but two wherein they are styled saints." These are his words[g]: but if you love truth, call to mind the rule

[b] So it should be printed in the Friendly Debate, not 1646. [Part i. vol. v. p. 306. In the earliest editions the date had been misprinted 1646, and in the sixth or latest 1640.]

[c] ["Die Sabbathi, 24 Junii 1643. It is this day ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament that all ministers in their severall churches on Wednesday next at the publicke fast and all other times afterwards in their prayer before their sermons, shall earnestly and particularly pray for the speciall assistance and blessing of God upon the Assembly of Divines and others appointed to meet at Westminster on Saturday the first day of July next, to be consulted with by both houses of Parliament in matters concerning religion. And that this order be forthwith printed and sent to all parish churches. Jo. Brown, Cler. Parliamentorum."—4to. Lond. June 26, 1643.]

[d] [Book xi. vol. vi. p. 254.]

[e] July 19, 1643. ["A Copy of the petition of the Divines of the Assembly, delivered to both houses of Parliament, July 19, 1643, together with the houses' Answer to the said Petition."—4to, Lond. 1643. Rushworth, v. p. 344. Parl. Hist. pp. 148—150. Neal, iii. 53.]

[f] August 10, 1643. ["An Order for sending divers godly ministers into divers counties, whose names are annexed, to possess the people with the truth and justice of the parliament's cause in taking up of defensive arms, was this day presented to the house, and read: and ordered to be referred to the Assembly of Divines, to consider of the persons named; and to return their testimony of the fitness of them to the house."—Commons' Journals, Aug. 11, 1643.]

[g] P. 43.

I gave you, and remember not to trust. Even they who call one another frequently by the name of saints have not such a care, as one would expect, of common honesty, nor of their own fame neither; but will assert such manifest untruths as lie open to every eye. Turn to the prayers for particular days in the Service-book, and you shall find that they who told him this (for I charitably suppose he took it upon trust) made no conscience of what they said. For those glorious persons, whose memories are celebrated in our church, (and I hope always will be,) are called no less than nine times in the very body of the Collects by the name of saints[h]: seven of which were apostles, and the other an evangelist, and the first martyr. And lest any one should imagine he made his observation by the old Common Prayer Book, and thence may justify himself: you may understand that there is no difference in this point, but only in two of the Collects: in one of which instead of St. John the Evangelist, (as it is now,) the words were "the blessed Apostle and Evangelist John;" and in the other, instead of St. Philip and St. James, it was "St. Philip and other apostles[i]." This may teach you to suspect the reasonings of these men, (which may very well be thought to be exceeding careless,) who are no more exact in reporting matters of fact which lie before their eyes. But as for their stories which they spread up and down, and endeavour to propagate to posterity by stuffing their books with them, (as this man doth,) there is the greatest cause to think that either they have no truth at all in them, or are very much altered from their original. You ought to let them pass for idle tales, unless you have better authority for them than these men's books, who, you see, are so bold as to report notorious falsehoods which every body can confute. Their traditions you should look upon as of no more credit than the popish legends: it being so easy for men to forget the very words they heard, and to place others in their room; so common to add or leave out what is most material; so hard and often impossible to know all the circumstances in a business, which very much alter the case; and lastly, there being such a proneness in men

[h] St. Stephen, St. John, St. Andrew, St. Paul, St. Mark, St. Philip and St. James, St. Peter and St. James.

[i] [Cardwell's Two Books of Common Prayer, pp. 61, 236. Keeling's Lit. Brit. pp. 78, 152.]

to invent downright falsehoods, and to publish them for their own advantage. I have now given you an instance of it, and I can give you more. The three covenanting ministers, I find, in their answer to the queries of the divines of Aberdeen, had the boldness to declare in print, and positively aver, that his majesty's commissioner rested satisfied with their Covenant, according to their explication of it: by which report they hoped to draw the people to a liking of it[i]. But this was such a calumny that the commissioner thought it necessary to clear himself of it by a manifest and declaration[k] to the contrary.

i [In the answers returned by Henderson Dickson and Cant, to the first demand of the ministers and professors of Aberdeen, they had ventured the assertion :— "Like as his majesties commissioner objecting, that our Covenant was suspect to be an unlawful combination against authorities, and to be the main hinderance of obtaining our desires, hath accepted, and was well pleased with our declaration; hearing that we have solemnly sworne to the uttermost of our power with our means and lives to stand to the defence of the king's majesty: as of God's vicegerent set over us, for the maintenance of religion, and ministration of justice." And again in their answer to the third demand; "We are confident that the Declaration where with his majesties commissioner was so well pleased, will also give satisfaction to our reverend brethren; and that they will not thinke it convenient for them to give further approbation to the Proclamation, then the counsell hath done, although the all of us ought with thankfulnes to acknowledge his majesties benignitie."—Pp. 4, 11. of the reprint made by authority of the Scottish parliament in 1663; the full title of which has been given above, p. 103. Against this unfounded and unscrupulous misrepresentation the marquis of Hamilton, the king's commissioner, published immediately a Declaration or protest, which is included in the same compilation. In the course of this he makes the emphatic disclaimer :—

"For clearing the truth, I do averre upon mine honour that I never said so. I never thought so. And though that Declaration was much bettered by the industry of some well affected, (from what was first intended,) yet it gave me not satisfaction: and I dare boldly affirm, I never said it would give my master the king's majesty any. My justifiers in this shall be these noblemen, gentlemen and others, to whom I ever spok, either publickly or in private... Neither is there any ground for their opinion of my acceptation of the Declaration, unlesse they call *receiving* accepting: and that was not in my power to refuse, it being conceived in formal words of a supplication, and so tendered to me, who by my royall master his instructions was commanded to receive the petitions of all his good and loyal subjects."]

k See his late Majesty's large Declaration, 1638, p. 111, 112. ["A Large Declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland, from their first originalls: together with a particular deduction of the seditious practices of the prime leaders of the Covenanters: collected out of their owne foule acts and writings: by which it doth plainly appear, that religion was onely pretended by

Which brought them to a confession, that indeed they never heard him say he was satisfied, but had only some probable reasons whereby they were induced to believe that he was. And indeed men easily believe what they have a mind unto. They believed, or at least gave it out even in the pulpit, (saith his majesty[l],) that we intended to bring in popery into all our kingdoms, or at least a toleration of it: it was preached that the Service-book was framed at Rome, and brought over by a countryman of theirs. They told the people that all England was of their opinion. And some desired them publicly to give thanks to God for the overthrow which the Hollanders had newly given the Spanish fleet before Dunkirk, assuring them that it was no less to be celebrated than the deliverance in 88, all that fleet being prepared at the king's charge for their ruin and subversion. A most horrible thing, that in the house of God, and in that place of his house which they call the chair of truth, men should deliver such things as either they did not know to be true, or did know to be false.

VIII. But you will say, We must be distinguished from the Scottish presbyterians; they and we are not all of a mind. "For they," for instance, "believed ruling elders to be *jure divino;* but I know few in England," saith this writer, "if any, that held that office so, save only in a large sense, i. e., lawful and not contrary to God's word[m]." Goodly! he knew few or none, therefore there were none here in England that held lay-elders to be of divine right. This is his reasoning, (for he satisfies a question by these words,) and a rare one it is, built altogether upon his own ignorance; for we know not a few, but many, who were of this opinion. And if he had not been negligent where he was concerned, and busy where he needed not have meddled, he might have more easily known the mind of the English than of the Scottish presbyterians. He, being one of that party, should have here known, one would think, better than I, that the London ministers and elders met in a provincial assembly, November 2, 1646, put forth a Vindication

those leaders, but nothing lesse intended by them. By the King, fol. Lond. 1639." Commonly attributed to Walter Balcanqual, D. D. successively dean of Rochester and of Durham.]

[l] Ibid, p. 405, 406.

[m] See page 141.

of the presbyterial government[n]. In the very title page of which they set this down among the contents of the book, that "the ruling elder is by divine right, and that it is the will of Jesus Christ that all sorts of persons should give an account of their faith to the ministers and elders before admission to the supper of the Lord;" which is more, I hope, than "not being repugnant to God's word." In like manner the Lancashire ministers of the first classes at Manchester declared after this[o], that they could not consent to part with the ruling elder, unless they should betray the truth of Christ[p]. These are the places they allege to approve the divine authority of this new order of ecclesiastical officers; by which you may see that I said they are changelings, with more reason than this apologist had to excuse them from it: for I wrote from what I knew, and he from what he knew not. But there is another thing which he apologizes for after the same manner, in the very language of his predecessor Philagathus, whom he was ashamed to own. "The horrid murder of his late majesty," saith this writer, "was never undertaken (that I know of) to be justified by any minister in print, but by J. G., that great Goliah and champion of the Arminians," p. 74[q]. It is very likely that he is ignorant of this as well as of other matters; but he must excuse us if we know mor eof these men, and such as were none of J. G.'s disciples. There was one L. S. for instance, whom I have read, who maintains that desperate fact, in a book called "Nature's Dowry," or "The People's Native Liberty asserted[r]." It was not printed till the year 1652, but written (as he tells us in the epistle) three year before, (just upon the king's murder,) on occasion of a question propounded to him by a member of parliament and committee of state. In the first chapter he determines; "Should any one (it is easy to know whom he means) by a reserved and merciless obstinacy be shut up and barricadoed against the law, counsel, and prayers; I see not but a people may warrantably go about to break such a one, seeing he will

[n] [Compare vol. v. p. 317.]

[o] An. 1657, in the book called "Excommunicatio Excomm." p. 46. [Quoted above, p. 289.]

[p] Rom. xii. 1 Cor. xii. 1 Tim. v.

[q] [John Goodwin in his 'Υβριστοδίκαι, or Defence of the sentence passed upon the king. See vol. v. p. 629.]

[r] ["Natures Dowrie, or the People's Native Liberty asserted, by L. S."—4to, Lond. 1652.]

not be bended by reason." But look farther, and you will find this to be the title of the tenth chapter, "That kings agreeable to the law of God, may in some cases be forcibly resisted by their subjects, and likewise deposed." In some cases indeed he resolves, "it may be the prudence of the people to pardon their prince, not observing his stipulation; but their promise is out of date, and cannot bind them to further subjection." Nay, he saith, "a people whose ancestors have for themselves and their posterity, either gratis, or upon inconvenient articles, promised subjection and obeisance to any one and his heirs, may lawfully renounce the engagement and cast off the yoke:" and at the end of that chapter cites the vote of parliament at the beginning of the wars to justify his doctrine, "that if the king raised forces against the parliament, he forfeited his trust." But proceed further to the next chapter, and you will find he comes home to the business, and determines, "that kings may render themselves obnoxious to the penalty of death, according to the law of God, in some cases to be inflicted by public authority, in others by private men." This is the title of the chapter; and immediately he betakes himself to that very Scripture upon which Mr. J. Goodwin grounded his whole discourse; for the chapter begins thus: "That law, Gen. ix. 6, *Whoso sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,* reaches all the sons of Noah, princes themselves, though they be taller than their brethren by the head and shoulders: and he explains it thus; "whether he shed it by himself, or by the ministry of some other, whether a stranger or a neighbour, whether alone or with the help of others, he is a son of death, no mortal is excused by his greatness." And adds, most ridiculously, "Plato is very orthodox in this point," and concludes that princes in some other cases are liable to capital punishment to be inflicted by private men. As if a prince attempt to murder another, that person invaded may lawfully kill him in his own defence, nay, is bound by the sixth commandment to do it, rather than suffer himself to be murdered. The rest of the book is an answer (after a strange fashion) to those places of Scripture which are brought (as he speaks) for the impunity of tyrants. I will mention but one of his desperate devices, which you may find in the 18th chapter, to excuse David's sparing of Saul. It is not impossible (you see the style wherein they deceived the

people, and put off their ware,) that David's interest might insensibly bias him into a tender care of the king. However, this he determines, "that either David sinned in sparing of Saul, or else his clemency was warranted by some precept or permission which is not extant in Scripture, and which in all probability was peculiarly given to David." Here is enough to show what divines have come out of their school, and how readily they can suppose a divine precept for any thing they have a mind to, though there be not the least footstep of it in holy writ. If he be not satisfied, but hath a list to stir further in this business, (which he had better never have touched,) I will furnish him with more, whom I am unwilling to mention. Let me only add that they were the presbyterian principles, out of which the independent army drew their worst conclusions. The discourse of this man now named is bottomed upon this maxim, that the people are the original of power; a doctrine asserted in another Catechism[s] of yours, and licensed by a known person of the highest esteem (as I can prove) among you. And this consequence is thence drawn from it, "that whatsoever the people have not expressly granted, they keep to themselves: the king must produce his grant, and not the people show their reservation, for all is presumed to be reserved which cannot be proved to be granted;" which being once supposed, he is stark blind, I think, who sees not the unavoidable consequence of all the mischief that issued. And to speak freely, "he that considers," saith a history[t] in those days, "the terms to which the king was held, even when the presbyterians had the better end of the staff, (as that he should not dispose of the militia, of the officers of the crown, of his children, have no negative vote, &c.,) will conclude that he was only left to his

[s] Politic Catechism, licenced by Mr. White, May 20, 1643. [p. 2.—"A political Catechism, or certain questions concerning the government of this land, answered in his Majesties own words, taken out of his answer to the 19 propositions, pag. 17, 18, 19, 20, of the first edition; with some brief observations thereupon; published for the more compleat settling of consciences, particularly of those that have made the late protestation, to maintain the power and priviledges of parliament, when they shall herein see the king's own interpretation, what that power and priviledges are:"—ordered by the house of Commons to be printed. May 20, 1643.]

[t] History of the English Scottified Presbytery, written in French, 1650, translated 1659. [Chap. 24. pp. 307, 9. 8vo, Villa Franca, 1659.]

choice, whether he would be destroyed by his enemies, or by his own proper act. For if he condescended not to these demands, being then in their hands that made them, the least he could expect was to be deposed; and if he granted them, he deposed himself. Nay, he that considers how all along they supposed they were his superiors, to whom he was accountable, will clearly discern that it was upon the presbyterian principles that the Independents built their conclusions. And if it were lawful for them to wrest out of his hands the sword of the militia, and to use it against him, it was no less lawful, thought the other, to employ the sword of justice against him. At least, after they had taken from him his sword, his revenues, his servants, his children, the liberty of his person, and, which is more, of his conscience, they left the Independents but one step further to go, which was to take away his life; and all that in which they surpassed the others was, that they gave the last blow to him. All which I have remembered, not to load any man with reproaches, but to make them all humble in consideration of their past miscarriages, (to say no worse,) whereof I truly hope many of them repent. The latter day is the scholar of the former, and no man is too old to learn, especially the amendment of his faults; which the more ingenuously he confesses, and the less he defends, the more likely he is to become a new man. I should have been glad to have seen something of this in this Apologist, which would better have becomed him than to talk of *noli me tangere's* in my book[u], and to hunt about for excuses of all things, nay, to waste his time in impertinent reflections on others, instead of acknowledging or taking off the blame from themselves. J. G., he tells you, who justified the king's murder, was the "great Goliah and champion of the Arminians[x]." What of all that, I pray you? What affinity hath Arminius's doctrine with king killing, or what antidote is there in Mr. Calvin's against it? I never heard the former taxed with any thing of this nature, though there is a dangerous passage in the last chapter

[u] ["As for the way and method I take in assaulting his two strongholds, or forts, (which some think impregnable); namely, why I do not charge in a right line, and rush directly upon the pikes, the *Noli me tangere's* of the books," &c.—pref. p. 9.]

[x] [Page 74.]

of Mr. Calvin's Institutions[y], which many have observed, if the three orders of a kingdom have such a power over kings as he thinks it is possible they may have. And yet I believe a man may be a Calvinist (as they speak) and be a good subject, and of the contrary persuasion, and be a bad; those things wherein they differ having nothing to do with this matter. But he was resolved to have a fling at the Arminians, (whom he thinks to hit I cannot tell; me he doth not hurt, who belong to neither of those parties,) nay, he touches this difference, I know not how oft, in his apology, though I gave him no occasion for it, loving lapwing-like to make the most pewing and crying when he is farthest from his nest. He should rather have minded what I cited out of Mr. Calvin, whom I perceive he favours more than the other, concerning the points in debate between us. I told you his thoughts of schism, and I could add a great deal more (out of other places of his works) of the great dread he was in of this sin, of the dislike he expressed that bishop Hooper should contend so much about a cap and a surplice, and of his opinion about human traditions; but that I should then digress too far out of the way, and prevent myself in that which remains of this apology.

IX. Let us therefore return back to it, and, that you may be more wary hereafter in trusting these men, let me mind you of as notorious a calumny as ever I read, wherewith he asperses some members of this church. You will find it in his preface, p. 11, where he saith, "I cannot but own my utter dislike of the principles and practices of some high conformists, or hectors for conformity; namely, such as prefer the Romish church before the reformed transmarine churches, Arminius before St. Austin; who judge Aerius a greater heretic than Arius; who have more charity for those that deny the deity of

[y] Num. 31. ["Nam si qui nunc populares magistratus ad moderandam regum libidinem constituti (quales olim erant qui Lacedæmoniis regibus oppositi erant Ephori, aut Romanis consulibus tribuni plebis, aut Atheniensium senatui demarchi; et qua etiam forte potestate, ut nunc res habent, funguntur in singulis regnis tres ordines, quum primarios conventus peragunt) adeo illos ferocienti regum licentiæ pro officio intercedere non veto; ut si regibus impotenter grassantibus, et humili plebiculæ insultantibus conniveant, eorum dissimulationem nefaria perfidia non carere affirmem: quia populi libertatem cujus se Dei ordinatione tutores positos norunt, fraudulenter produnt."—p. 406.]

our Saviour, than for those that scruple the strict *jus Divinum* of episcopacy; and who can with more patience bear a dispute against the very being of a Deity, than about the taking away of a ceremony, &c. This is the language not of the bold blades, but of a modest presbyterian, of one that uses hard reasons and soft words, if you will believe himself, in the very leaf before-going[z]. Whatsoever charity they have for us, their good words shall never be wanting to themselves. They will call themselves humble and modest, whatsoever they say or do; though they blush not to defend themselves by injuring anybody, nor fear to cast reproaches on whomsoever that for defence of the truth stand in their way. For every part of this charge is a vile slander, and some of it is confuted, you shall see, by himself. Which that I may demonstrate, let me tell you, in the first place, that it is no Hectorism to assert the divine right of episcopacy in the strictest sense. This is no upstart opinion, broached by some swaggering hotbrained men, who love to rant and vapour beyond other folk, (which is the proper quality of a Hector,) but hath been anciently believed in this church, from the very beginning of the Reformation, and maintained by the soberest men in it. I know they would have you to think otherwise, and have endeavoured to persuade the world that it is a novel doctrine advanced of later times by some proud and haughty divines. Mr. Robert Baily made bold to say, that, before bishop Bancroft's time, the bishops did unanimously deny episcopacy to be of divine right[a]. And the letter to Dr. Samuel Turner, printed 1647[b], will not allow it to be so ancient; but affirms, (p. 3,) that "it is an opinion but lately countenanced in England, and that by some of the more

[z] Preface, p. 9.

[a] Reply to Fair Warning, p. 49, printed at Delf, 1649. ["A Review of the seditious pamphlet lately published in Holland by Dr. Bramhell, pretended bishop of London-Derry; entitled, His Faire Warning against the Scots Discipline; in which his malicious and most lying reports, to the great scandall of that government, are fully and clearly refuted; as also the solemne League and Covenant of the three nations justified and maintained; by Robert Baylie, minister at Glasgow, and one of the commissioners from the church of Scotland, attending the king at the Hague: printed at Delph (4to) by Mich. Stait, dwelling at the Turf Market, 1649." Reprinted at the Hague in "Three Treatises concerning the Scotish Discipline," &c. by R. B. G. 4to, 1661.]

[b] [Signed J. F. Compare p. 291, above.]

lordly clergy." He means, I think, archbishop Laud, as some since have explained it. But both the one and the other of these talked at random out of their own imaginations, not from historical observation. Archbishop Whitgift and bishop Bilson, as the answer to that letter suggests, were both of a contrary persuasion. And I can name a divine of their opinion elder than either, and much reverenced even by the presbyterians, who was offered a bishopric also, but refused it: and that is old Bernard Gilpin, who left the world that very year in which bishop Whitgift was advanced to the see of Canterbury, 1583. For when Mr. Cartwright's book was newly come forth, a certain Cambridge man, who seemed a very great scholar, came to this famous preacher, and dealt very earnestly with him about the discipline and reformation of the church. But Mr. Gilpin's answer was, that "he could not allow that any human invention should take place in the church instead of a divine institution." "How?" said the man, "do you think that this form of discipline is an human invention?" "I am," said Mr. Gilpin, "altogether of that mind; and as many as diligently turn over the writings of the fathers will be of my opinion." "O but the later men," replied the disciplinarian, "see many things which those ancient fathers saw not; and the present church seems better provided of many ingenious and industrious men." At which Mr. Gilpin, saith my author, seemed somewhat moved, and answered; "I, for my part, do not hold the virtues of the later men to be compared to the infirmities of the fathers[c]."

[c] Life of Bernard Gilpin, edit. 4, 1636, p. 106, 107, &c. [Written originally in Latin by his pupil George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, and published, Lond. 8vo, 1628. The edition of 1636 is the fourth of the English translation.

It may be remarked, however, that his later biographer, William Gilpin, repeats the anecdote in question with some qualifications: "Some time after Mr. Gilpin heard, that his late visitant had reported him to have affirmed, that 'the virtues of the moderns were not equal even to the infirmities of the fathers.' He said indeed, he remembered some such thing coming from him, but not in the serious manner in which it was represented. His adversary had been decrying the fathers greatly, declaring that there were men in this age much their superiors, plainly intimating whom he principally intended. Such arrogance, Mr. Gilpin said, he was desirous to mortify; and meant it of such moderns as him, when he asserted that their virtues were not equal to the infirmities of the fathers."—Life by William Gilpin, M. A. of Queen's College, Oxford, p. 140, ed. 2. 8vo, Lond. 1753.]

Which words he used on purpose, because he perceived this young man had a strong conceit of I know not what rare virtues in himself; which opinion the good old man was desirous to root out of him.

But there is an authority ancienter than all these, viz. "the Form and Order of making and consecrating bishops," &c. confirmed by act of parliament. In which three things are considerable. The very first words of the preface are, "that it is evident to all men reading the holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the apostles' time there have been these orders in Christ's church, bishops, priests, and deacons." Then secondly, the prayer after the Litany at the consecration of a bishop begins in this manner: "Almighty God, giver of all good things, which by thy holy Spirit hast appointed divers orders of ministers in thy church," &c., (which must needs be understood of those before named. And lastly, the first question to the person to be consecrated is, "Are you persuaded that you be called to this ministration according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ?" To which the answer is, "I am so persuaded." Put now all these together, and you will not be able to conceive, (as the answer to the letter observes[d],) how these words should fall from any men not possessed with this tenet, that episcopacy is of divine right in the strictest sense. For if God by his holy Spirit hath appointed divers orders of ministers in the church; and we may find evidently by Scripture and ancient writers that there are three orders, whereof bishops the highest; and this is made the ground of praying for the bishop to be consecrated; and he must profess he is persuaded that he is called to that ministration according to Christ's will: then episcopacy (in the opinion of those who composed and confirmed this book) is in such a manner according to Christ's will, that it is grounded in Scripture, and appointed by the Spirit of God; and all this hath not been said only of late, nor countenanced only by some few, and those of the more lordly clergy.

2. For which cause, no man ought to be disgraced with any odious name, much less be called an Hector, who is now of the same persuasion. The most illustrious persons that have been

[d] Pp. 12, 13.

in our church, men far from that boisterous humour, have declared themselves for this doctrine, and doubted not but they could maintain it. I need instance in no more than two: bishop Andrewes, whose mind is well known from his three letters to Peter du Moulin, 1618[e], to which I refer you; and the late bishop Sanderson, whom the best of you have spoken of with honour and reverence. He declares his opinion to be that episcopal government is not to be derived merely from apostolical practice or institution, but that it is originally founded in the person and office of the Messias, our blessed Lord Christ[f]; who being sent by his Father, afterward sent his apostles to execute the same apostolical, episcopal, pastoral office, for the ordering and governing of his church till his coming again: and so the same office to continue in them and their successors to the end of the world. But suppose all our churchmen had been silent, or that they are of no esteem with our adversaries; yet since this opinion of the divine right of episcopacy hath been asserted by other divines whom they respect, it ought not to have been reproached. Bucer declares in his book of the Kingdom of Christ[g] (as I find him cited above sixty years ago) just as our book of Consecration doth[h], that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost that one (to whom the name of bishop was peculiarly attributed) should take the care of the churches, and preside over all the presbyters. And nearer still to the very words of our book, in his treatise of the power and use of the ministry, as he is alleged by Saravia: "These orders of ministers have been perpetual in the church, and were presently in the beginning appointed by the Holy Ghost, of bishops, priests, and deacons." He that will see more to this purpose may read bishop Morton's Episcopacy asserted, chap. 5. sect. 4[i]. Nay, this is the language of antiquity; and they

[e] Translated and printed, 1647. [Andrewes' correspondence with Du Moulin has been reprinted in his Opuscula Posthuma, pp. 173—216, 8vo, Oxon. 1852.]

[f] Postscript to Episcopacy not prejudicial to regal power. [Works, vol. v. p. 191.]

[g] [Lib. ii. cap. 12. init.]

[h] Regiment of the Church by Mr. Thomas Bell, chap. 5. [P. 30. "The Regiment of the Church: as it is agreeable with Scriptures, all Antiquities of the Fathers, and moderne Writers, from the apostles themselves unto this present age," —4to, Lond. 1606.]

[i] [Ἐπίσκοπος ἀποστολικὸς, or "the Episcopacy of the Church of England justified to be apostolical, from

may as well call St. Gregory of Nazianzum a Hector as any of us: for he sticks not to tell his auditors in plain words, that he held his office by the law of Christ. You may find the passage in his seventeenth oration[k], where, after he had exhorted all the people to obedience, he turns his speech more particularly to the rulers and magistrates, asking them "if they will give him leave to speak freely: as truly," saith he, "I think I may, since the law of Christ hath made you subject to my power, and to my tribunal."

3. This you may think is very high: but I must let you know, they who seem to lay their claim lower, and speak in a more humble style, (as some love to call it,) differ but in a verbal nicety: in the different manner of expressing the same thing, rather than in their different judgment upon the substance of the matter. So that excellent bishop lately mentioned (Dr. Sanderson) hath clearly resolved[l]. For "sometimes this term *divine right* imports a divine precept," (which is the first and most proper signification,) "when it appeareth, by some clear, express, and peremptory command of God in his word, to be the will of God that the thing so commanded should be perpetually and universally observed." And that the government of the church by bishops is of divine right in this stricter sense is an opinion, saith he, "at least of great probability, and such as may more easily and on better grounds be defended than confuted[m]." But they that choose to speak otherwise understand by divine right, "an authority for a

the authority of the antient primitive church, and from the confessions of the most famous divines of the reformed churches beyond the seas," &c.—A work published by Ussher, to whom Martin had communicated it; and afterwards enlarged by the author, and published after his death with a preface by Sir Henry Yelverton, 8vo, Lond. 1670. The passage quoted is from p. 156 &c.]

[k] Page 271. [Τί οὖν φατέ; καὶ τί διομολογούμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους; Ἆρα δέξεσθε σὺν παρρησίᾳ τὸν λόγον; Καὶ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ὑποτίθησιν ὑμᾶς τῇ ἐμῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ βήματι. Ἄρχομεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί· προστιθήσω δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὴν μείζονα καὶ τελεωτέραν ἀρχήν· ἢ δεῖ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὑποχωρεῖν τῇ σαρκὶ, καὶ τοῖς γηΐνοις τὰ ἐπουράνια; Δέξῃ τὴν παρρησίαν, οἶδ', ὅτι πρόβατον εἶ τῆς ἐμῆς ποίμνης, τῆς ἱερᾶς ἱερὸν, καὶ θρέμμα τοῦ μεγάλου Ποιμένος, καὶ καλῶς ἄνωθεν ἠγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος, καὶ φωτὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος ὁμοίως ἡμῖν ἐλλαμπόμενον. — Greg. Naz. Orat. vii. § 8. tom. i. p. 322 E.]

[l] Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal Power. [sect. ii. § 3.] p. 12, 13. [Works, vol. v. p. 151.]

[m] [§. 4. p. 154.]

thing from the institution, example, or approbation either of Christ or of his apostles," &c., which is a secondary meaning of the term, but not much distant from the former. For the observation of the Lord's day depends on this divine right; and there is as much to show, (as he saith p. 19[n],) if not more, for such a divine right of episcopacy, as for the divine right of that day. So that whosoever they be that either wave the term *divine right*, or else so expound it as not of necessity to import any more than an apostolical institution; "yet the apostles' authority[o] in the institution of episcopacy being warranted by the example, and (as they doubt not) by the direction of their Master Jesus Christ, they worthily esteem to be so reverend and obligatory, as that they would not for a world have any hand in, or willingly and deliberately contribute the least assistance towards, the extirpation of that government; but rather hold themselves obliged in their consciences, to the utmost of their power, to endeavour the preservation and continuance of it in these churches, and do heartily wish the restitution and establishment of the same wheresoever it is not," &c.

Now that episcopacy is of such institution, and so of divine right, he further adds[p], "is in truth a part of the established doctrine of the Church of England," and "hath been constantly and uniformly maintained by our best writers (mark these words), and by all the sober, orderly, and orthodox sons of the church."

This is sufficient to show that there ought to be no such distinction made, as we find in this man, between high and low conformists: since all have spoken to the same effect, and yet were no swashbucklers, but, in this great person's opinion, the sober, orderly, and orthodox sons of the church.

4. But let us suppose there is some difference, yet they that have spoken the highest words of episcopacy never thought "Aerius a greater heretic than Arius, nor had more charity for those that deny our Saviour's Deity, than for those that scruple the strict *jus divinum* of episcopacy[q]." No, this is a suggestion from the father of lies, the calumniator of the bre-

[n] [§ 7. p. 154.]
[o] Ib. p. 39, 40. [§ 15. p. 160.]
[p] Vid. ib. p. 18. [§ 6. p. 153.]
[q] [Pref. p. 11.]

thren, and seem to me to be the words of one whose tongue is set on fire of hell. For though our best divines have called it the "heresy of Aerius, to affirm that there ought to be no imparity in the church, or distinction between bishops and presbyters; and determined that this imparity was instituted and approved by the apostles[r];" yet they have declared withal, that they who think as Aerius did are so far from being in a worse case than Arius was, that they are not in so bad. "Let but obstinacy and perverseness be wanting, it will be no heresy; and if it be heresy, (being about a point of discipline,) it will not be among those which St. Peter calls damnable heresies[s]." These are the words of one who was as vehement an assertor of the divine right of episcopacy as any hath been, (and there are none among us but will subscribe to them,) who is so far, you see, from making Aerius a greater heretic than Arius, that his words plainly make him less.

5. But these perhaps are such Hectorly divines, you may think, that they mind not what they say: so belike, if it be true which he says just before, that they "prefer Arminius before St. Austin." A very strange humour! that these high episcopal men should set a presbyterian divine above a great bishop. But suppose, upon other scores, they should be so fantastical, yet this part of his accusation will contradict the calumny next before it, namely, that they "prefer the Romish church before the reformed transmarine churches." How can that be, when the Arminians are among those reformed churches, for whom it seems they have such a great affection; and when the pope himself, as every one knows that understands these matters, is against the divine right of bishops? nay declared, when time was[t], that the opinion which makes them hold by that title is false and erroneous? But not to leave the least speck of his dirt sticking on us, (which he blushes not to throw in our faces once more, p. 34,) you may know

[r] Dr. Crackenthorp, Defens. Eccl. Anglicanæ, p. 241, 242.

[s] Bishop Andrewes' third Letter, p. 56, 57. ["Absit modo animus obfirmatus et pertinax, hæresis non erit. At si hæresis sit (circa ea quæ disciplinam attingunt) non erit inter eas quas dicit Petrus *αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας*."—Opera Posthuma, p. 212.]

[t] Letter to his Legate in the Council of Trent. See p. 646. Engl. edit. 1629. [History of the Council of Trent, by Paul Sarpi, translated by Sir Nathaniel Brent.]

that the very same bishop newly mentioned wipes it all off himself, by clearing and excusing the reformed churches beyond the seas from sinning against the divine right, though they had no bishops whom he thought to be of divine right in the strictest sense. "I said no such thing," as his words are[u], "but only this, that your churches wanted something that is of divine right. Wanted, not by your fault, but by the iniquity of the times; for that your France had not your kings so propitious at the reformation of your church as our England had." In like manner the late primate of Ireland, bishop Bramhall, excuses those in the reformed churches who, as I told you, either had a desire, or but an esteem of episcopacy, though they could not enjoy it. And as for a third sort, who were so far from either of those that they condemned it as an antichristian innovation, and a rag of popery; whereby they became guilty, he thought, of most gross schism materially; he saith thus much may be alleged to mitigate their fault; "that they do it ignorantly[x], as they have been mistaught and misinformed; and I hope that many of them are free from obstinacy, and hold the truth implicitly in the preparation of their minds, because ready to receive it when God shall reveal it to them." Nay, Dr. Heylin himself (whom this man thinks so fierce) makes an apology for their ministers not being ordained by bishops at the first reformation; there being, he thinks, a necessity for it, as you may read in his History of Episcopacy, p. 164[y]. And lastly, a famous person now alive this apologist cites afterward against his own self: Master Thorndike I mean, who he acknowledges[z] hath a charity for the churches beyond the seas, though wanting bishops, whom he doubts not to be of divine right. But he might have had recourse to a better place of his works for this purpose than that which he hath produced. For he handles this question at large in his book Of the Rights of the Church[a], where he excuses their necessity, and concludes at last out of the abundance of his charity, that some excuse is to be made for those

[u] Bishop Andrewes' Letter to Du Moulin, ib.

[x] Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon, p. 71, 72. [Works, vol. ii. p. 70.]

[y] [Part i. 4to, Lond. 1657.]

[z] [P. 13.]

[a] P. 194, 198. ["Of the Right of the Church in a Christian state," ch. v. Works, vol. i. pp. 606, 607.]

who have created this necessity to themselves by their own false persuasion. Let this man therefore do open penance for his sin in laying such foul things to the charge of the "men of the high prelacy," as he in scorn calls them, p. 35. And let him forbear if he can to say hereafter, that "there is just cause to fear that some among us have a greater charity for the church of Rome than the Presbyterians[b]: and to intimate that the high Conformists are warping from the doctrine of the Church of England, and lean more to that of Trent[c]. For these are only old calumnies now revived; I wish it be not to serve the good old cause. We were told before the war that the bishops were leaning toward popery, nay, were driving fast toward popery. And no sooner was it begun, but our neighbours were borne in hand that we "had a company of half papish bishops[d];" nay, that they were altogether papists, one and the same brood with the Jesuits[e], and intended to bring popery into England: all which they affirmed "was as clear as the bright noon-day[f]." For to this end (saith this impudent libel) they had stripped all the assemblies of their faithfullest preachers, and used many other means to banish wholly all saving knowledge out of the kingdom, that so they might the better draw the people to popery. For which considerations the author desires the lords and inhabitants of the United Netherlands[g] not to assist the king; for if he prevailed, the government would be altered, religion suppressed, the bishops restored and put in force their popish canons. And all this, I must tell you, was writ by a Presbyterian, (a modest gentleman no doubt, otherwise called a shameless liar,) as appears by

[b] P. 34. [c] P. 80, 81.

[d] Dialogue between an Englishman and a Netherlander, written in Low Dutch, and translated into English, 1643. p. 7. ["British Lightning; or Suddaine tumults in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to warne the United Provinces to understand the dangers and the causes thereof, to defend those among us from being partakers of their plagues; written first in Low Dutch by G. L. V., and translated for the benefit of Brittaine. Printed in the year 1643."

A curious and rare pamphlet, showing the light in which the civil wars of England were regarded by the Dutch. The discussion is conducted by means of a dialogue between an Englishman and a Netherlander, and is strongly favourable to the Parliamentary cause. It has been reprinted in the Somers Tracts, vol. v. pp. 1–33.]

[e] Pp. 8. 16. [f] P. 10.

[g] In the Dedicatory Epistle. [p. 5.]

this passage, p. 37, where he saith, "Our whole nation is, by the coming in of the Scots, (before the war,) yet more confirmed that they were led by God's Spirit[h]." What was the woeful issue of those suggestions we all know, though there was nothing of truth in them; as appeared by the stout opposition against the common enemy which some of those very men made, who (besides their other sufferings) had "lain as deep under the suspicion of being popishly affected as any other of their brethren whosoever[i]." And what they now intend that begin again to buzz the same tale in the people's ears, we are not so doltish as not to understand; and, when opportunity shall serve, they will more openly declare. Then you may hear the complaints renewed (which he remembers out of Mr. Fuller his Church History) of Popery, Arminianism, Socinianism, and what not? You may hear an accusation against a minister (as the same historian tells us there was on his own knowledge[k]) merely for using the *Gloria Patri*, though in all things else he conformed to the Directory.

6. In which case, truly, there might have been some colour to charge the accusers as more zealous for their Directory than for our Saviour's Deity: but to impeach any of us as more concerned for the divine right of bishops than for the Divine nature of our Lord the great Bishop of our souls, is a bold-faced calumny, for which there is no pretence at all. And yet he thinks he hath not said enough: for he tells you further, that these "high Conformists or Hectors can with more patience hear a dispute against the very being of a Deity, than about the taking away of a ceremony." Which is the very highest strain of railing that the wit of a modest presbyterian can invent. But to what pitch the more impudent may reach, who can tell? They may say that these Conformists are perfect atheists, since they are already, it seems, such fools as to bear more meekly with those who go about to dethrone the object of all worship, than with those who only pluck away a ceremony of it. Dull asses! how should their ceremonies stand, if the very sense of a Deity fall down? If he can find me any such beasts

[h] [P. 23.]

[i] See Bishop Sanderson's preface to vol. i. of Sermons, sect. 17. [Dated Botheby Paynell, July 13. 1657. Works, vol. ii. p. xl.]

[k] Book xi. p. 224.

as these, I shall easily believe the worst that he or his complices can say of them. But the truth is, he is only disgorging his stomach all this while; and now, as I said, is come to the last strain, which brings up the foulest stuff of all. For the highest words that the highest sons, or fathers of this church, (to use his phrase) have spoken concerning ceremonies are these[l]: "that they are advancements of order, decency, modesty, and gravity in the service of God; expressions of those heavenly desires and dispositions which we ought to bring along with us to God's house; adjuments of attention and devotion; furtherances of edification; visible instructors; helps of memory; exercises of faith; the shell that preserves the kernel of religion from contempt; the leaves that defend the blossoms and the fruit." But the very same person who wrote all this immediately adds, that "if they grow over thick and rank, they hinder the fruit from coming to maturity, and then the gardener plucks them off. When ceremonies become burdensome by excessive superfluity, or unlawful ceremonies are obtruded, or the substance of divine worship is placed in circumstances, or the service of God is more respected for human ornaments than for the divine ordinance; it is high time to pare away excesses, and reduce things to the ancient mean." So our church hath done; between whom and the Roman church there is as wide a difference in this regard, "as between the hearty expressions of a faithful friend, and the mimical gestures of a fawning flatterer: or between the unaffected comeliness of a grave matron, and the fantastical paintings and patchings and powdering of a garish courtesan." And whereas this man would have you believe that there are those who are so enamoured of these few ceremonies, that they even dote upon them; nay, have set their hearts upon them more than upon Almighty God himself; another great prelate[m] hath declared, that he "knew no true son of the church of England that doteth upon any ceremony; whatsoever opinion they have of the decency or expediency of some of them." Nor

[l] Bishop Bramhall, in his Romphæa, chap. 11. p. 234. [Works, vol. iii. p. 170.]

[m] Bishop Sanderson's preface to the first volume of Sermons, sect. 12. *an.* 657. [Works, vol. ii. p. xxxi.]

doth this gentleman, I have reason to believe, know such an one at this day. For " they have been told a thousand times over (as that bishop proceeds[n]) in the sermons and writings of private men (as well as in the public declaration of our church,) that we place no necessity at all in these things, but hold them to be merely indifferent. 2. That when for decency, order or uniformity sake any constitutions are made, there is the same necessity of obeying such constitutions, as of obeying other laws made for the good of the commonwealth concerning any other indifferent thing. And 3. That this necessity, whether of the one or of the other, arises not properly from the authority of the immediate lawgiver, but from the ordinance of God, who hath commanded us to obey the ordinances of men for his sake. And, to add no more, 4. That such necessity of obedience notwithstanding, the things remain in the same indifferency as before; every way as to their nature, and even in respect of us thus far, that there is a liberty left for men upon extraordinary and other just occasions, sometimes to do otherwise than the constitution requires, when there is no scandal nor contempt in the case. A liberty which we dare not either take ourselves or allow to others in things properly and absolutely necessary. Upon which very account, (I mean the consideration of the indifferency of the things in themselves,) and upon this alone, it was, that those who did most sadly resent the voting down of liturgy, festivals, and the ceremonies of the church, did yet so far yield to the sway of the times as to forbear the use thereof in public worship." Which is a direct answer to that which this apologist talks of, about our omission of things required by law in the late times, p. 128. And he may find more full satisfaction, if he be disposed, in the same bishop's seventh sermon to the people[o]; where he shows that since the obligation to those doth not spring from the things themselves, nor immediately and by its proper virtue from the constitution of the magistrate, but by consequence only, and by virtue of that law of God which commands to obey them; thereby a liberty is left in cases extraordinary, and of some pressing necessity, not otherwise well to be avoided, to do

[n] Ibid. sect. 13. [p. xxxii.]

[o] First volume of Sermons in folio, p. 390. [§ 42, 43. Works, vol. iii. p. 304.]

sometimes otherwise. These two things provided; first, that a man be driven thereto by a true, real, and not by a pretended necessity only: and secondly, that in the manner of doing he use such godly discretion as neither to show the least contempt of the law in himself, nor to give ill example to others to despise government or governors.

7. This is the sum of what our churchmen, high and low, (as he is pleased to distinguish them,) have declared about ceremonies. O but, saith the apologist, why then will you not consent to a change, nay, a laying aside all those ceremonies, since you do not make them necessary in themselves? Let them be "removed, whether nocent or innocent, as they have been out of other reformed churches," page 18. This he is at again, page 131, and propounds this as a good means to keep the people from grieving and vexing the magistrate by the breach of his laws. "Remove the law," saith he, "and where there is no law, there is no transgression," p. 133: very right; nor is there any obedience. He hath found out a rare way for the magistrate to ease himself wholly of his office, by letting the people do as they will, and govern him. For when they please to scruple any other laws, he must repeal them too, according to this wise advice, unless he will be vexed and grieved with the clamours and disobedience of his people, who will not be contented unless, in effect, they make laws for themselves. King James indeed in his proclamation in the first year of his reign, March 5, admonishes all men hereafter, not to expect nor attempt so much as any further change in the common and public form of God's service, from that which was then established[p]. For which he there gives such substantial reasons, that my lord Bacon[q] makes it his request to the duke of Buckingham to read that excellent proclamation, as he calls it; "and if at any time there should be the least motion made for innovation, to put the king in mind to read it himself, for it is most dangerous in a state to

[p] ["A Proclamation for the authorizing and uniformitie of the Booke of Common Prayer to be used throughout the realme," dated March 5. 1603.—P. 66 of "A Booke of Proclamations, published since the beginning of his majestie's most happy reigne over England, &c., until this present moneth of Febr. 3, anno Dom. 1609." fol. Lond. printed by R. Barker, printer to the king.]

[q] Cabala, page 42. [Advice to George Villiers. Works, vol. vi. p. 409.]

give ear to the least alteration in government." But it is all one for that; no matter what the king said, or any one else, they have been ever since, and are, not merely for alterations, but for abolishings and removals, or else there will be no peace. I am heartily sorry for it, since even those whom they call the most moderate prelates have declared the removal of that which is well settled to be so dangerous, as that it is not safe to remove an inconvenience, the remedy of which may open a gap to let in others that may prove greater and more grievous. Not only bishop Sanderson[q], but bishop Hall likewise is of the mind, that τὰ ἀρχαῖα κρατείτω[r] is a sure rule: 'Let the ancient customs stand.' "Every novelty carries suspicion in the face of it[s]. It was a good question of the church in the Canticles, *Why should I be as one that turns aside to the flocks of the companions?* It is the great and glorious style of God, that *in him is no shadow of changing:* surely those well settled churches and states come nearest to his perfection, that alter least. But if, with Lipsius, you say, 'What if for the better?' I must answer, that in every change there is a kind of hazard: it is a wise word therefore of our Hooker, that a tolerable sore is better than a dangerous remedy." And if any one say these words are not to be extended to ceremonies, let him consult a letter of his to Mr. Struthers[t], whom he desires to consider how far it is safe for a particular church to depart from the ancient universal. "Surely no kingdom can think it a slight matter, what the church diffused through all times and places hath either done or taught. For doctrines or manners there is no question; and why should it be more safe to leave it in the holy institutions that concern the outward form of God's service? Novelty is a thing full of envy and suspicion; and why less in matters of rite than doctrine? True it is, every nation hath her own rites, gestures, customs, and yet there are some wherein there hath been an universal agreement. As every

[q] Episcopacy not prejudicial, &c., p. 99, 100. [Sect. iii. §. 22. vol. v. p. 179.]

[r] [From can. 6. of the council of Nicæa.—Mansi, Concill. tom. ii. col. 669 E.]

[s] Sermon, 2nd Sunday in Lent, 1641, p. 80. ["The mischief of faction, and the remedy of it. A Sermon on Ps. x. 2, preached before the king at Whitehall, the second Sunday in Lent, 1641." Hall's Works, vol. v. p. 444.]

[t] One of the ministers of Edinburgh. [Hall's Works, vol. x. p. 117.]

face hath its own favour, its own lines distinct from all others, yet is there a certain common habitude of countenance and disposition of the forehead, eyes, cheeks, lips, common to all. So as they that under pretence of difference shall go about to raise an immunity from such ceremonies, do no other than argue, that because there is a diversity of proportion of faces, we may well want a brow or a chin." He instances in the ancient custom of solemn festivities, and of kneeling at the holy Sacrament. By all which it appears that one may be against a removal of the ceremonies, and yet be no Hector, no more than he or bishop Sanderson or Mr. Hooker[u] were. And these men, I must tell you, have the least reason to complain (or give such characters as this apologist hath done) of those whom they call rigid or stiff fathers or sons of the church of England, (they are his own words, p. 34,) who were so unyielding themselves in every thing which they had a mind to have established; nay, some of whom heretofore were so fierce for their own inventions, that every nicety seemed as if it were a fundamental; and if king James may be believed,[x] the smallest questions about their ecclesiastical discipline raised as great disputes as if the holy Trinity were called in question.

X. It would be only to tire you and myself to proceed any further to anatomise the rest of this vile character, the stench of which is already so offensive; nor is there any need to spend any more time about it, for the bare reciting of it will proclaim it to be a libel, and an infamous one too, unless you can believe that "the chiefest sons of the church (as they profess themselves) dissent from its doctrine, transgress its laws about rites and ceremonies, look upon the archbishops Grindal, Whitgift, and Abbot, as puritans, and would unbishop some of the present bishops for presbyterians[y]." Who would think that a book fraught with such language as this should be commended for a sober, modest reply, by some of chief note among them? Such men would have made excellent parasites, altogether as good as that Cynæthus, who, when he had spent all other ways of flattery, praised his master for his tissic, and said he

[u] See the Preface to his fifth part of Ecclesiastical Polity. [Works, vol. ii. pp. 2, 3.]

[x] Basilicon Doron. [Preface, in king James' Works, p. 143,] cited in Second Fair Warning, cap. i. p. 8. [By Baillie; see p. 305, above.]

[y] [Preface, p. 11.]

coughed very musically. Their favourites may say and write what they please, and still maintain the reputation of godly men; nay, that which in us would be thought a crime is commended in one of themselves, as I have formerly shown you. That very person who accuses another of writing pasquils is not afraid to call several of the bishops, (as this man in effect doth some of our priests,) Amaziah-like priests, tyrants, rustling, ceremonious, and violent ringleaders[z]. He declaims also against the cathedral service, reproaches the dignified clergy, and that after he had confessed in other parts of his book the act of indemnity had enjoined him silence[a]. That which is bred in the bone, as we say, will not out of the flesh. This sort of men have ever been wont to revile, and so they cannot forbear it even when they know they should not, and that it is their interest to give good words. And if you will give me leave to speak my judgment freely, I think there is also in this very writer a great deal of that Hectorly swaggering quality which he unjustly charges others withal. Witness that notable vapour and high rant, page 28, where he tells you the chief quarrel of the high hierarchists against the presbyterian ministers should in reason have been nothing but this, that they (who would have thought it?) were the first in bringing the king back: which he joins with a new cluster of calumnies against many of the bishops and conforming clergy, affirming (page 29,) that their own interest, it may be suspected, had a considerable influence into their loyalty, and that they seem to express more and greater zeal against the presbyterians than against the regicides, &c. Who would not think that reads this, that they were the men (who but they?) who kept life and heat in the king's cause, and that the episcopal men, many of them, were cold and indifferent? or that they were the sincere, the well-affected to his majesty, and the others led by their own interest to follow the presbyterian zeal for him? Nay, that they were the first movers towards the king's return, even before those that were always in motion, and never ceased their restless endeavours for it? O most glorious apologist! He may tell us next, as the men of Judah said, The king is near of kin to us, for that is as true, as

[z] Anatome of Dr. G. 1660. [Referred to, p. 120, above.]

[a] Antidote against Antisobrius, Oct. 30, 1660, pp. 15, 22, 25. [See above, p. 199.]

that they were the first in bringing him back. If he will stand to this, and not have it pass for a boast, but for a serious truth, I will produce him the words of some of the heads of his party, (which I had rather spare,) that make it unlawful to attempt it. Whereby it will appear that they at least were not for bringing him in again, till they were forced to it by those who would not let them keep him out.

And now that he is in his throne, methinks it is no great sign of the contentment they take in the change, that the conventicles, which are so frequent and numerous on other days, are observed to be so few, if any, upon the day of this king's return, or upon the day of the former king's death. Look about you and consider all the private meetings you know of on the Lord's day; how many did you ever know or hear of that will vouchsafe at the appointed times to bewail the horrid murder of the father, or to thank God for the happy restoration of the son? For my part, I have constantly observed that those which come within my knowledge do not assemble on those days at all; and many others have made the same observation as well as myself.

As for the other thing, the conformists expressing more and greater zeal against the presbyterians than against the regicides, and more frequently and more fiercely arraigning and condemning the Covenant than the Engagement; the same answer may serve which bishop Sanderson gave to those who complained that the Visitation Sermons were more against the puritans than the papists[b]. First, we say it is not altogether true: the regicides have their share in the public sermons, (of which I suppose he speaks,) as well as their fellows, as oft as the text gives occasion, or the file of their discourse leads the preachers to it. And on those days I mentioned, it is the general complaint of your people that the preachers speak too much against those king-killers, and those principles which led them to commit that sin without blushing. But, secondly, admitting it to be true to a tittle, either our men are excusable in what they blame them for, or they that blame them inexcusable, who do the very same thing. "Do they not usually," saith he, "in their sermons fall bitterly upon the papists and

[b] Preface to vol. i. of Sermons, sect. 7, 8. 1657. [Works, vol. ii. p. xxiv.]

Arminians, but seldom meddle with the Socinians, scarce ever name the Turks? I have been told often of their declamations against the observing of Christmas, that great superstitious thing; but I remember not to have heard of much spoken against perjury and sacrilege, and some other sins wherewith our times abound. Nay, did not their zeal even against popery itself seem to abate, when they had got most of the pulpits into their possession; at leastwise in comparison of the zeal they showed against episcopacy, the liturgy, festivals, and ceremonies in use amongst us? These they cried down with all the noise they could, and with all the strength they had: but why, I beseech you, so zealous against them, which were (at the worst they could fancy them) but lesser sins and errors in comparison with those greater which now were little talked of? I doubt not but they had some reasons wherewith to satisfy themselves for their so doing; and be they what they will, if they will serve to excuse them, they will serve as well to justify our men, should they do as they are charged. The best thing, I think, that can be alleged by a rational man for such a proceeding is this; that where people are more in danger to be seduced by a less error or sin (as it is conceived) than a greater, there more pains and zeal may be bestowed to keep them from that than from the other, that is in itself more dangerous. Thus our Saviour reproved the Scribes and Pharisees more frequently and with greater sharpness than he did the Sadducees, though in themselves, and in respect of their matter, the errors of the Sadducees were worse than those of the other; because the Pharisees by reason of their outside holiness were grown into better esteem with the people than the Sadducees were, and the generality of the Jews were better principled against the gross errors of the Sadducees, than the ensnaring doctrines of the hypocritical Pharisees."

All this is very good, and is the very plea which those may justly put in for themselves, who express more and greater zeal against the presbyterians than against the regicides; and arraign the Covenant more frequently than the Engagement: there is more and greater need of it; the people being in more danger to be misled by the one than by the other; and having a greater abhorrence of those crimes which are black and ugly, than of those which are gilded over with specious pretences.

XI. But this is not all the Hectorism he is guilty of; he makes a large boast of their great indulgence and charity towards episcopal men when they had power, p. 23, and desires me to catechise myself why I "charged them with rigour and severity, without remembering their kindness to the archbishop of Armagh, and many others," p. 151. I have obeyed him; and for this once shall tell him what my answer is (being ready if he long for it to tell him my mind in all the rest of those questions.) If I had named their particular kindnesses to the episcopal party, I must have remembered how that great person, as Dr. Bernard tells us[c], was forced to fly from London to Oxford; what roughness he met withal from the army then in the field against the king, to the loss of some of his books, and principal manuscripts never recovered; how that maintenance was taken from him which had been settled on him by the king when he had lost all in Ireland; and that at length being necessitated to return to London, he was silenced a long time from preaching, unless in a private house; and when with much ado he was permitted to preach at Lincoln's Inn, it was that honourable society which gave him a competent maintenance. "Well, but the English bishops," saith the apologist, "had two hundred pound per annum allowed them by an ordinance." Allowed? Voted, he should have said, and that is true; by the same token that they could never get it. Hear bishop Hall, who had a larger portion than that voted him, but, as he himself complains[d], was never the better for it. Nay, the committee for sequestrations at London, saith he, sent to the committee in the country an express inhibition to pay any such allowance; telling them that neither they nor any other committee had power to allow him any thing at all. Nor could he get the fifth part which they said should be allowed his wife. And, which is worse, they were not ashamed after they had sequestered the profits of his bishopric, sold all his goods, and personal estate (not leaving so much as his children's pictures out of their curious inventory[e],) to come to him for assessments and monthly payments for that estate which

[c] Clavi Trabales, p. 50.

[d] Specialties of his Life writ by himself. ["Hard Measure," &c. Works, vol. i. p. liv.]

[e] As he tells us there, p. 57. [Ibid. p. lv.]

they had taken away; and took distress from him upon his most just denial. Nay, they vehemently required him to find the wonted arms of his predecessors, when they had left him nothing, and a little before came and disarmed him. All this was over and above the many insolent affronts put upon him all this while, which you may read there if you please, p. 62, which made that meek man conclude in these pathetical words; "This hath been my measure; wherefore I know not: Lord, thou knowest, who only canst remedy and end, and forgive or avenge this horrible oppression[f]."

O, but bishop Morton, adds the apologist, did get a thousand pound right[g]; but when did he get it, and by what means? This gentleman might seasonably ask himself a cross question, why he is pleased to remember this kindness, and not withal the rigour that preceded it. It would not have cost him or his printer much pains to tell us his barbarous usage in the tumults at Westminster, when some cried, "Pull him out of his coach;" others, "Nay, he is a good man;" others again, "But for all that he is a bishop." Which made him often say that he believed he should not have escaped alive, if a leading man among the rabble had not cried out, "Let him go and hang himself[h]." Wonderful civility to such a reverend person! which was attended with ringing of bells and making bonfires upon their imprisonment, and with scattering abroad (as bishop Hall tells us, p. 50,) scurrilous pamphlets throughout the kingdom, and in foreign parts, which blazoned their infamy, and exaggerated their treasonable practices. He might have remembered also, that after this first imprisonment, (which, I gather from bishop Hall, was from New-year's eve till Whitsuntide,) bishop Morton was committed prisoner again for six months more to their serjeant. And what do you think it was

[f] May 29, 1647. [Ibid. p. lvi.]

[g] ["I find in the life of bishop Morton, that he had an order to have one thousand pound out of the treasury at Goldsmith's hall, with which he paid his debts, and purchased to himself an annuity of two hundred pound *per annum* during his life."—p. 23.]

[h] Doctor Barwick in his Life, p. 103. [Appended to his funeral sermon upon bishop Morton, preached at Easton-Mauduit on Michaelmas day, 1659, bearing the title 'Ιερονίκης· or "the fight, victory, and triumph of S. Paul, accommodated to the right reverend father in God, Thomas, late bishop of Duresme."—4to, Lond. 1660.]

for? Only for baptizing the child of a noble person, according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer[i]. From whence this gentleman may learn that which it seems he never knew before, (as you find p. 24,) one that suffered for the use of the Liturgy. By these and such like means the good bishop was reduced to great straits, and thereupon sued for some maintenance, and by the importunity of his friends (which, I must tell you, and nothing else, brought the primate into Lincoln's Inn) got the thousand pound this apologist speaks of; not out of the revenues of his bishopric, but out of the treasury of Goldsmiths' hall, after all his lands and revenues were sold[k]. Before this he had no allowance, and could not live upon a vote for an annual maintenance, which making no mention by whom nor whence it should be paid[l], was as good as no vote at all. All which considered, and many other things of like nature, Dr. Sanderson did not stick to write, (and I hope he was no slanderer,) that in those days they "exercised an arbitrary sovereignty without either justice or mercy[m]."

But was there not a "fifth part," as the apologist goes on, allowed for the maintenance of the wife and children of those ministers that were ejected? No truly; it was only voted, but seldom allowed. Bishop Hall's wife, as you heard, could not obtain it; and others also not only went without that allowance, but had better been without the vote too: which cost them dear, and proved the greatest cruelty. For they spent what they had left for a feeble support, in suing for that which they could never get; and sometimes that which was lent by their friends was thrown away by this means, after that which was taken from them. Hear the history of the English and Scotch presbytery, chap. 25[n]. "There is indeed," saith he, "an ordinance of parliament, that the wives and children of ejected ministers should have the fifth part of the revenues of their benefices; but it is very ill observed, for the new incumbents refuse to obey the ordinance, constraining them to plead before

[i] Ib. p. 107. [The daughter of the earl and countess of Rutland.]

[k] [The annuity was secured to him by lady Savile, and confirmed by her son George when he came of age.]

[l] Ib. p. 124.

[m] Episcopacy not prejudicial, &c. p. 51. [Sect. iii. § 3. p. 164.]

[n] Written in French by a Divine of the Reformed Church, translated 1659. [Quoted above, p. 302.]

judges their adversaries; who, instead of speedy relieving them, delay them with length of time, and make them continue in suits that which they borrowed to plead their cause. By this expense and delays these poor desolate persons are constrained to desist their prosecution; and many being ejected out of small benefices, dare not present their petitions for the fifths, because the expenses will amount higher than the principal. You may read the rest there if you please, or if you suspect this author of partiality, you may look into that historian which this apologist sometimes cites, Mr. Fuller I mean, who was none of the rigid sons of the church, I dare say, in his opinion: and he will inform you more distinctly[o], that though the parliament ordered in the year 1644[p] that their commissioners in the country should appoint means (not exceeding a fifth part) to the wives and children of sequestered persons, yet clergymen not being expressed by name, they that enjoyed the sequestrations refused to contribute to them. The complaints of this begat a new order of the house of commons, die Jovis, November 11, 1647, that the wives and children of clergymen should be comprehended within the ordinance that allowed the fifth part for wives and children[q], &c. But covetousness, as he observes, found many little holes to wriggle out at. For if a minister had a wife without children, or children without a wife, or but one child, they denied them payment. Six other

[o] Book xi. [vol. vi. p. 330.]

[p] [On March 31, or April 1, 1643, an ordinance was passed for the sequestration of the estates, real and personal, of all persons ecclesiastical or temporal who upheld the royal cause (Scobell, p. 37, Rushworth, v. 309.); which was further explained by an ordinance of August 19 in the same year, a clause being added empowering the commissioners for sequestration to allow to the wives and children of all such delinquents, including all clergymen ejected from their livings, for their maintenance, any portion of their goods, not exceeding one fifth part. (Scobell, p. 49. Walker, i. 98, 99.)]

[q] ["The house upon Thursday, November 11, took into debate who should have the benefit of the ordinance of sequestrations for their fifth parts, and declared hereupon, that the wives and children of all such delinquents as are sequestred, without exception, shall have the fifth part of the said estates sequestred; and the committee of Lords and Commons for sequestrations, the committee of sequestrations, the committee of plundered ministers, and all other committees in the several counties of the kingdom, are to take a strict course that all such may have their fifth parts allowed them when desired,"—Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 870.]

evasions besides these he here relates, to which I refer the reader, by which the intention of the parliament was deluded, and most of the poor souls who were in want received no benefit of that ordinance: but rather, as I said, a great deal of mischief; while they were shuffled off with litigious and crafty tricks, and oppressed with charges, when they came to demand that small alms which was granted them out of their husbands' estates. What shall I say more? Mr. Bridges himself confesses their rigour to the poor episcopal clergy; for when the converted gentleman complains that many learned, religious, and orthodox divines were plundered, &c., while their wives and children begging their bread are left to the mercy of those merciless times; he denies not a word of it, but answers roundly thus, *There shall be judgment merciless to him that shows no mercy*[r]; and a little after he repeats it again: "Believe it, sir, you have been bloodily merciless, and the just God is now making inquisition[s]." Nay, it was not the kindness of the presbyterian ministers that the independent brethren were suffered, but they sadly complain of it; as you may read in the petition of the London ministers to the house of commons[t], grounded upon the first Remonstrance of the houses, wherein they declared "it was far from their purpose or desire to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of service they pleased," and upon the Covenant wherein they engaged themselves to be "not only for a full reformation, but an uniformity in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government." This was received with great acceptation, and the next year[u] the same ministers agreed upon a letter to the Assembly against toleration, in the body of which they expressly call them, "Reasons against the toleration of inde-

[r] 2 James i. 3.

[s] Annotations on Loyal Convert, published by authority, 1644, p. 17. [Bridge's works, vol. v. p. 341. Compare part ii. of the Friendly Debate, vol. v. p. 474.]

[t] September 18, 1644. [Rushworth. vol. v. p. 726.]

[u] Decemb. 18, 1645. ["A Letter of the Ministers of the City of London, presented the first of Ian. 1645 to the reverend Assembly of divines sitting at Westminster by authority of Parliament, against Toleration;" —dated 'from Sion Coll. London, Decemb. 18. 1645,' and reprinted 'with some animadversions thereon' in 1668. It has been more than once cited in the present work: see p. 130 above, and vol. v. p. 325.]

pendency in this church." The Common Prayer then, you may be sure, could not be tolerated by their good will, whatever this man says; nor were Dr. Gunning and the rest suffered at London and Oxford, till their power was out of doors. Whilst the covenant was in credit, it was severely forbid, and the king himself, had it been in their power, should not have had the privilege to use it. This covenant also, though he would have us believe the contrary, was pressed with great rigour. "Look into our church," saith bishop Bramhall[u], "and see how many of our principal divines have lost their dignities and benefices, only because they would not take a schismatical covenant, without any other relation to the wars. I have read of a thousand imprisoned and sequestered upon this score, and near an hundred fellows of colleges in one week banished Cambridge for refusing it." Nay, the houses were so impartial (they are the express words of Mr. Pryn[x]) in the prescription of it, that such members of the Lords or Commons that did but scruple the taking of it were "suspended the houses till they did conform." Upon which ground he shows how unequal it was that any man should be privileged and exempted from it. And therefore I do not believe, "that many of the episcopal persuasion were suffered to enjoy places in the churches, colleges, and schools, without ever taking the covenant," (as this apologist affirms, p. 23); unless he means, after it was laid aside, and the sectaries (as they then spoke) not only obstinately refused it, but openly oppugned and derided it, nay, framed an anti-covenant against it in their private congregations[y]. But it is no wonder he should write thus confidently, when Mr. R. Baily had the face to write, notwithstanding all this, that the Covenant was so far from being urged by fear of unjust suffering, that to this day it could never be obtained from the parliament of England to enjoin that Covenant upon any by the penalty of a twopence[z]. No indeed, what need that? when the terms were, "Take it, or lose your benefice." Just such another vapour he made (for these men are much given to it) in another place, affirming in a sermon at the Hague, "that

[u] Replication to Bishop of Chalcedon, p. 40. [Works, vol. ii. p. 49.]

[x] Fresh Discovery, &c. 1646. sect. 3. [Quoted above, p. 191.]

[y] Mr. Pryn, ib.

[z] Review of the Fair Warning, p. 80. [Three Treatises, &c.—4to, 1661.]

not any thing had hitherto been objected against the covenant." What could be more impudently spoken, when the reasons of the university of Oxford had been published against it several years before, and testified the bold falsehood of what he saith also in his epistle before the review[a], (where he would qualify the business a little,) that "to this day no man has showed any error in the matter of that covenant?" And indeed show what we will, it is all one, they will not regard it. They still retain, I see by this man, a wonderful affection for the covenant, and cannot endure it should bear any blame. "It was not," saith he, "the cause of the war." Why so? "the battle at Edgehill being fought before the covenant came into England," p. 22. What of all that? the covenant might notwithstanding be a great cause of the war, and I will prove it had a great hand in it. All the stirs in Scotland were by the means of it; they entering into it without the king's consent, obtruding it with threatening, beating, tearing of clothes[b]; turning men out of their livings, excommunicating, processing those that would not subscribe it; and binding themselves to a mutual assistance against all persons whatsoever. Upon which the king's commissioner desired that they would add "except the king and his successors;" but they refused it, and in their explication of the covenant, which came out afterward, would add no such thing, but only that "they would defend his person and authority in the preservation and defence of true religion[c]. In that form it marched into England[d], whither the spirit of it was come

[a] [Dated from the Hague, 'this 28 May, 7 Junie,' 1649.]

[b] Large Declaration, p. 75, 199. [See p. 298, above.]

[c] Ib. p. 108, 109.

[d] What use the army made of the clause, the Remonstrance about the Treaty at the Isle of Wight will tell you. [See pp. 52–60 of "A Remonstrance of his excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax, lord Generall of the Parliament's forces, and of the generall councell of officers held at St. Alban's the 16th of November, 1648, presented to the Commons assembled in Parliament the 20 instant, and tendred to the consideration of the whole kingdome."—4to, Lond. 1648. After combating, among other objections, that arising from the clause in the Covenant here instanced, the Remonstrance advances as the first of the requirements of the army, "That that capital and grand author of our troubles, the person of the King, by whose commissions, commands, or procurement, and in whose behalfe, and for whose interest only (of will and power) all our warres and troubles have been, (with all the miseries attending them,) may be speedily

before, and had raised those arms which might have been soon laid aside again, had it not been for the covenant. For without the assistance of the Scots, the parliament of England knew not how to carry on the war; and without the covenant came along with them, or marched before them, they would not jog or stir a foot; as appears by this relation, which I find in the Second Fair Warning[e], sent from one well acquainted with the affairs of his own country. When the commissioners, saith he, came down into Scotland from the parliament of England, and a letter they brought was read in the Assembly there, they received no other answer but this: "Gentlemen, we are sorry for your case; but whereas your letter saith you fight for defence of the reformed religion, you must not think us blind, that we see not your fighting to be for civil disputes of the law, which we are not acquainted withal. Go home, and reconcile with the king: he is a gracious prince, and will receive you to his favour. You cannot say it is for the reformed religion, since you have not begun to reform your church. You had thriven better if you had done as we did, begun at the church." A few days after this, new addresses being made, their friends in the assembly made this proposition, "Will you join in covenant with us to reform doctrine and discipline conform to this of Scotland? and ye shall have a better answer." The reply was, "thanks, and that they would represent their desires to the parliament, from whom they had no instructions for such an agreement." Nay, said the assembly again, "this will be loss of time, and the danger is great, the parliament not being able with all their forces to stand two months before the king; we will rather therefore draw up the solemn league and covenant here, and send up with you some noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers that shall see it subscribed:" which was accordingly done. The covenant was cried up, the Scots came into England; and what did they come for? It was, saith the preface to Mr. Knox's History, "to fight the battles of the Lord," i. e. to pull down episcopacy, and to set up presbytery in its room, according to the covenant; which league and

brought to justice, for the treason, blood, and mischiefe, he is therein guilty of."—p. 62.]

[e] By Rich. Watson, 1651. p. 178, 179.

covenant, saith Mr. Rutherford, "was the first foundation of the ruin of the malignant party in England[f]:" but not of episcopacy, this gentleman would have you believe; for "it was declared in the assembly that the covenant did not bind against a primitive episcopacy," p. 31. What they mean by a primitive episcopacy I will not stand to inquire; but this is well known, that the three ministers in their first answer to the divines of Aberdeen positively affirmed, "that episcopacy was not abjured by their confession nor their covenant[g];" which was averred by many other covenanters to those who otherways scrupled to enter into their covenant. And I know that some declared the same in England; and yet, notwithstanding, nothing would satisfy but the extirpation of episcopal power, and they laboured tooth and nail to settle the government by presbyters alone. This the people thought was the great end of the covenant, and there is no doubt but the scope of the first contrivers of it was to destroy episcopacy root and branch. This was their first work after the war was begun, to send a commissioner to the English parliament, 1642, "to move them to cast out bishops," (not a word of limiting them), and others to the king at Oxford, to sign all propositions; "which because he would not do, they resolve to assist their brethren against him under the name of the common enemy[h]." But before they came, they told the commissioners of parliament, as I showed you, they must covenant to reform doctrine and discipline conform to Scotland. And accordingly, the same author informs

[f] See Toleration Discussed, p. 117. ["Toleration discuss'd, in two Dialogues: I. Betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist; laying open the impiety and danger of a general Liberty. II. Betwixt a Presbyterian and an Independent; concluding upon an impartial examination of their respective practices and opinions, in favour of the Independent. *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ.*" Written by Sir Roger L'Estrange, but published anonymously, 8vo, Lond. 1670. The passage cited (sect. 14. p. 117.) is taken from "The Kirk's Testimony against Toleration," p. 10: a pamphlet published in 1649, the full title of which is, "A Necessary and Seasonable Testimony against Toleration, and the present proceedings of Sectaries and their abettors in England, in reference to religion and government, with an admonition and exhortation unto their brethren there, from the commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland." By L'Estrange it is attributed in error to Rutherford: being in fact an official communication from the Scottish commissioners to parliament, and signed 'A Ker.']

[g] See Large Declaration, p. 117.

[h] Second Fair Warning, p. 185.

me, that their covenant came into England with such a clause as this, "We shall reform our church in doctrine and discipline conform to the church of Scotland[i]:" of which the independent brethren cheated them, making that be razed out, and those words inserted which we now read in it. However, the abolition of the office of bishops was their great demand of the king, as Mr. R. Baily expressly affirms: adding that the "unhappy prelates had found it to be their great demand from the beginning of our troubles unto this day[k]." And he plainly affirms, that to deny them this satisfaction, was "to conclude that the king himself, and all his family, and three kingdoms should perish." Why so, I beseech you? It could not be otherwise, notwithstanding all their fine words in the beginning; for they had sworn to root them out, and could not break their covenant to save three kingdoms. And therefore at last Mr. Baily persuades himself the king did consent to "abolish name and thing not only for three years, but for ever[l]." Strange! when his majesty had so often clearly protested that he could not with a good conscience consent to it. Did they force him at last to do it against his conscience, or did they give him such satisfaction that he saw at last he might safely do it? Alas! we dull souls do not understand the mysteries which they can find in words. His majesty consented to lay aside bishops for three years, "till he and his parliament should agree upon some settled order for the church." Now this, saith he, was tantamount to for ever: it being supposed (mark the juggling) that they can never agree to admit episcopacy again. Why so? "For all and every one," saith he[m], "in both houses having abjured episcopacy by solemn oath and covenant (observe that), the parliament could not agree with the king to erect the fallen chairs of the bishops; so there remained no other, but that either his majesty should come over to their judgment, or by his not agreeing with them, yet really to agree in the perpetual abolition of episcopacy, since he had granted to lay aside bishops till he and his houses had agreed upon a settled order in the church." This was an admirable contrivance,

[i] Ibid. p. 183.

[k] Review of Fair Warning, 1649. chap. xii. p. 76. [pp. 75, 76.]

[l] [P. 84.]

[m] Ibid. chap. last, p. 85.

especially if you call to mind, as the answer tells him, how there was something else agreed, viz. that twenty divines of his majesty's nomination being added to the Assembly, should have a free consultation and debate about the settlement of church-government after those three years, or sooner, if differences could be composed. A very free debate this was like to be, in which all reasons that could be given for episcopacy were shut out of doors, and concluded by an oath to be put to silence. But why should I trouble myself any further? The wider indeed the hole grows in the millstone, the clearer a man may see through it; but this man's sophistry is visible enough already: nor needs there more words to show that this modest braggadocio vaunts himself ridiculously in the merits of his party, and that Mr. Vicars and such like were not the only men that reviled and calumniated. They that pretend to humility, modesty, and seriousness cannot forbear it.

XII. But if you desire a further taste of his spirit, I pray have so much patience as to hear how he uses me. In the Preface he accuses me of railing, and in his book (p. 2) of reviling, without taking notice of one word that I have said in answer to these calumnies. They are resolved, I see, to be confident, and to have their saying, do or say we what we can. For he tells you also of my "jeering, scoffing, false accusation, and mocking, lightness and drollery[m];" but not a syllable to make good the charge. No, that was a hard thing; but very easy to say that I write sometime "what might better become some ecclesiastical Hudibras or doctor of the stage, than[n]" &c. Just thus Mr. R. Baily was pleased to answer that excellent bishop which this man commends, Dr. Bramhall; concerning the 8th chapter of whose Fair Warning[o] he saith, it "much better beseemed a Mercurius Aulicus, than either a warner or a prelate[p]." He charges him also with gathering together a heap of calumnies, &c., though, as the Reply tells him, that heap was nothing else but a faithful collection of historical narrations, which require not the credulity of the simple, but the search of diligent people, if they distrust them. The same I say for myself; they must be beholden to a new light which nobody can see but them-

[m] Page 90, 92, 137.
[n] Page 35.
[o] [Bramhall's Works, vol. iii. p. 269.]
[p] Review, p. 48, [chap. 8.]

selves, to make historical truth to be a slander. They are fain to call it so because they cannot tell how to answer it otherways, and they will not lay their hands on their mouths. If better were within, better would come out; they are fain to throw out such words, because they want a substantial apology. The same Mr. Baily, I remember, charges the strength of one of the bishop's reasons to be black atheism, and much worse than pagan scepticism[q]. "By which you may see it is their manner to censure boldly, and tumble out frightful words, without regard to truth. For if you would know what doctrine it is" which he calls by the name of "brutish and atheistical maxims," (that is another of his civil words, p. 90,) it is this: that it is not lawful for subjects to plant that which they apprehend to be true religion by force of arms, nor to take up arms against their prince merely for religion. This was all the bishop had said, and not without great reason. But they are brutes or atheists, divested of all reason or religion, who prefer not their enthusiastical heats before the most sober and wise resolutions. They, as the bishop speaks in the end of that treatise, are more ridiculously partial than the men of China; for they talk as if they only had two eyes, and all the rest of the world were stark blind.

XIII. So one would think this apologist supposed, when he thought to put us off with such a wretched reply to what was objected from the practices of the old Non-conformists; who being silenced, forbore to preach, and justified their silence against the Brownists, who accused them for their submission to the ecclesiastical censures. His answer is, that the number of the ejected ministers then was not comparable to what it is now, p. 6; which is just like the exposition which they sometime gave of that Scripture, Rom. xiii. 1. "I conceive," saith one[r], that those Christians who lived under the heathenish emperors, but wanted strength to defend themselves, were by that precept, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,* obliged to sit still, and to endeavour nothing against those that had the sword in their hands. For it would have discovered them to be of unruly spirits, in that they proceeded wholly according to

[q] Ib. 89, [chap. ult.]

[r] Nature's Dowry, 1652, p. 31. [Quoted above, p. 300.]

passion, and not according to sober judgment." So that there was nothing of Christian virtue in their subjection, but only of human prudence; and no great store of that was necessary, for they had been arrant fools if they had made a stir when they knew they could do nothing. It is not want of will, it seems, but want of strength that keeps these men from breaking those laws that restrain them. The old Non-conformists, he would have you think, would have done as they do now, had they been as numerous; then they would have entered into strong combinations, and slighted that authority to which they submitted. But weigh their reasons which I alleged[s], and shall not now repeat, and you will see he casts a blot on them as well as us, for they are such as will shut up the mouths of a great many as well as a few. But how few were they in those days, do you think, that were ejected? He tells you usually "not one to one hundred, to what it is in our days," ib. It is notably guessed by instinct; for, I dare say, he hath no author to warrant his assertion, and for once (as the forenamed bishop speaks in another case) his instinct hath deceived him. According to the computation of Philagathus, there should not at this rate be five and twenty in all the kingdom; whereas the Humble Supplication in king James's time[t] talks of "sharpness and rigour for the silencing and removing of no mean number of the worthiest pastors in the land, insomuch that the ordinary means of conversion from blindness and infidelity was interrupted and crossed, in that so many worthy lights had been by the prelates removed from shining in the church." Nay, one would think by their words, that all who were good for any thing were silenced; for they say, p. 25, in an indefinite manner, "The faithful ministers of the gospel are in all disgracive and unworthy sort discarded, and removed from being any longer the Lord's sentinels and watchmen;" which they repeat again,

[s] In the Continuation, edit. 1. 345. [Vol. v. p. 537.]

[t] An. 1609, p. 26, 31. ["To the right High and mightie Prince, Iames by the grace of God King of great Britannie, France, and Irelande, Defender of the faith, &c. An humble supplication for toleration and libertie to enjoy and observe the ordinances of Christ Iesus in th' administration of his Churches in lieu of humane considerations,"—4to, 1609. The Petition is subscribed "Your Ma. most loyall, faithfull and obedient subjects, some of the late silenced and deprived Ministers and people consenting in judgement with them."]

p. 28. And the Defence of the ministers' reasons for refusal of subscription[u] tells you of "so many turned out from that high and heavenly calling, that for any means of maintenance left to many of them, they may seek their bread." Here is such a many, that being divided into two parts, rich and poor, one of them makes a many; and therefore the whole was a great many, not a few, as this man affirms. Nay, by that time the war was begun there was none of the best sort of ministers left, if we will believe the dialogue I mentioned[x], which saith, the bishops had stripped all the assemblies of their faithfullest preachers. In this stile they were wont to speak then, as they do now, though I have reason to think that some of these faithfullest preachers and watchmen stood more upon their credit than any thing else, when they refused subscription. For I find it recorded above sixty years ago by Mr. Tho. Belly, that he discoursing with a preacher about the canons just then made, 1604, (against which he could allege nothing of moment,) was told by him that he would neither lose his living nor yet conform to those orders. And when he demanded how that could be, was answered, that he would have one to do it, but not do it himself. And again, being told he might as lawfully do it himself as procure another to do it, uttered these words, "How can I do that against which I have so often preached?" which, saith Mr. Bell, I told him savoured of the spirit of the proud Pharisee, not of the humble publican. I thought indeed before that all their proceedings had been out of mere conscience, which now I perceive to be of pride in a great many of them; through which manner of dealing the simpler sort become disobedient, and are deeply drowned in error, and our church pitifully turmoiled with schisms and dissension. Honest Bernard Gilpin[z] was of another mind; who being called to subscription in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, though dissatisfied in two

[u] Preface, 1607. ["A Defence of the Ministers reasons for refusal of subscription to the booke of Common-prayer and of conformitie, against the severall answers of T. Hutton, B. D. in his two bookes against the minist. of Dev. and Cornwell, William Covel D. D. in his booke against M. T. Burges, Tho. Spark D. D. in his brotherly perswasion to unitie and uniformitie: imprinted 1607."]

[x] Between a Netherlander and Englishman. [See p. 313, above.]

[y] Regiment of the church, chap. v. [p. 27. 4to, Lond. 1606.]

[z] See his Life, p. 132, 133.

points of the articles of smaller consequence, yet subscribed to them, lest, thought he with himself, if I shall refuse, I shall be a means to make many others to refuse, and so consequently hinder the course of the word of God.

But perhaps you desire to know the precise number which were then ejected; and if you give credit to one of your own authors, this man is much out of the way, for the Altar of Damascus affirms, that there were either silenced or deprived upon the account of not conforming three hundred preaching ministers. Dr. Heylin indeed informs me, that it doth not appear upon the rolls that there were above nine and forty deprived upon all occasions, till the death of archbishop Bancroft, and so the whole number of the silenced and deprived might not be so great as they pretended[a]. You must conclude one of these two things; either that they loved then when occasion served to make a mountain of a molehill; or now they are desirous to do the just contrary, and depress their number to little or nothing. And in like manner now he tells us, the people dissatisfied with the Liturgy or ceremonies are ten if not an hundred to one to what they were formerly; and yet then they talked of many thousands of the most loyal and best affected subjects that joined with them in their affection to the desired reformation[b]. That is, they talked boldly and at random out of their own imaginations, as if they wrote to simple idiots that believe every word without chewing. Otherwise this apologist would not have told us that Mr. Hildersham was silenced but in some dioceses, &c. p. 7, whereas Mr. Clark[c]

[a] ["The Altar of Damascus," says Heylin, speaking of the enforcement of the canons of 1604, "tells us, if we may believe him, that no fewer than three hundred preaching ministers were either silenced, or deprived upon that account. But the authors of that book, whosoever they were, who use sometimes to strain at gnats and swallow a camel, at other times can make a mountain of a molehill, if it stand in their way. For it appears upon the rolls brought in by bishop Bancroft before his death, that there had been but forty-nine deprived upon all occasions, which in a realm containing nine thousand parishes, could be no great matter. But so it was, that by the punishment of some few of the principals, he struck such a general terror into all the rest, that inconformity grew out of fashion in a less time than could be easily imagined."—History of the Presbyterians, p. 372.]

[b] Humble Supplication, p. 36. [See p. 335, above.]

[c] [Clarke's Life of Hildersham, appended to his Martyrology, p. 117.]

tells us expressly that he was not only silenced, but deprived for refusing of subscription, 1605, and was not allowed to preach till 1608; and within less than a year silenced again, and continued so a long time. Nay, was judicially admonished in the high commission, (April 22, 1613,) and enjoined that, "saving the catechising of his own family, he should not at any time hereafter preach, catechise, or use any part of the office or function of a minister either privately or publicly, until he was restored," &c. And that it was not till 1625 that he was licensed to preach in some dioceses[d]. How it was with others I

[d] [Arthur Hildersham was a puritan divine who could boast of royal lineage. His father, Thomas Hildersham, was a gentleman of good family, who had for his second wife Ann daughter to Sir Jeffery Poole, the fourth son of Sir Richard Poole, cousin german to king Henry VII. Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the wife of Sir Richard Poole, and grandmother to Mrs. Hildersham, was the daughter of George, duke of Clarence, (second brother to king Edward IV,) and Isabella, elder daughter and coheiress of Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury. Arthur Hildersham was born at Stechworth in Cambridgeshire, Oct. 6, 1563, and educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. There he took the step of forsaking the Romish communion in which he had been brought up, and was disinherited by his father, a zealous professor of those opinions. Through the support of his cousin Henry earl of Huntingdon, lord president of the northern counties, he was enabled still to prosecute his studies at the university, and in the year 1586 was elected fellow of his college by a majority of voices. This election being set aside by the master Dr. Barwell, in favour of Willet, (afterwards the author of the Synopsis Papismi,) Hildersham addressed an appeal to Burleigh the chancellor of the university; but meeting with no redress accepted shortly after a fellowship at Trinity hall, which was supposed to have been offered him in lieu at the suggestion of Burleigh. Within two years, having in the meantime entered the ministry, he was convened before the high commission court for non-conformity, and deprived of his fellowship. A form of recantation was presented to him by archbishop Whitgift, dated Jan. 10, 1588; which he seems not to have accepted: having been summoned previously to that date to preach at Ashby de la Zouch, by the earl of Huntingdon, by whom he was presented to the benefice of Ashby, July 5, 1593. Of that living he was never formally deprived to the end of his life, though exposed to frequent molestations and prosecutions. Although he was so strictly opposed to separation from the church, as to be called 'the hammer of schismatics,' he was yet from the first a firm and conscientious Non-conformist, or rather advocate for reform. In the year 1591 he had been suspended on that account, and after the lapse of a year only partially restored, being forbidden to preach at any place south of the Trent, thus being excluded from his own flock at Ashby; but this exemption seems to have been remitted through the influence of the earl. He became about that time well

have not had occasion to observe, and now have not leisure to examine; but have cause from this to suspect that he doth not report these matters clearly and with sincerity.

XIV. And indeed, overweening of men's selves is apt to blind them, and make them imagine any thing will pass for truth and for sound reason which comes out of their mouths. One would wonder what he thinks our brains are made of, who puts us off with such slender stuff as this, for an excuse of their holding meetings separate from us. "It is no schism, nor a breach of the unity of the church, because they take occasion to meet for a time only, till a door be opened for them in the church, by the removal of some supposed or real corruption in the public worship[e]." As if there were no breach in a garment when it is rent, because it may be sewed together again. But yet this the apologist thinks makes the separation of the Non-

known at court, and was familiarly spoken of by queen Elizabeth as 'cousin Hildersham.' In 1596, preaching the assize sermon at Leeds, his teaching so offended the presiding judge Anderson, that he moved the jury to prefer an indictment against him, which the popularity of the preacher prompted them to refuse. He was one of the ministers who signed the millenary petition to king James in 1603, and took part in the conference at Hampton Court. In 1605 he was silenced by Chaderton, bishop of Lincoln, but released on the accession of Barlow to that see in 1608. During the interval he was permitted by Overton, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to preach occasionally in his diocese, particularly at the two associations of puritan ministers at Repton in Dorsetshire, and Burton upon Trent. In November 1611 he was again suspended by Neile, who had succeeded to the last named diocese, for his supposed connection with Edward Whiteman, (afterwards burnt for heresy at Lichfield:) and December 8, 1612, convened before the high commission court, and April 22, 1613, prohibited from every ministerial function. It seems uncertain how long he remained under this censure, but in 1615 he was again prosecuted in that court, and committed first to the Fleet, and then to the Queen's Bench prison, released for a time on bail, and at length sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand pounds and costs, to be excommunicated, degraded from the ministry, and imprisoned till he should publicly recant. This severe penalty he was shortly permitted to compound by payment of a heavy sum of money. By license of archbishop Abbot, June 20, 1625, he obtained liberty to preach within the dioceses of London, Lincoln, and Lichfield and Coventry, and resumed charge of his living of Ashby. Once more refusing to use the surplice, he was put to silence, March 25, 1630. He was finally reinstated in his ministry August 2, 1631, and continued undisturbed till his death, the fourth of March in the following year.—Life by Samuel Clarke; Brook's Puritans, ii. 376—388.]

[e] [P. 11.]

conformists from the church of England not total and perpetual, p. 11; which he repeats again, p. 128, and calls it a temporary and partial withdrawing. A very sorry employment this is, for a divine (as I take him to be) to spend his time in, sewing a few fig-leaves together to cover the shame of a sinful disobedience to their governors, and the great breach they have made in the unity of the church. For it may be demonstrated from his own words that this is a mere shift and frivolous excuse. He confesses a separation, only he adds that it is but temporary. The cause of this "temporary separation" is a "supposed or real corruption in the public worship." I ask now, is this corruption such (whether real or supposed) that it is a just cause for a separation? If it be not, they ought not to withdraw themselves for a time. If it be, they may withdraw themselves from us alway. And so they will according to these principles: for if this corruption be not removed, they must alway continue separated, or else it is no sufficient reason for separating now. Do what they can, they are not like the old Non-conformists; for they did not withdraw themselves into separate bodies, no, not for a time. If they had, upon his principles, they must have died separatists, (there being no removal of what they wished taken out of the way,) as these men are like to do, unless they repent and alter their practices, instead of desiring an alteration in the public worship. Besides, he is very ignorant of the state of our affairs, who doth not know it hath been the manner of this sect to proceed from evil to worse since the very beginning of it: which makes me think it past doubt that they will settle in a downright separation. At the first they only disliked some ceremonies, and could pretty well digest conformity in the rest[f]. In a little time they manifested a dislike of episcopal government, being better affected to the device of Mr. Calvin: and together with that, they distasted also our Common Prayer. From a dislike, some proceeded to think them unlawful, and then fell into a contempt of bishops and the prayers, bitterly railing against them. From hence they advanced to open disobedience to all the orders of the church, and at last re-

[f] See the Visitation speech at Lisnegarvy, p. 5. [By Henry Leslie, bishop of Down and Connor. Compare vol. v. p. 465.]

nounced it, and rent themselves from it, esteeming themselves the only brethren and congregation of the faithful. Some there were indeed that did not go thus far; and being silenced or deprived for not conforming to the ceremonies, would not separate from the church, nor refused to join with our assemblies. This apologist would have us think that he and his brethren are the followers of those; and yet confesses they are gone a large step beyond them, having separated for a time. And the same reason which hath carried them thus far will advance them further, and make that time so long that it will prove alway. They will teach next that God's people must be separatists[g]: in order to which we must be that part of the kingdom which is the world, and not the church of Christ[h]. And still they will have a further journey to go, and never rest till they be uppermost, and have set Jesus Christ, that is themselves, upon his throne. What ground any man can have to hope any better, I cannot imagine: they being so bent to defend their present unwarrantable practices, that they will fly to any refuge, though never so dangerous; nay, take sanctuary in shadows, and think they are safe, rather than yield the cause. An instance of which you have in this writer, who, immediately after that which was now noted, alleges the words of a Romish doctor mentioned by bishop Bramhall, to excuse them from schism, p. 12. But let any man consult the place, and he will find presently they are nothing to the business. For the bishop is there speaking[i] only concerning clashings between bishops and churches, long and resolutely maintained, which he shows may be so managed as not to be schism. But he expressly determines a little after, p. 23[k], that it is schism to separate from other Christians without sufficient ground in the participation of the same sacraments, or in the use of the same divine offices and liturgies of the church, and public worship and service of Almighty God, or of the same common rites and ceremonies, &c. The very same he declares elsewhere,

[g] Protestation protested, 1641. [P. 12. For an account of this pamphlet, the work of Henry Burton, and of the occasion which gave rise to it, see vol. v. pp. 452, 454.]

[h] Groans for Liberty, 1646. [By John Saltmarsh. See vol. v. pp. 546, 662.]

[i] Vindication of the Church of England, p. 7. [Works, vol. i. p. 99.]

[k] [P. 108.]

that they who break the unity of the church for difference in indifferent rites are guilty of schism[1], and that most of the schisms in the church of Christ have been about the canons of the church, and not the substantials of religion. Among other instances he mentions the schisms raised in our church about a surplice, sign of the cross, &c. If therefore this apologist would have done like a man, he should have shown that we obtrude sinful rites as a condition of communion with us, and so by this bishop's confession are guilty of making the schism ourselves. And he should, in order to this, have clearly answered all that hath been said in defence of our church; and especially the arguments of their forefathers the old Non-conformists, who proved against the Brownists that there was no such corruption in our church as was a sufficient ground of separation from it. Here was the very point, if he durst have touched it, or come near it. Which since he hath not done, but spent his time in impertinent things, I must leave him to the favourable censure of St. Austin, mentioned somewhere by the same bishop in another case: "They cannot do better in a bad cause; but who constrained them to have a bad cause?"

XV. This was it which made him turn his back so often upon the question; and to make a book which one cannot resemble more fitly than to a winter-torrent, which abounds with water when there is no need of it; but in summer, when it should be useful, it is dried up. (They are the words of the forementioned bishop, which I thought good to use, since he doth so, even when he doth not name him.) Such is this apology, full of proofs where there is no controversy between us; and where the water sticks indeed, he is as mute as a fish. There is no question, for instance, but we may use the words of Scripture by way of accommodation: nobody denies it, and that which he cites to this purpose out of one of our bishops, I observed long before he told me of it, (p. 54, 87.) But then we ought to say that we use them so; and not talk as if that were the genuine sense of the divine writ, never acquainting the people of any other. And you ought not to pretend to more than other men, who can do this as well as yourselves; unless you had the very same spirit and power which the apostles had.

[1] Replic. to bishop of Chalcedon, p. 79, 80. [Vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.]

Nor is it the question whether men's affections are raised with "novelty and variety[m]," (p. 59,) but whether those be the best affections which are raised by that means, or those which are raised by serious consideration and laying to heart of the same things in the same words. All that he alleges out of Mr. Hollingworth, p. 56, is to no purpose; for I have proved that the Non-conformists pretend to more: even the very same that Mr. Baily did in his answer[n] to bishop Bramhall's Fair Warning, who would have the people endeavour to attain a readiness to pray in their family from their own heart, in the words which God's Spirit dites to them. But, as that bishop said elsewhere, this man doth not seek the question in earnest, but as he who sought for the hare under the leads, because he must seek her as well where she was not as where she was. Else he would not have asked the question, whether Non-conformist ministers seek after visions and revelations, p. 68. That is not the point: but whether Mr. W. B. have not taught the people to do so. He might have added, if he had pleased, whether they have not pretended to them. And an history in one of our chronicles would have taught him to answer affirmatively. For there was a physician in Oxford, one Richard Haidock of New College, who pretended to preach in his sleep, in such sort, that though he was called upon aloud, or stirred, or pulled by hands or feet, he would make no show of hearing or feeling. His fame was spread abroad by the name of the sleeping preacher; so that he was brought to court, and one night his majesty being present to attend the event, the gentleman began to pray, and then took a text, made his division, applied it to his purpose, which was to inveigh against the pope, the cross in baptism, and the canons then newly made[o]. And yet all this was a mere cheat, as he confessed afterward to the king; who pardoned him on condition that he should

[m] ["As I heard the pious and learned Dr. Holdsworth, when he was vice-chancellor of (at the commencement) Cambridge, determine the matter, though he concluded for the lawfulness and expediency of a liturgy for public worship. Such is the nature of man, that he is ordinarily most excited in his affections, and his attention soonest engaged and raised by novelty or variety."—p. 59.]

[n] Review, chap. xii. p. 75.

[o] See Sir R. Baker in the third year of king James. [Baker's Chronicle, p. 431, ed. 3. fol. Lond. 1660.]

openly in all places acknowledge his offence; because many, saith the historian, were brought to believe that his nightly preaching was either by inspiration or by vision. This may serve to requite his impertinent tale, for which there was no occasion, about a minister's praying that they might have godly dreams.

Again: they are not accused for being time-servers now, (as he supposes, p. 89°,) but heretofore. And in this, that excellent person, bishop Sanderson, (with whom he may engage, if he please, now he is dead,) will bear me out, that it is no false accusation. I will recite his words, and briefly prove the truth of them where it is needful. "Before the beginning of the long parliament, and the unhappy divisions which followed thereupon, there were few (saith he) either of the ministers that scrupled to use the cross, or of the people that took offence at it[p]." Which words as to the ministers, on whom the people depended, may be justified from the registers of subscription, in which we find the most eminent men of your way subscribed *libenter et ex animo*, 'freely and heartily,' to the three articles mentioned in the 36th canon. Among the rest, Mr. Calamy, (whom our apologist mentions with the titles of "discreet, honest, pious Mr. Calamy," p. 92.) Nov. 9. 1637, and Mr. Jenkyn, Jan. 2. 1640. And if you look back as far as 1627, you will find Mr. Hugh Peters himself subscribing to the very height. "As for the archbishops and bishops," he saith, "I acknowledge their offices and jurisdictions, and cannot see but there would a fearful ataxy follow without the present government, whereof I so approve, that I have and willingly do submit to it and them, and have and will press the same upon others[q]. As for the ceremonies," he saith, "I shall diligently and daily practise them, neither have I ever been accused of neglect therein where I have formerly exercised my ministry, but do give to them my full approbation and allowance. Lastly, for the book of Common Prayer, the Liturgy of the church, and what is in them con-

° [Referring to the first part of the Friendly Debate, vol. v. p. 311.]

p Preface to Clavi Trabales, Aug. 10, 1661. [Works, vol. v. p. 226.]

q Subscription before the bishop of London, Aug. 17. the original whereof found under his own hand in the archbishop's study, by Mr. Pryn, and published in his Fresh Discovery, 1646, sect. 8. [P. 33. See above, p. 191.]

tained, (finding them agreeable unto the word of God,) I have used, as other ministers have done, and am resolved so to do, &c. And to these I subscribe with my heart and hand." What it was that altered his mind or his practice afterward, I have nothing to do with: but so it was, (as the bishop proceeds,) that when after the beginning of the parliament all things were let loose in the church, the greatest part of the clergy, (to their shame be it spoken,) many for fear of losing their livings, more in hope to get other men's livings, and some possibly out of their simplicity beguiled with the specious name of reformation, in a short space became either such perfect time-servers as to cry down, or such tame compliers with the stronger side as to lay down, ere they needed, the use of the whole Liturgy, and of all the rites and ceremonies therein prescribed. But the cross above all was anathematized and bitterly inveighed against, as it is even at this day by the managers of the presbyterian interest, &c. who, having engaged to plead in the behalf of other men's tender consciences, do wisely consider withal, that it will not be so much for their own credit now to become time-servers with the laws, as it was some years past for their profit to become time-servers against the laws.

If he desire any more on this subject, let him call for it, and I shall not be sparing of my pains to serve him. But let him be sure, if he make a new catechism, to put his questions better. For in this he eats up the true question (as was said long ago), instead of answering the query; as the cuckoo is said to suck up the sparrow's egg, and lay another of her own in the room. I did not charge them with holding it unlawful to keep festival days, (as he states it, p. 43, 44[r],) but with not keeping ours, since they cannot deny it to be lawful, and keep others of their own. Nor found fault with the saying, 'Well, through mercy,' (p. 103,) but their using new distinguishing forms of speech. Nor, with their not condemning sacrilege as a sin, but their not speaking and writing against it when there was such occasion for it. This I have told him already in the third part of the Debate, if he would have vouchsafed to peruse it before he said any thing of it: and I shall now tell him once more, that they were wittily compared, by a great

[r] [Quoting the first part of the Friendly Debate, vol. v. p. 319.]

person[s] whom he commends, to the two Sicilian gluttons, who blew their noses in the dishes, that they might devour the meat alone: that is, they cried down the bishops' revenues as dangerous, and nourishers of pride and laziness, because they gaped after them themselves. Nobody questions this, but they would have had them applied to their maintenance. That which they are charged withal is, that after all that gaping, they shut their mouths, and would not open them to declare against the alienation of the church lands, which was then in hand. Yes, (saith this writer, p. 15,) the Assembly did dare to condemn sacrilege as a sin against the second commandment in their larger Catechism, for which they cite two Scriptures. I told you as much; but this is not the business: nay, more than this, I have showed you they believed not only sacrilege to be a sin, but the alienation of our church lands, as things then stood, to be sacrilege[t]. And yet they did not plainly declare against that fact, much less made such declarations as they did against other sins in the pulpit, and as they require us to make in the like case, or else think us negligent. None of them did like Mr. Udal, whom I mentioned, or like Mr. Bernard Gilpin in the last year of king Edward[u], or like archbishop Whitgift, whose affectionate speech on this subject to queen Elizabeth, mixed with a great humility and reverence,

[s] Bishop Bramhall's Schism Guarded, p. 112. [Chap. v. Works, vol. ii. p. 423.]

[t] Third part of Friendly Debate. [P. 140, above.]

[u] Sermon at court, 1552; first Sunday after Epiphany. [A sermon (on Luke ii. 41—50.) preached in the court at Greenwitch, before king Edward the Sixth, the first Sunday after the Epiphany, *anno Domini* 1552: by Bernard Gilpin, sometimes minister of Houghton in the bishopricke of Durham;" —4to, Lond. 1630.

The sermon had been composed with a view to delivery before the king, to whom it is personally addressed throughout; but his majesty being absent (as the preacher notices in the margin, p. 15,) the following words were added at the time, "I am come this day to preach to the king, and to those which be in authority under him; I am very sorry they should be absent which ought to give example, and encourage others to the hearing of God's word. And I am the more sorry that other preachers before me complaine much of their absence. But you will say, they have waighty affairs in hand. Alas! hath God any greater businesse than this? If I should cry with the voice of Stentor, I could, I should make them heare in their chambers. But in their absence, I will speak to their seates, as if they were present."

The same sermon is also appended to bishop Carleton's Life of Gilpin, quoted above, p. 306.]

is recorded by a worthy gentleman, Mr. Isaac Walton, in the life of our incomparable Hooker[x]. The truth is, men of the greatest temper, wisdom, and piety, have noted this inequality of zeal in this party, about such like matters as this, long before I was born; and therefore it ought not to be censured as such a piece of uncharitableness in me to mention it. Dr. Jackson, for instance, in his treatise of Justifying Faith[y], tells us, that "the first ground of his dislike unto the chief solicitors of reformation in our church (though he always reverenced their excellent parts and good labours) was the difformity of their zeal." "For had it been uniform," saith he, "no question but it would have moved them to lay down their lives for the redressing known enormities in the commonwealth; as much more material, and more nearly concerning the advancement of the gospel, than those doubtful controversies of formalities about which they strove, as death itself is more terrible than deprivation. The principal authors and abettors of which enormities, notwithstanding, were emboldened by these encomiasts, in whose language every cormorant that would countenance their cause was a sanctified person, and a son of God." He may call this railing perhaps the next time he writes; if not, he must excuse me from it, who have writ nothing severer than this.

But it may be further added, that the Catechism he mentions did not come forth till the business was too far gone; and whatsoever had been said then would but have been to shut the stable door when the steed was stolen. For the ordinance for abolishing archbishops and bishops, and settling their lands and possessions upon trustees for the use of the commonwealth, was made October 9, 1646[z]; and that for settling their lands, November 16 following[a]: whereas the Larger Catechism was not printed till October 22, 1647[b], and then no more than six hundred copies only for the use of the houses and the Assembly, to the end they might advise thereupon. More than this, the

[x] Pages 70, 71, 72, &c. [Hooker's Works, vol. i. pp. 41, 44.]

[y] Chap. xv. par. 9. [Commentaries on the Creed, book iv. chap. 4. vol. iii. p. 261.]

[z] [Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 373.]

[a] [Ibid. p. 376. Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, part i. p. 12.]

[b] [Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 849.]

Scriptures were added afterward, and came not forth with the first edition: and lastly, they make mention also there of perjury; and yet there was no preaching against it, till the covenant came to be broken, though it was a sin before that time wherewith the land abounded. As for the authors of the Annotations, I know them not[b]; and what he alleges concerning the additions to them, 1651, it is nothing to the point. It was then too late, and the case was altered. The rest of the maintenance of the clergy was in danger, the very tithes being envied to them; which made it high time to say something to keep themselves from being undone, after they had ruined the bishops.

XVI. But it would be endless to follow this man in his vagaries, and an employment more tedious and irksome than Phocion's in chipping Demosthenes, to pare off all in his book that is not to the purpose. Should I undertake it, his apology would remain a very slender tool not worth a straw.

For setting aside his calumnies, his unjust complaints of railing, jeering, and what not; his falsities boldly asserted, his mistakes of the question, his impertinent allegation of authorities, his idle stories, frivolous observations, uncharitable surmises, and odious insinuations; his misrepresenting of my words, his cropping or enlarging them, his false glosses and commentaries, and such like things; I can find very little that looks like so much as an endeavour of a direct answer. If you be not weary, I pray observe a few things on some of those heads. What a frivolous observation is that out of the Rhemish Testament about the retaining of old words! which you may read in him if you will, p. 42, for I shall not stand to recite it. There being nothing plainer than that neither they nor we refuse to use the words *amen*, *fasting*, *charity*, the *blessed sacrament*, *allelujah*, and others there mentioned, and yet are in no danger to believe as the church of Rome doth; nor should we, though we should use the words *altar*, *oblation* and *sacrifice*, as well as *Lent*, *Palm Sunday*, and *Christmas*. And what do you think of the tale of the citizen or countryman, (he knows not which,) who being asked his opinion of a sermon said "it ran or sounded thus, as if he had said, 'A pudding, a pie, a pudding-

[b] [See a list of them in the note on part i. vol. v. p. 306.]

pie; a pudding for me, a pie for thee, a pudding-pie for me and thee?"' p. 65. This is the man that makes "serious reflections" upon the Debate, just like the serious prayer of one of their present preachers, who in the presence of a numerous auditory used these words to God, which sound more like that rhyme than any sermon that ever I heard. "Thou art the hope of our help, and the help of our hope; thou art our hope when we have no help, and thou art our help when we have no hope; yea, thou art our hope and our help, when we have neither hope nor help, but are helpless and hopeless." I should not have mentioned this, but that there are so many witnesses of it; and to show you what may be done if they will have us proceed in this way of writing.

No, by no means, I know you will say, let us have no more of this stuff. I am very well pleased with the motion, and wish likewise they would not ground their replies upon hear-says, when they may believe their eyes. Let him not give any credit to him, whosoever he be, that saith I dealt disingenuously with Mr. Bridge[c] in my quotations of him, but look into his book, and make it apparent to me that I have wrested his words, and I will confess it, and make him the best amends I am able. It is as easy, I should think, for a scholar to sit in his study and read books, as to gad up and down to hear and tell idle stories. But let not the books he reads be cited impertinently, as the very Articles of the Church of England are by him: an instance you have, (and it is the first that comes to hand, but the rest are like it,) p. 87. For I never thought that "the fathers looked for no more than transitory promises;" but that it was not by virtue of the covenant made with Moses that they looked for more, I did and do affirm. A great many of the worthies mentioned Heb. xi. lived before the law was given, and the rest that followed them built their expectation on the same ground which they did. But we may well pass by such vain allegations out of the Articles, since the very Scriptures which he cites confute all that he saith. If coming to Christ, for instance, and believing in him be all one, which is apparent indeed from John vii. 37, 38, (cited by him, p. 79,) then believing in Christ is more than relying on him for pardon of sins; for to come to

[c] See page 101 of this book.

Christ is to become one of his disciples, and to undertake to be of his religion. This I have cleared sufficiently in the last Debate, and shown withal, that obedience to the law of God is a condition of our justification. No, saith this gentleman, out of I know not what author[d], p. 78. "It is not the condition of the covenant so properly as of those persons that enter into covenant," which is a monstrous absurd answer to this question, no better than to affirm and deny the same thing in the same breath. For if it be the condition and qualification of those persons that enter into the covenant, then it is the condition of their justification, which they obtain by entering into covenant with God so qualified. As for the words themselves, without relation to the question, they are right enough, if they be understood not to deny our obedience to be a condition required in or by the covenant, though it be not so proper to say 'a condition of the covenant.' For how comes our obedience to be a necessary condition or qualification of the persons entering into covenant, but by the covenant? That requires it, and doth not promise justification without it, and therefore is a condition in the covenant of grace.

But I have neither list nor leisure to trace his steps in these things; which I would wish him not to meddle withal till he know where the very pinch of the controversy lies, and then we may end it one way or other in a few words.

Let him forbear also his odious insinuations, as that I think the papists good subjects, p. 67, suggest the Non-conformists laid aside the Lord's Prayer because of that petition, *Forgive us our trespasses*, &c., p. 39, and that they dislike the Common Prayer only, or chiefly, because taken out of the mass-book. There are no such things said or intimated in my book. And yet he himself dare not say that he knows no Non-conformists that refuse to join in it solely or chiefly on that account, but that he "knows scarce one intelligent Non-conformist." Very likely. He may know, notwithstanding, multitudes of silly ones, and here and there one whom he takes to be intelligent. But this is nothing to what this intelligent Non-conformist suggests concerning the meetings of Dr. Gunning and others in the late times for common prayer; as if they were as much conven-

[d] [The initials of the author's name quoted in the margin are D. M.]

ticles as any now, p. 68. Whereas they were according to the common law, and not against it, unless he will maintain that ordinances were law as much as acts of parliament. If that still lie at the bottom of their hearts, let them speak out. But who can believe that the high Conformists have not all and alway been so constant and firm to the government of king and parliament as they ought? Or is it likely that Dr. Heylin was ill affected to kingly authority, or disrespectful to superiors? So he would have you think, because of one passage in a book of that doctor's[e], (as you may see, p. 81, 82,) from whom he takes a measure of the rest. If he had known more, he would, I doubt not, have been so kind as to bestow it upon us: but this single speech was all he had in his budget. If you please therefore, I will furnish him with some other as bold speeches (let him make what he can of them) concerning the actions of those times as any in Dr. Heylin: who should have expressed his mind in less offensive terms; having no meaning, I verily believe, to charge king Edward VI., who was then very young, with any guilt, but only those greedy persons, who had possessed him with no better principles. This is certain, that the best preachers in those days, who spoke most against non-residence, took the boldness also to tell the king openly in their sermons at court, that unless he provided some remedy, "cormorants would devour wholly the livings appointed for the ministry, the most part of which were either robbed of the best part, or else clean taken away; by means of which none had any heart to put their children to school, any further than to learn to write, to make them apprentices, or lawyers; the two wells of learning, Oxford and Cambridge, were dried up, students decayed, of which scarce an hundred left of a thousand; and if in seven years more they should decay so fast, would be almost none at all, but the devil might make a triumph, whilst there were none learned to whom to commit the flock[f]." In short, his majesty was told, that if his grace (as they spoke in those days) did not speedily resist those

[e] ["Dr. Heylin tells us that he cannot reckon the death of king Edward the Sixth for an infelicity of the Church of England," &c., p. 81.]

[f] Mr. Gilpin's Sermon, 1552. p. 267, 268, &c. [See p. 346, above.]

ravening wolves, there was entering into England more blind ignorance, superstition, and infidelity, than ever was under the Romish bishop, and his realm would become more barbarous than Scythia. Which lest God Almighty, said the preacher, "lay to your grace's charge, for suffering the sword given you to rust in the sheath, bestir yourself now in your heavenly Father's business." There was as plain language used in queen Elizabeth's days, in the book called the Ladened Ass, said to be delivered to her at Greenwich [g], where Mr. Gilpin's sermon was preached. It makes express mention of that which Dr. Heylin touches upon, how the mighty hunters had caught one of the most ancient and stateliest bishopries in the land; Durham, I mean, "which they had quite strangled," saith the book [h], "dismembered and dissolved [i]." In later times Dr. Sanderson hath spoken the same sense, who was a man unexceptionable, both for loyalty and regard to his superiors. He not only acknowledges, that the business of the Reformation under king Edward the Sixth was carried on with a mixture of private ends, and other such human frailties and affections as are incident usually unto the enterprising of great affairs; but complains of such sacrileges then acted, and that under the name of Reformation, (though he hopes without his knowledge, at most through the malicious suggestions and cunning insinuations of some about him,) as have cast very foul blemishes upon our very religion, especially in the eyes of our adversaries, who are apt to impute the faults of the persons to their profession. All which, notwithstanding, and a great deal more which he there makes bold to say [k], was not a casting dirt upon the Reformation, or

[g] July 27, 1581. ["Asinus onustus, the Asse Overladen, to his loving and dear Mistresse, Elizabeth the blessed Queene of England. This booke was delivered to Queene Eliz., being at None-Such, Jul. 27, anno 1589." Printed in 1642. "The Asse," the anonymous author explains in his epistle to the reader, "is the ministery and clergie of England, compared to an ass for strength and for patience, and clemencie, &c.," and the specific injuries of which he complains are, "that he is despised, that he is overladen; that his provender is taken from him."] [h] See p. 54.

[i] [Referring to the dissolution of that see by statute 7 Ed. VI., c. 12., and its restoration by 1 Mary c. 3. Statutes of the Realm, vol. v. p. 227.]

[k] Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal power, pp. 81. 85. 92, 93. [Works, vol. v. pp. 173-177.]

upon the king, or upon any persons in authority; but an honest confession, that they who had the managery of affairs in their respective times were made of the same clay with other men, subject to infirmities and passions, and to be biassed with partial affections, &c. So that we have far greater cause to bless God, that in their then Reformation, in very many things, they did not a great deal worse, than to blame them that in some few things they did not a little better than they have done. If this offend the apologist, he may read the same complaints in Mr. Calvin, and in other of the reformers; which I shall direct him unto, if he be not acquainted with them already, and do desire it. At present I shall trouble myself no further about it: this being sufficient to show the wickedness of that suspicion which he saith some may from hence entertain concerning these Conformists; that if the king and parliament should put forth their hand now and touch all they have, they would (unless fear restrained them) curse them to their faces, p. 82. This was one of the charitable thoughts of Philagathus also: whom this man imitates in other surmises, as if he was led by the same evil spirit which suggested such groundless imaginations to him. He will not say, I am an Haman; but it may be suspected, he tells you, that there is something of the Amalakites' ambition in me; and that I am moved to write, because there is some Mordecai in the gate or the parish that will not bow to me, p. 92. They will, you see, be the Mordecais, the select people of God; and we must be, at least, endued with the qualities of the people devoted to destruction. And I remember indeed, in the late times, that they compared the episcopal clergy to Haman and his sons, and told us in these words[1], "We will keep a day of thanksgiving in remembrance of deliverance from the bishops, as the Jews did after Haman and his sons were hanged: which will be a greater blessing than the deliverance from the gunpowder treason."

[1] Beast wounded, p. 4. ["The Beast is wounded; or information from Scotland, concerning their reformation; wherein is briefly declared the true cause and ground of all the late troubles there, and the reasons why they have rejected the bishops, with their courts, canons, ceremonies, and service-book. Hereto is added some fruitfull observations upon the former declaration, by John Bastwick's yonger brother: the first part, printed in the year that the bishops had their downfall in Scotland," i. e. 1639.]

But if I, from my part, was now upon the ladder ready to be turned off, and was to make a plain and full confession of my faults, as I hoped for mercy, I could not charge myself with the least private grudge to any man whatsoever; and should protest that I never had any desire that any man, either in the parish where I live, or out of it, should stoop or bow to me; no, nor give me more respect than it pleased himself to afford me. This childish ambition (which he suspects) is the furthest from my heart of all other things. I understand it not, nor had it the least finger in my book, which was writ only out of a desire of unity, peace, good order, and increase of true piety. I have read in a sermon of a great divine of our own, preached fifty years ago [m], that "it is to be considered whether it be enough" for one of that profession which he supposes me to be "not to meddle with these things; and whether he be not bound in conscience, especially in case he live among a people distracted in opinion, to declare himself expressly either for them or against them," &c. Others may resolve in this case as they see cause: I have satisfied myself that I have done as became an honest man. But I did not think to have said so much about this matter, nor is it to any great purpose, I see, to labour to clear ourselves of their vile suspicions; say what we will, many of them stop their ears, or drown our words with their loud cries against us. We must have naughty intentions, and they must be the very best of men; the most loyally affected to his sacred majesty, (who would have thought it?) more than the very bishops themselves, as this author would insinuate. For "they would not be offended (as the bishops you may think would) if the statute of king Edward the Sixth was received, whereby all citations in the courts spiritual should issue out in the king's name, and with his seal. And it would not displease them to have a vicar general *in spiritualibus*," as he assures you, p. 33. But he must give us leave to think (as that bishop now named speaks, who hath demonstrated that processes in the bishop's name no way entrench upon the king's authority[n],) that their meaning herein is "rather to do

[m] Dr. Sanderson's first sermon *ad Clerum*, p. 24 in fol. [§ 37. Works, vol. ii. p. 38.]

[n] A calumny long ago cast upon the bishops, in the Humble Supplication for Toleration, 1609, pp. 10, 17. Revived in the late times, confuted by bishop Sanderson. ["But

the bishops hurt than the king service; and that their affections (so far as by what is visible we are able to judge thereof) are muchwhat alike the same towards both." This you may read in his book concerning episcopacy not being prejudicial to regal power, p. 3, 4°. And what he saith of the one I may say of the other motion, which is of the same strain; and then made to queen Elizabeth, when Martin Mar-prelate's book came out; not to greaten her power, but to depress the bishops. So the book called the Ladened Ass tells us, that there were suitors then to her "for a greater authority (if they could have got it) than Cromwell's general vicarship over the bishops and clergy[p]:" and that the very same men who contrived this were the favourers of the Admonition, the Frame of Discipline, the Mar-all libels, and other new monsters which then were yearly bred and brought forth. And truly, there is some reason to think that such men as this would be no more displeased with a new Martin Mar-prelate than with a new vicar general. For he is not ashamed to approve of such vile books as *Ladensium Autocatacrisis*[q], to which he sends us for infor-

our prelates on the contrarie, under pretext of deriving the title and birth of their functions and dignities from Christ and his apostles, by the interposing of the pope and church of Rome, doe allso lately denie unto your ma. the said power; and so abridging you in an high point of your supremacie, doe intercept and defalke a prerogative annexed to your crowne.

"Now forasmuch as the saide prelats doe by these proceedings grounded upon opinions in them answerable thereto, not a little disadvantage your ma. in the point of your regall power and soveraintie; we doe in all humblenes intreate that the consideration hereof may pleade with your highness in favour of us, the said ministers, who neither hold in opinion nor intertaine in practise any matter either prejudiciall to your royall state, supremacie, and prerogatives, as our adversaries do," &c.—pp. 10, 17.]

[o] [Sect. i. § 2. Works, vol. v. p. 148.]

[p] P. 12, 45. [Quoted above, p. 352.]

[q] ["Ladensium *Αὐτοκατάκρισις*, the Canterburians self conviction; or An evident demonstration of the avowed Arminianisme, Poperie, and tyrannie of that faction, by their own confessions; with a postscript to the Personal Jesuite Lysimachus Nicanor, a prime Canterburian, written in March, and printed in Aprile, 1640."

Under the pseudonym of Lysimachus Nicanor, John Corbet, minister of Bonyl, one of the collegiate churches in the provostry of Dunbarton, had published in the year 1640, "The Epistle Congratulatory of Lysimachus Nicanor to the Covenanters of Scotland;" to which the postscript here cited gives a violent reply, and was answered in the same year by "A briefe Examination of a certaine pamphlet lately printed in

mation concerning the greatest enemies of our church and religion, "those who bring in new and strange doctrines, i. e. plain popery," p. 80. A book writ by that haughty and violent spirit which so often calls the excellent bishop mentioned by this apologist in the entrance of his work[r] by the scornful name of Dr. Bramble[s]: and which puts bishop Andrewes and bishop Hall among that faction (as he speaks) whose avowed popery was manifest from their books. And therefore the author of it justly defended that censure which was given of him and his book long ago by a reverend person now alive, who saith, "the man had seen some visions in Trophonius's den, raptures, and embryos of his own addled brain; and out he came to vent them, like Æsop's ass, jetting in purple. He was high set in pursuit of fame; and scorning to cope with a pigmy, he challenges no less men than my lord's grace of Canterbury, and all the learned divines of England; and much grieved he was that my lord himself would not vouchsafe him the honour to confute him: as if a sky-towering eagle, or gyre falcon, should have stooped to a kite or carrion[t]."

XVII. But perhaps the apologist never seriously considered that book; as I am sure he hath not duly noted and weighed mine: for if he had, he would have repeated my words more sincerely, and not misrepresented them so often as he hath done; at least, not have put me in the number of those that are enemies of our church, dissent from its articles, and bring in new and strange doctrines. So he would have it thought; else why doth he oppose my words, and the eleventh article of our religion, the one against the other? p. 85[v]. The comfort of it is, there is no clashing at all between them, but only in his own brains; which understand not, it seems, that good works may

Scotland, and intituled, "Ladensium Autocatacrisis;" &c. an anonymous pamphlet by an earnest partisan of the policy of Laud.]

[r] Bishop Bramhall.

[s] Review of Fair Warning, in the very frontispiece of the book. ["A Review of Dr. Bramble, late bishop of Londonderry, his Fair Warning, &c. by R. B. G." on the title-page of "Three Treatises concerning the Scotish Discipline;"—4to, Hagh. 1661.]

[t] Dr. Creighton's Letter to Mr. R. Watson, 1650. [Prefixed to Watson's Second Fair Warning, the last of the Three Treatises, and dated 'from my chamber at Utrecht, in the very Ides of December 1650.']

[v] [Part i. vol. v. p. 277.]

be necessary to our justification, and yet no cause of it. But thus he deals with me in other things: what I said of lawn sleeves, and the black cap and white, (first part, p. 81[u],) he translates to surplices, and makes an idle discourse about them, p. 47. He makes you believe I said that "afternoon sermons were wholly superfluous," p. 61, when I only told you that they might be used or not, as they should be found to be to edification. The same perverse representation he makes of what I said about experiences, p. 70[x]; preaching of obedience, p. 77; doing good out of fear of threatenings, p. 84; pious discourses also, p. 96, which were not by me disgraced, but their rash censures condemned. If I did not begin to be tired with following him in his rambles, I could present you with a great many more monsters of his own making; just like that which a cheat promised to show his credulous spectators, (they are the words of one whom he and I have often mentioned,) an horse whose head stood in the place of his tail; and when all came to all, he himself had tied the horse to the manger the wrong way. Besides, barely to show these misrepresentations, would be a very dull business, and endanger the tiring you quite; and to make them appear ridiculous, would much offend his seriousness. For which reason I shall let these (and a great many other things in his book) alone, till he give me a further occasion.

But I entreat him, as he loves himself, to hold his hand till he hath learnt a little more logic, and knows better how to draw consequences. At least, let him forbear to draw any out of my books, till he hath diligently weighed every word, and the occasion of it. For his manner is to make very silly ones, and then confute them, as you may read in his preface, and p. 107, 108. "Mr. Hughes, Mr. Vicars did thus and thus heretofore, therefore the Non-conformists are all thus and thus now. Is this," saith he, "good logic and solid reasoning?" I say, no; it is childish and ridiculous: but it is his own, not mine; who produced such men's sayings to other purposes. And I perceive it is his manner to draw universals from particulars. For presently after, asking whether the Non-conformists shortly look to shut heaven, and turn the waters into blood, he tells

[u] [Vol. v. p. 328.]

[x] [See vol. v. p. 292.]

you[y] Mr. Parker of New England (whose words I cited[z]) saith no: and so all the Non-conformists must be concluded to be of his mind. In like manner the Church of Scotland, he tells you, had as few heresies as any other, p. 139. Therefore—What? "Then the Non-conformists were not the cause of the strange and new doctrines, opinions, fanatical words and phrases in preaching and writing." For this is part of his answer to the question whether they be so or no. In time they may improve this way of arguing very much, as some did in the late times, when they told us[a], "the Romans and Athenians, whilst they were free states, bred ten to one more virtuous and illustrious men than other governments, or even they themselves at other times." You know the consequence. And you may know also what horrid doctrines were broached in Scotland, more than any where else, destructive to all government; and that all the sectaries in England were the spawn of those who stood disaffected to our church; nay, that Hacket himself and his mad companions (though disclaimed by them when they saw their end) sprung out of their society, frequented their sermons, and were their associates, before they entered into those frantic courses; as I can prove from good authority. As also, that they are justly compared to the Pharisees, though that sect were great sticklers for ceremonies, and their traditions; as they for their own inventions. But for the present let him read Dr. Sanderson's sermon lately printed[b]; and not trouble us with his arguments for less uniformity than there is among us, upon this ground, that we have not a present uniformity in all things; which is a thing that is not to be here expected. Yet this pitiful reasoning he

[y] [P. 109.]

[z] [Friendly Debate, part ii. vol. v. p. 523.]

[a] Reformed Presbytery, 1645. p. 19. ["Reformed Presbytery opposing tyrannical presbytery, and prelaticall episcopacie, as the greatest enemies of the subjects common liberty, ecclesiastical and civil, printed in the yeare 1645." It consists of "An examination of a Paper intituled An Humble advise of the Assembly of divines by ordinance of parliament now sitting at Westminster, concerning some part of church-government," and concludes with "Three Paradoxes for Presbyterians," p. 22.]

[b] [Referring to his Visitation Sermon at Grantham, Oct. 8, 1641; first printed at Oxford in 1670 eight years after his death, and afterwards included among his works as the fifth sermon *ad clerum*. See particularly § 24. Works, vol. ii. p. 164.]

repeats again and again: like to that of Dr. Busby's reading logic sometimes to his scholars to prepare them for the university: therefore the Non-conformists may read a whole circle of philosophy, to keep youths from going to the university, and to make the education there unnecessary, p. 123[c]. For there lies the point: and he needed not have referred us to what some able men told him about the oath, and the words of it at Oxford. For it is in print among the university statutes[d]: at the end of which book there is an explication of the oath which is taken to observe the statutes. And this in the first place it admonishes us of, that the genuine sense in the words of the statute are to be taken from the mind and intention, not of him that swears, but of him that gives the oath[e]. Now it will be found, I take it, that they who give that oath intend not to prohibit the setting up of another university, wherein to take degrees, (which is not in the power of him that swears,) but the keeping schools for university learning, with intention

[c] [In reply to the question previously put by Patrick himself:—"What is the reason that divers Non-conformists read logick in private houses? Is not this contrary to their oath taken in the university?" (Friendly Debate, part 2. vol. v. p. 454.) the present pamphleteer replies:—"*Answ.* I have consulted as able as any in the universities, (and by their offices as likely to know as any,) about the matter, and am told that the oath there prohibits the setting up of another university in opposition to the universities, and reading in order to the taking degrees elsewhere. The words are at Oxford, They shall not *solennes lectiones resumere;* which doth not make Dr. Busby perjured for initiating his scholars some time in logick before they go to the university: nor the several professors of Gresham Colledge, who read as solemn lectures surely as a Non-conformist doth in a private house."—p. 122.]

[d] Statuta selecta, *anno* 1661. Tit. 9. § 6. [The oath prescribed to be taken by all graduates on admission to their degrees contains the following clause, "Jurabis etiam quod in ista facultate alibi in Anglia quam hic et Cantabrigiæ lectiones tuas solenniter tanquam in universitate non resumes. Nec in aliqua facultate sicut in universitate solenniter incipies; nec consenties, ut aliquis alibi in Anglia incipiens, hic pro magistro in illa facultate habeatur.

"Item tu jurabis quod non leges nec audies Stanfordiæ, tanquam in universitate, studio vel collegio generali."—§ 1. p. 96.—4to, Oxon. 1768.]

[e] Ib. p. 163. [The Epinomis subjoined to the statutes of the university lays it down as the rule of their interpretation:—"Hoc imprimis attendendum est, verbis statutorum, in quæ jurejurando quis adigitur, sensum genuinum, ut et obligationi sive vinculo juramenti modum ac mensuram, præstitui seu præscribi a mente et intentione, non præstantis, sed exigentis juramentum; scilicet ipsius legislatoris."]

to perfect scholars there, and on purpose to keep them from the universities.

XVIII. But I forget myself, and instead of writing a large letter shall make a great book, if I proceed any further to detect all his weak reasonings and slight answers. Nor is it to much purpose, for I doubt they will not be the better by it. I have been often rounded in the ears with the words of Artenorius to the author of Argenis[f], (applied by a reverend person to the like case,) "Spare your pains, good sir, they know they are wrong as well as you can tell them; but all the earth shall not make them confess an error, or amend it." But suppose it be otherwise, as I hope it is with some, and heartily wish it may be with all; yet my labour may be spared, if all that pretend to be wise and honest would but be humble, (and truly he that is not so is neither of those,) and make that their business which certainly is their duty. They are the words of bishop Sanderson[g], who thus proceeds: "That is to say, if they would study quietness more and parties less, bear a just reverence to antiquity and to their betters, allow as favourable a construction to things established as they are capable of, suspect their own judgment wherein it differeth from the public, submit to reason and yield when they are convinced, obey cheerfully where they may, and where they dare not, suffer without noise; a little saying and writing would serve the turn. But when men are once grown to this, to make it their glory to head or hold up a party; to study ways how to evade when they are called to obey, to resolve to err because they have erred, and to hold their conclusions in despite of all premises; to prefer their private opinions before wiser men's judgments, and their reputation with the vulgar before obedience to superiors; in a word, to suffer themselves to be swayed with passions, parties, or interests; all the writing and saying in the world, as to such men, (until it shall please God to put their hearts into another frame,) is to no more purpose than if a man should go about to fill a sieve with water, or to wash a blackamore white." And so fare you well.

Jan. 13, 1669, (1670.)

[f] Parce labori: non ignorant se errare, &c., cited by Dr. Creighton in his Letter before mentioned. [P. 356, above.]

[g] Preface to Clavi Trabales, 1661, p. antepen. [Works, vol. v. p. 230.]

A POSTSCRIPT.

I Had no sooner run over this Apologetical Catechism, and made a few reflections on it, but I received a Case of Conscience from you, wherein I am also concerned[a]. A very weighty one it is, and as weightily and solidly resolved, if the casuist may be his own judge; who seems to have no low opinion of his own performance, but rather thinks we may chance to be beholden to him for a new invention. "Here," saith he, p. 6, "is that very mean indeed, for ought I know, which is wanting." A great discovery! And for ought I know, may anybody reply, that which is not wanting, but is the very dangerous extreme into which the people are as apt to run, as he is to follow those with whom I have already had to deal. It would be no great matter indeed if he imitated them only in their phrase, and not in their weak reasonings and frivolous observations; but he is too

[a] ["A Case of Conscience, whether a Non-conformist, who hath not taken the Oxford oath, may come to live at London or at any corporate town, or within five miles of it, and yet be a good Christian? Stated briefly, and published in reference to what is offered to the contrary in a book intituled A Friendly Debate betwixt a Conformist and a Non-Conformist: together with Animadversions on a new book entituled Ecclesiastical Polity: the general heads and substance whereof are taken under consideration; as also a Peaceable Dissertation, by way of composition with some late papers, entituled Liberty of Conscience, in order to the determining the magistrate's power in matters of religion,"—4to, Lond. 1669.

The author, whom it seems impossible to identify, commences with the remark, that he had contemplated a longer work, but was deterred from finishing it by the appearance of another Reply, probably that of Philagathus. "Being importuned to make some animadversions on the Friendly Debate, I had finished several sheets, and intended but two or three more, when I was certified that an Answer was in the press, and prevented me: which, together with the unlikelihood of getting an *imprimatur* for it when I had done, hath given me a *supersedeas* at present to what remains, and made me think, what I cannot do in the whole may be effected perhaps in part."]

forward to that also, and is a notable instance of the truth of my lord Bacon's observation, that there is little dry light[b] in the world; but it is all moist, being infused and steeped in affections, blood and humours. The reason of men is made to stoop to their interest, and they judge according to the current of their inclinations and desires.

I. I had some hopes that sober men would have consented to that which I said in the Continuation of our Debate[c], and judged it very unbecoming such frail understandings as ours, to go about to unfold the secrets of high Providence, and assign the causes and reasons of those particular calamities which befall their neighbours. Nay, common prudence I thought would have taught any considering man to forbear the making such observations as may be employed to any purpose, even against those that make them: insomuch that they who have served themselves by such arguments, when it comes to their own turn to suffer, can by no means endure to hear of them. And yet, behold a grave casuist come forth, who not only spells, but thinks he can read the meaning of Divine Providence toward the late lord chancellor of England, who is not suffered now to live in it. He hath picked it out of his own letter left at his departure out of the realm, in which he acknowledges that "his credit had been very little since that session of parliament which was at Oxford[d]." What of all that? Why, he was the contriver of that act, says the interpreter of Providence, which banished others from their houses; after which his authority dwindled so much, that at last he was forced to leave his own house. As much as to say, if you will have the sense of this privy counsellor of heaven in plain words, God punishes him now for all that he did against them. No, perhaps you will say, against God: for so the words run in his prayer for him which immediately follows, "Do not thou,

[b] Letter to Mr. Mathews, p. 69. [Works, vol. xii. p. 93.]

[c] Pp. 128, 129. edit. 1. [Vol. v. p. 515.]

[d] ["And since the parliament at Oxford, it hath been very visible that my credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearkened to which have been proposed by me, but contradicted *eo nomine*, because proposed by me." —Clarendon's letter to the house of Lords, communicated to the house by the earl of Denbigh, and subsequently by order of both houses burnt by the common hangman.—Life, p. 1248. Quoted in the Case of Conscience, p. 7.]

O God, for all he hath done against thee," &c. But I suppose you understand the meaning of their words, and their opinion of themselves, better than not to know that what is done against them is, as they construe it, done against God: and so whatever calamity befalls any man after he hath opposed them, it is the hand of God avenging the quarrel of his people. Thus Mr. Baily, I remember, in that book which I have oft had occasion to mention[e], talks of "strange punishments which God from heaven visibly inflicted" upon Mr. Corbet, the author of a book called Lysimachus Nicanor, and Mr. Maxwel, who wrote another called Issachar's Burden[f]; both against them, their discipline and proceedings. And what were those visible judgments? Nothing but this; the former, as I learn from the Second Fair Warning, was murdered by the Irish; and the latter (being archbishop of Towmond) was stripped stark naked, and left desperately wounded, but by God's mercy recovered, and afterwards died a natural death. Had the like befallen any couple of his brethren, (as that learned writer adds,) he would have "been forward to write with their blood some red letters in the calendar, and made them pass currently for two martyrs of the discipline." But these things befalling two persons who exposed their evil principles and practices to the view of the world, they were black marks of God's displeasure, brands of infamy wherewith they were stigmatized from heaven for writing against his chosen. So we must believe, if we did not know very well, that "the hand of Heaven (to use his words once more) is not guided by the mouth, nor God's judgments discerned alway by the eye of the disciplinarian brethren[g]:" who we have little reason to think are well seen in the mysteries of Providence, when we find them stone blind in the most common and ordinary matters. For who is there that sees not, how by this wretched way of discoursing the worst cause may be justified, and the best that is may be condemned?

[e] Review, ch. i. p. 2. [See pp. 293, 328, above.]

[f] ["The Burden of Issachar: or the tyrannical power and practices of the Presbyterian Government in Scotland, in their parochial session, presbytery, provincial synods, and general assembly. With the articles of the Presbyterian faith inconsistent with monarchy." Printed anonymously in 1646: and reprinted in the Phœnix, vol. ii. p. 260–314. It was written by John Maxwell, successively bishop of Ross and Killala.]

[g] [R. Watson, "Second Fair Warning," p. 3, in "Three Treatises," cited above, p. 293.]

If all things that fall out one after the other must be thought to have the same connexion which the effect hath with the cause, popery will prove itself the true Christianity, unless you can show that you have the sole privilege to expound God's Providence, and that nobody else may intermeddle in it. The tenth argument of Bellarmine[h] for image worship is drawn merely from the unfortunate ends and ill successes of the *Iconomachi*, (those that set themselves against images,) and the felicity of those who defended them. First of all, in the time of Leo Isaurus, after the images of the saints were burnt in Constantinople, there ensued a pestilence, in which died three hundred thousand people. The same emperor and his successors lost Italy, and could never recover it. In the times also of Constantinus Copronymus, another enemy of images, entire cities were overthrown by earthquakes; a grievous pestilence raged, so that there was scarce room to bury the dead. And that there might be no doubt, saith the cardinal, for what cause these things happened, there were at the same time little crosses to be seen on the garments of men, and the priests' vestments, as if they had been drawn with oil. There was such an horrible cold also, that the Pontic Sea was frozen for an hundred miles together, and the ice was thirty cubits thick; upon which a snow fell twenty cubits in depth, and when a thaw came, great pieces of this ice like mountains or islands swam up and down with great violence; and some dashing against the walls of Constantinople, broke down a part of them, and overturned the adjoining houses. And yet the calamities were not completed, but a great drought followed all this, so that fountains, wells and rivers were dried up. Whereby all might understand, saith this Roman diviner, that God was angry at their impiety against him and against his saints. For lastly, Constantine himself, that obstinate emperor, died wretchedly; when on the contrary, they that with the pope of Rome stood up for images and defended them were promoted to kingdom and empire, lived prosperously and reigned happily. What an heap of observations are here to countenance that which you so much abhor! Who can choose but take notice how God declared himself from heaven by all these prodigies to be an enemy of those who were enemies of images? When do you

[h] Tom. ii. l. de Reliquiis et Imag. cap. 12. [Opp. tom. ii. col. 811.]

read of so many and so great misfortunes and dreadful calamities in any age, as these upon the haters of images; which point, as it were, with the finger to you that they ought to be worshipped? If you like not this kind of arguing, I pray let it alone yourselves. Let us not hear any more of the sad things which befall any particular men, as if they were upon the score of opposing or punishing Non-conformists. Nor tell us of any more prodigies and signs of God's displeasure against the realm, which have appeared since you were pulled down, like to those images; much less expound those terrible judgments which have justly befallen us, (though not equal to those now mentioned,) to be punishments for any thing done against you, and arguments that you are approved by Heaven, and we rejected. After this manner the very heathens defended their idols, as the papists do their images. All things went ill with those who despised them; Augustus, Vespasian, Titus had prosperous successes and fortunate reigns; but the poor Christians, the great enemies of their gods, were dragged continually by the hangman to be butchered, suffered the most exquisite torments, and for three hundred years together were most miserably harassed and barbarously used. And thus Parsons, I remember, disputes against all the protestants from the unhappy success of those princes which have in any sort opposed themselves to the see of Rome, as you may read at large in his Apologetical Epistle[i], none of which I shall now stand to transcribe.

II. This is sufficient to show what may be expected from this new undertaker, who will appear, I doubt not, as lame in his other reasonings as he doth in this, and prove as unfit to determine cases of conscience as to make observations upon Providence. For first, he doth not fairly and candidly represent that which I said, but accuses me of such resolutions in matters

[i] An. 1601. sect. 7. ["An Apologicall Epistle: directed to the right honorable Lords, and others of her Majesties privie counsel. Serving as well for a Preface to a Booke entituled, A Resolution of Religion: as also, containing the Author's most lawfull Defence to all estates, for publishing the same. Printed at Antwerp, (8vo.) by Arnold Coninx, "with licence, the five and twenty day of March, 1601, *stilo novo*." See sect. 7. pp. 66–79. The letter is dated "25 Mar. 1601. Your honours poore afflicted Catholike Country-man. R. B." Dod includes this work among Parsons' writings, adding, "One Bunny, a protestant clergyman, had stolen the substance of the said book, and published it under his own name." —Ch. Hist. ii. 407.]

of conscience as never came into my thoughts. I am beholden to him, I confess, for some good words, and for his favourable opinion of me; but I could have been well content to have wanted them, on condition he would not have said that I am so unkind and so unconscionably untender, as to account that no man who transgresses an act of parliament can be a good Christian[k], nor asked whether indeed I think that every transgression of a realm is no less than a deadly sin. There was no occasion for this question or for that censure, unless he be of the opinion that all sins are equal, so that what a man saith concerning the open breach and contempt of one law is to be applied to all transgressions whatsoever of any law. I never said that no man can be a good Christian that transgresses an act of parliament, nor that every transgression of a statute is a deadly sin. These are inventions of his own, upon occasion only of a single instance which I gave of defiance to a law wherein some men live, (mark my words[l];) from whence he draws an universal proposition, that he might the better conclude me to be a man of no great depth[m], that looks not to the bottom of a business which lies before him. That may very well be true, for it is no easy matter: but I will try a little how far I can see into this case concerning the transgression of human laws; which, as I take it, depends upon this single point, whether human laws bind the conscience. That is, whether we sin if we be not obedient to them. In the resolving of which, he that finds no difficulty may well suspect that he doth not fully understand it. For if, on the one side, we say that conscience is not concerned, I beseech you what is? Nothing but our common discretion to keep ourselves out of the reach of the prince's sword, whose anger and power we may dread, but whose commands we need not care a straw for. And if, on the other side, we say that conscience is concerned and obliged by their laws, then there may follow great perplexities, when any

[k] In the latter end of the first page. [p. 3.]

[l] Friendly Debate. [Referring to the five mile act, vol. v. p. 270.]

[m] P. 3. of his case. ["By this one passage in that book I do take my conjecture of the author, to be a person happy in his expression, and ingenuous in his disposition, rather than deep in the things he delivers, or studious and reflective on those more removes than one he ought to see; who will play such a game as this, with all his fellows at once, that are in the ministry of a contrary part."].

thing is commanded that proves a common and an intolerable grievance. More difficulties I need not mention of this nature, there being no dispute about commands to do sinful things, but immediately apply my discourse to the question. And for all that which was last said, since there is no greater mischief than disobedience to laws, and nothing can so certainly secure obedience as a sense of duty, we must determine that a man is bound to make a conscience of observing the laws of his governors, which are not contrary to the laws of God. So the holy Scripture itself teaches us to speak, when it requires us, and makes it necessary, to be *subject for conscience sake, and not only for wrath*, Rom. xiii. 5; that is, out of a sense that we cannot be innocent and preserve a good conscience before God, unless we be observant of their laws, where we are not pre-engaged by a higher authority than theirs. The very same is included in those words which require our submission *to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake*, 1 Pet. ii. 13; which if we do not yield, it is manifest the disobedience is a violation of a general precept of God exacting our obedience to them; insomuch that to set a man's self in opposition to their laws, is by interpretation to oppose the Almighty, according to that of the apostle, *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.*

III. Yes, saith the casuist, but will you pronounce thus without any distinction? Doth a man commit a deadly sin every time that he transgresses an act of parliament? I answer, that is without the limits of the question. We are not speaking of the degrees of sin, which are of more or less guilt according as the law is of greater or lesser concernment, and as a man's transgression of it is with modesty or with a high hand; nor are we considering when and in what cases a law may cease to oblige, and quite alters its nature; but whether, while it doth oblige and is in force, it lays a tie on the conscience or no, and whether all laws do so or no. And to this we say, Yes, (laws while they are obligatory do bind the conscience,) because the Scripture saith so, and we say so indefinitely because that is the Scripture language also. But stay a little, this gentleman cannot believe that. The Scripture saith, the magistrate is *God's minister to us for good*, Rom xiii. 4. Very true, and the apostle makes that an argument why we should be obedient to him, because

it is much for our profit and benefit. But this casuist turns the words quite another way, and makes them an outlet to disobedience, by taking that to include an exception to the general precept of subjection, which is in truth nothing but a reason to enforce it. To countenance which interpretation, he tears a little patch out of bishop Taylor's Rule of Conscience, and would draw him into confederacy with him; who accommodates indeed those words of the apostle to the illustration of a particular case, but never intended any such use of them as this man makes, as is apparent from the entire body of his discourse, and shall be touched afterward. Now let us hear this man's exception. If the magistrate, saith he, command that which is for the people's good and welfare, they are bound in conscience to obey him; otherwise they are not bound in conscience, but for wrath sake[n]: that is, because they dare not do as they would and as they may. Very well, but who shall judge of that; I mean, whether a law be for the public good or no? His answer is ready at his tongue's end, (for he need not go deep for it,) "The magistrate must judge what is for the public good as to the making of the law, and we must judge as to our obedience to it[o]." Than which it is hard to write any thing more inconsiderate or dangerous; and it declares to me that he did not understand or mind the meaning of the words which he wrote. For what do we mean by a law? Doth not the very form or essence of it (as the casuists speak) consist in the precept or the command of the lawgiver? If so, then that which we call a law is not merely the signification of his mind and judgment, that he thinks such a thing to be good or bad for us, but a declaration of his will and pleasure that we should do that good or avoid that evil which he commands us to do or avoid: and God having given him this authority to command us, this declaration carries with it an obligatory virtue to bind us to the execution of his will, under the pain of sin. Nor is it of any moment as to the obligation, whether there be a punishment threatened or not by him to the disobedient. For the punishment is necessary only by consequence, and upon supposition that the people may be negligent and refractory to the will of the lawgiver, unless they be moved to comply with that which he thinks necessary to be observed, by fear of punishment. To

[n] [Page 4.] [o] [Page 5.]

make a law then, is to declare to us his will to lay such an obligation upon us: when this is done, we are no longer free whether we will do accordingly or no; if we be, the very nature of a law is taken away, and every man is left to his own will. That which we call a law is but only the prince's opinion concerning that which he judges to be for the public good; and so he is turned into a private person, and made like one of his subjects, for they obey not his judgment and pleasure, but their own. And if he punish them for disobeying his, that is only a sign that he is stronger than they, who suffer unjustly for doing well, not for doing ill.

IV. But let us hear his reason for this wonderful decision; which he hath as ready as he had his answer. Because, saith he, God hath made every man judge of his own actions. What then? That you must seek by looking back, if perchance you may find some consequent of which this is the cause. The question, you remember, was, Who shall judge what laws are for the people's weal, i. e. the common good of them all? Why, the magistrate may judge thus far as to make laws, but the people themselves must judge as to their obedience; i. e. they are not bound to do any thing he bids them, unless they think it is for their welfare. Why so? Because, saith he, every man is made by God the judge of his own actions. I cannot for my life see how that follows from this, though I have put his reasoning into the plainest form that ever I could; which is this: God hath made every man judge of his own actions, therefore he hath made him judge what laws are for the people's weal before he obey them. If he can show me the necessary connexion of these two, and that the former infers the latter, I shall acknowledge that he is a deep man, and much beyond my reach. But they seem to me so widely distant, that one can never pass from the one to the other by the longest train of consequences. That you may think indeed is the fault of the shortness of my discourse, which will not bring me within view of this truth: for he reckons me to be such a pitiful gamester, that I am not reflective (as he speaks [p]) upon more removes than one of those many I ought to see. It may be so, and I am not unsensible of my own weakness; yet I have done my endeavour to comprehend him, and to fathom the bottom of his

[p] Page 3.

deep discourse, which seems to me shorter and more imperfect than he thinks mine. For he doth not reflect on that which is just next to what he hath said, and lies close to it; whilst he rambles to that which lies so far off that no removes will bring him to it. Let him try, if he please: and begin with this principle, God hath made every man judge of his own actions; which may be put into these more intelligible words, God hath made every man to determine whether that which he doth be conformable to his rule, which is the law or will of his Creator. Now what is next to this? Therefore, according to this casuist, he hath made every man to determine what laws are for the public good before he obey them. Doth this follow the other? No such matter. The immediate consequent of that principle is this, Therefore he hath made him to determine, whether that which human laws enjoin be not cross to his rule, the law of God. Now whither will this carry us, or what lies next to it? This, I take it; that if what human laws enjoin be not controlled by that higher law, he is determined by his very rule of life to be obedient in that point. Whether it be for the public good or no that he should do it, is another thing, out of the compass of his judgment; God having made another judge of that, viz. his prince, the governor and ruler of all: who by the very making a law determines what is for the public good, and obliges us, as hath been said already, to comply with it by virtue of God's law, which requires our subjection to him. This is implied in the very term of making a law: and therefore it is not sense to say, he shall judge what is good as to the making a law, and we as to obedience; for he doth not only judge, but enjoin when he makes a law. Which leaves us no liberty but that which he cannot take away, (because given us by him that gave him his authority,) to judge whether his will and God's do not clash together. When this is known and determined, we have no more to do, unless we will place ourselves in the throne and become sovereigns, by determining otherwise concerning the public welfare than the proper judge of it doth. Which in this nation would be the more insolent and insufferable, because there is nothing determined here to be for the people's good, and passes into a law for them, but by the advice, desire, and consent of those whom the people themselves choose to represent them, and to consider and judge

what is most conducing to their welfare. This is plain reason; and whatsoever inconveniences may ensue from hence, they shall be considered afterward: and should there be no way found to avoid them, they will appear not to be so great as to resolve in general terms, as this man doth, that they who are to obey and to follow public orders and decrees are to judge themselves what is for the public good. Mark, I pray you, whither these casuists drive. Other Non-conformists have absolved the people from all laws about church matters: and here now is one started up to teach them how to free themselves, if they please, from all civil laws and statutes of the realm. None shall bind but such as they think good: that is, every man is made a king and governor himself. The danger of which determination I shall a little lay before you.

V. First, it is certainly no easy thing to judge what is best for the people's good: but kings themselves find it necessary to have their council to deliberate and advise them to that which will promote it, which they declare to their people by their laws. And if they did not, the public welfare would be but little regarded, though we supposed every man better able to understand it than he is.

For (secondly) when men do know what is conducing to it, they will not presently do it, if their present private interest incline them otherways. From which two grounds Plato, I remember, derives the necessity of laws. There are few private persons that know what is most profitable for common life; and of those that know, fewer can or will do it, unless the will of a superior power be signified to them and oblige them to it. It is not hard indeed to know what will please themselves, and may make for their own private utility: but what will make for the general good, that is difficult for them to comprehend, and more difficult to bring them to do it, because they are not inclined to prefer the good of all before that of their own private persons. No, mortal nature hath a violent propension to covet and draw all to its particular self[q]; always flying, after a brutish manner, that which it feels grievous, and pursuing that which is pleasant and delightful. For which

[q] Plato, L. 9. de Legibus, p. 875, 880. Ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἰδιοπραγίαν ἡ θνητὴ φύσις, &c.

reason law is needful to bound, direct, and govern him; since of himself he will not mind the public good. If indeed men were of such a nature, saith he, that they understood the common good, and had such a portion of divinity in them that they would alway follow it, they would stand in need of no law: for that would be better than any law or order whatsoever. But since it is rare to find such men, we must make the world as good as we can, by making them subject to a better and more disinterested reason than their own, which is the public order and law[r]. And whosoever he be that makes every man judge of what is for the people's weal, that man takes away the principal power of the magistrate. For he supposes the people able to judge of that; and if they be, there is no need of any law, and consequently of no lawgiver.

But, thirdly, they are so far from being able to judge what is for the public good, that the wisest and best princes with their councils find it very difficult, and in many cases are a long time considering about it before they come to a resolution. And that, though they have the help of those who have been long versed in affairs of this nature, and it is their business on which they attend; they have nothing else to mind unless they please, and information comes to them from all parts, which every private man cannot have; but as he hath something else to do, so he can know but a few of those things which are to be considered in the case. "Good and evil, gain and loss, advantage and disadvantage, (as that excellent bishop[s] I have so often cited may teach him,) ought not to be weighed or esteemed from the consideration of one or two circumstances or emergents. All charges, damages, and reprises must first be cast up and deducted before one can give a right estimate of benefit or loss. If a merchant reckon only the price which his commodity cost him beyond the sea, without accounting customs, freight, and other charges, he will impoverish himself, when he thinks he hath sold it to good profit. If the benefit also be only temporal, and the loss spiritual, (which few think of,) as to gain gold and lose faith, which is more precious than gold that perisheth, it is no benefit, what-

[r] Δεύτερον εὑρετέον, τάξιν καὶ νόμον. [Ibid.] [s] Replic. to Bishop of Chalcedon, p. 235, 236. [Works, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182.]

ever a man imagines, but loss and damage. The English church and the English kingdom are one and the same society of men, differing not really, but rationally one from another, in respect of some distinct relations. And that which is truly good for the kingdom of England cannot be ill for the church of England; nor that which is truly good for the English church be ill for the English kingdom. But yet, alas! how hard is it to comprehend what is good for both, and how few can attain it: when so many men are to be considered in different relations, and there are so many things and circumstances that must be considered to make them happy in both those relations; and when their good and happiness depend not upon what is done for them in one, but in both, nor in respect to a few circumstances, but to all: any of which, if they be wanting, it is not good, but evil!" I need not mention the rule for this, which is commonly known: but ask now, What shall be done when there are so many things to be considered, which will cost so much time and pains to weigh, before we can know what will make for the public good? Shall a private man (whom we now suppose to have the liberty which this casuist gives) judge without considering or attending to all those things which the supreme magistrate had a regard to in making his law? This is very hard, that a public decree, standing on such good grounds, should be thrown down by one that knows them not. And how ill will the public good be provided for at this rate by those that know little what belongs to it! Or shall we suppose every private man to be of quicker despatch than their governors, able to run over all things that are to be considered with more speed than they can do? That is very unlikely, if you reflect upon all that hath been said; and that they have not those advantages of knowing neither what is to be considered, as public persons have. Or, in conclusion, must the prince be content to wait till his subjects have found means to know all that he doth, and till they have considered it, and till they be satisfied that his law is for the public good, before he expect any obedience from them? What then shall become of the public good all that time which they take to think of the business? And who knows how long it will be before they are informed and have considered all things? And what if they be so scrupulous as never to be satisfied, because, for any

thing they know there is more to be considered than they have yet heard of? Besides, there are some laws which require speed and expedition in the execution: must all these stand suspended nobody knows how long, till the subjects be agreed they are for the public good? Must the equity, fitness, and profitableness be sifted by every man if he please? and after all, if he do not like it, may it be rejected? The prince is in an ill case who hath such subjects; and he is not in very good whose divines begin but to instil such doctrine into them.

For (fourthly) grant the subjects such power, and in a little time no law shall be observed, unless it be by the duller sort of people: the subtle, the fine, and the conceited will be under no obligation. Such as the Lacedæmonians, who could not tell to twenty[t], as we say, may prove much addicted to laws, (as Plato tells us they were above all the Grecians,) but they who have more skill, and especially such as can tell how numerous their party is, will easily absolve themselves, if it be against their private interest to obey them. For such is the passionate love men bear to their own private concerns, that they will be very prone to conclude a thing to be a public mischief, which is only a particular burden to their dear selves. Let the parliament, for instance, grant his majesty a tax, and it will be poorly paid at this rate, and many times not without force: he must take it from his subjects by violence, and be accounted an oppressor, if they judge it not to be for the common good. And it will be very hard for those that love money not to be of that judgment. Their covetousness will suggest to them, that he stands in no need of it, having a great revenue; or that it is not for a good end; or that the proportion is too great for those ends that are pretended, and an hundred such like things too long to remember. Nay, what should hinder if he exact it of a poor people, as they may vote themselves, but that they take arms also for the public good and the ease of the subjects, as they did in Richard the Second's time? The parliament at Northampton granted the king a great subsidy of head money, at which some of the rabble took great distaste, and said it was an oppression, and tended to their utter undoing. Presently the rest pricked up their ears at the new truth, and the glorious

[t] Οὐδ' ἀριθμεῖν, &c. Plato in Hippia majori. [p. 285 C.]

discovery which was made of the people's right to preserve themselves. They were ashamed of their old ignorance, and resolved to prove good scholars of those masters who taught them not to suffer any thing to be done to the people's hurt. Their lords and the lawyers they learnt were tyrants who must not be endured; and therefore to their arms they betook themselves to root them out. And who could blame them, since they were judges of their own actions, and must determine what is for the people's weal? Thus they did also in after-times, when Henry the Seventh had an aid granted him by parliament in the beginning of his third year toward the relief of the duke of Brittain, assaulted by the French king. And although the king did not enter into the war but by the advice of the three estates, who willingly contributed to it, yet the Northern men raised a rebellion under colour of the money imposed, and murdered the earl of Northumberland, whom the king had employed in that collection; as you may find in our historians, and in a dialogue[u] between a councillor of state and a justice of peace, said to be writ by Sir Walter Raleigh. In his thirteenth year also, as you may there find, p. 50, a new subsidy being granted, the Cornish men took arms, as the Northern men of the bishopric had done before. And indeed, thus the tumults in Scotland began: they must take care of the people's good, whatsoever became of the laws. And though the law construe all levying of war (as that Dialogue observes, p. 36,) without the king's commission, and all forces raised to be intended for the death and destruction of the king, not attending the sequel; and it is judged so upon reason, (saith he,) for every unlawful and ill action is supposed to be accompanied with an ill intent; yet the public security was pretended, and upon this score a new government by tables (as they called them) erected expressly against the king's commandment, a covenant entered into, and a seditious band annexed to it, several troops raised, and at last an army formed for the peace and comfort of all the people[x]. By all which you see plainly that this principle leads to downright rebellion, if the subjects think good to follow it; they being judges as well of that which they are to do, as of

[u] Printed at Middleburgh, 1628. ["The Prerogative of Parliament in England, proved in a Dialogue," &c. Sir W. Raleigh's works, vol. viii. p. 206.]

[x] They were their own words.

that which they are not to do. But let us, if you please, content ourselves with some lesser instances of its mischievous consequence. A priest of the Roman church thinks, notwithstanding the laws which prohibit him, that it is for the people's weal for him to come hither and draw the king's subjects to a dependence on the pope. Doth he sin in this, or doth he not? If he do, then this principle is naught, for he is judge of his own actions as well as you. Why should he not; since every man is made by God the judge of them? From whence he may conclude with this casuist, that he is not tied to obey any law which he thinks is not for the people's good. The very same pretence the people will have, should they molest or drive away those strangers that live among them, though the law should not only permit, but invite them to transplant themselves hither, because they eat the bread out of the natives' mouths. And this was the very case in the 9th year of Henry VIII. 1517, when there was a great heart-burning against aliens in the city, especially among the artificers, who were much grieved that so many strangers were permitted to resort hither. And one John Lincoln, a broker, busied himself so far in the matter, (which afterward brought him to the gallows,) that about Palm Sunday he came to Dr. Standish, who was to preach at the Spittle on Monday in Easter week, and desired him he would declare the great mischief that was like to come to the realm by the liberty which strangers enjoyed, and he offered him a bill to read, which he refused. But he prevailed with him that was to preach on the Tuesday to accept it and publish it: the contents of which was, the grief which many found by strangers who took away the living from artificers, &c. When he had read it, he began his sermon with this sentence, *The heaven is the Lord's, but the earth he hath given to the children of men.* From whence he showed by as plain consequence as this in our casuist, that this land is given to Englishmen, and therefore as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and maintain themselves in their land, and to grieve and hurt aliens for respect of their commonwealth. I will not trouble you with the rest of the story[y], nor with the uses or application which

[y] Which you may find in the Survey of London by J. Stow, p. 152, &c. [Book i. p. 253. Speed, p. 989. Grafton, p. 1022.]

the people made of this goodly sermon: only this you may know in general, that they bestirred themselves lustily for respect of their commonwealth. That was the word then, as now it is in this casuist; the people's weal, of which he teaches them to take a tender care. And it will be no hard matter to improve their understanding of their own good, and their affection to it, so far as to make them digest this new truth mentioned by his late majesty in his Large Declaration[z]; that "what subjects do of their own heads is much better than what they do in obedience to authority; the one savouring of constraint, but the other being voluntary and cheerful obedience." Why not, since at the same time they may be taught that all power is originally in them, and came from them, who intrusted particular persons with it? Which is the surest proof (they will easily believe) that it is to be employed for their good, (for they would not have entrusted it with anybody to other purposes,) and consequently they must retain the power still to hinder those persons from doing otherwise, and in order to that must judge whether they do so or no. This indeed is for the people to command the magistrate, not to obey him; but it is that authority which they may fairly assume to themselves from this man's dangerous maxim. For if people are to submit in all things that are for their good, and no further, then they appeal back to themselves. And this appeal, they may well think, supposes power originally in themselves, some of which they have reserved as supreme and above all laws; and why they should not take all back when they judge it is not employed for their good, who can tell? For they are to obey no laws but those which are for their good, unless it be for fear of wrath; and when they combine together they need not fear that, but can make themselves dreadful, and give what laws they please to their governors.

VI. No, saith this casuist, a man must not resist; that is express, and rather than resist he must suffer, p. 4. But this is to steal a goose and stick at a feather. Why must he, when he is already persuaded that he need not unless he be forced? It is

[z] Page 407, out of the Protestation, Sept. 22, 1638. [The Protestation of the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burroughs, ministers, and commons, in answer to the king's Declaration of the 9th September, is given at length by Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 772 sqq.]

resolved just before, that if the magistrate command any thing for the people's hurt, there lies no obligation upon conscience to be obedient, and they are made judges of what is for their hurt. If then he require them not to resist, and they find this is to their hurt, they are not bound in conscience not to resist, but only for wrath. And that is not to be feared when the multitude is agreed not to suffer themselves to be injured, but "they must avoid contempt and scandal." And so they will in their own opinion, even when they are contemptuous and scandalous; they are judges of all their own actions for the public good, and they may resolve that which we call contempt and scandal to be for the honour of the nation, for the making their prince glorious, by rescuing him out of the hands of those evil counsellors who procure laws for their own private interest and not the people's good. In short, this principle, if it be pursued, will prove the very same with that (in the perverse meaning of it) so much cried up when all our mischiefs began, "The welfare of the people is the supreme law;" for the right understanding of which maxim, I refer you to the last lecture of Dr. Sanderson about the obligation of conscience[a]; who hath uprightly determined elsewhere[b], that we ought to obey a law made by a just authority, not only when it may be supposed to be made with an ill intention, but when it is unprofitable for the public, nay, something noxious and hurtful, provided the thing it commands may be done without sin. The reason is, because every man ought to mind what belongs to his part and duty, and not trouble himself about other men's; and our duty is to obey, not to command and ordain. Besides, I may add, though the magistrate ought not to ordain any thing but what is for the people's good, yet when he doth otherwise, it will be more for their good to obey him than to refuse obedience. They ought still to look upon him as God's minister for their good, (because they receive a great many benefits by government and order, be it what it will,) though in that particular he do amiss, and so to submit to his command. For the mischief of not obeying is greater than the hurt that is done the people by obedience. It

[a] ["Prælectio decima, in qua pervulgatissimum illud dictum, 'Salus populi suprema lex,' ut sit recte intelligendum, paulo fusius examinatur et explicatur."—Works, vol. iv. p. 209 sqq.]

[b] Prælect. 9. N. 90. [p. 200.]

is in effect to turn all things upside down, to reduce the king to the condition of a private man, by making everybody a judge of his laws, whether they shall be obeyed or no. The very truth is, such casuists as these have quite unhinged the people from their dependence on their governors, and subjection to them; and I may say of them, as the secular priests did of the Jesuits in another matter[c]; they have not only much "impeached the due estimation, honour, and reverend respect which the people carried toward their superiors; but they have exceedingly impaired (by their tricks, shifts and evasions) the natural sincere condition of our people, which is there most decayed where they have had conversation and dealing. Many of modest and temperate constitution are become imperious, brazen-faced and furious; they that were lowly and humble are become peremptory, rash in their judgment, and disdainful. The simple and sincere are grown cunning and double dealers, full of equivocation in their words, and dissembling in their behaviour."

VII. Well, perhaps you will say we are all bad enough; but when the doctor now named (bishop Sanderson) determines that we should be obedient, though the thing required of us be something hurtful to the public, doth he not imply that, if it be extremely hurtful, we are not obliged? To this I will answer before I end; when I have first told you, that it doth not follow from what hath been said concerning an obligation upon conscience to yield obedience to laws, that every transgression of a law is of so deep a dye as some is. He asks my opinion, you know, about this, in the beginning of his case: and therefore, I think good briefly to direct him to a better medium than any that he hath propounded to find out the several degrees of sin against human laws; and what laws are of such moment, that a man cannot be accounted a good Christian or a good subject that lives in defiance of them. For this end, look back to what was said concerning the nature of a law, which will lead you to a right understanding in this matter. It is a declaration of the will of a prince concerning those things which he judges needful to be done or avoided

[c] Dialogue between secular priests and lay-gentlemen, 1601, page 67. [By William Watson. Compare p. 286 above.]

by his subjects. The more needful then he judges any thing to be done or avoided, for the public good and safety, &c., and the more it appears his will is set upon it; the more his law is to be reverenced, and the greater the offence is if it be broken, especially openly, and with an high hand. Now you may know this, partly by the matter itself, as all wise men have determined; if it be a matter of justice, charity, piety, religion, or peace. Partly by the manner and form of commanding and forbidding; partly by the greatness of the penalty threatened in case of disobedience, and lastly, very much by the preface to his law: in which, if he be pleased to expound the reasons and the necessity of it, and they appear to be great and weighty, his mind and will is thereby without all doubt declared, that a more than ordinary regard be had to that law of his. Apply now all this, if you please, to the law which hath moved this dispute, and you will find that I had reason to say what I did, and that they have no reason to equal the breach of other laws (which they mention) with the breach of that. An act of the seventeenth of our present sovereign made at Oxford required such persons as had not, and should not perform some things therein named, not to come within five miles of any corporation[d], &c. The breach of which law I hold to be a grievous sin; and when a man lives in it, and in defiance of it keeps conventicles, I said his piety and honesty might justly be called in question. My reason is, because it is plain to me by those indications now named, that the lawgiver judges it to be a matter of great consequence, and that he is much concerned it should be observed. For first, the preface to it is solemn, and lets us know that both religion and the civil peace and tranquillity depends upon it, and that they are removed from corporations, because if they were there, they might take an opportunity the better to "distil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of his majesty's subjects, to the great danger of the church and kingdom." This is the reason and ground of the act, which is as great as well can be; and therefore the penalty is great; forty pound for every offence: and (as I remember) imprisonment for six months without bail or mainprize, (if two justices of peace please,) unless upon or

[d] [For the principal provisions of the Oxford, or five mile act, see vol. v. pp. 467, 468.]

before such commitment they shall swear and subscribe the oath and declaration mentioned in the act. Compare now this with the other about burying in linen[e], and about waggons, which they make such a talk of[f], and you will find neither the

[e] [For the encouragement of the native trade in wool, and checking the importation of linen from abroad, an act of parliament was passed in the year 1666, that no corpse should be buried in any other material than woollen, except in case of the plague, under a penalty of five pounds upon the relations or friends so offending, 18 and 19 Car. II. c. 4. (Statutes of the Realm, vol. v. p. 598.) The same provisions were reinforced and rendered more stringent in the year 1678; a certificate of compliance with the act being required to be presented to the clergyman at every interment,—30 Car. II. c. 3. p. 885. This statute was repealed by the 54 George III. c. 108.]

[f] ["There was a law made this parliament about carts and waggons, for the better keeping the highwayes; which being found quickly inconvenient to the waggoners and unanswerable we may suppose to the end, it was scarce a month or two but they heard no more of it. I will put a case now of conscience to this person: suppose a man whose living consists in his waggon, and unless he puts more horses in his team in his coming up to London than this law will allow, he must give off his trade, or be undone. I ask, What shall this fellow do? by the doctrine of this book, for ought I can see, he can be no good subject, and consequently no good Christian; if he goes on. I will ask again, What thinks the author of those that die and are buried in the iniquity of linnen? Whether the women generally of this nation, who cannot abide to have the dead wrapt in flannel, but being used so much to controul their husbands at home, will not be ruled by both Houses, to do any otherwise herein, than what they think is handsomest for all them, are in capacity, without their amendment in this point, to be saved?"—p. 6.

The statute 14 Car. II. c. 6. § 8., with a view to obviate the deterioration of the highways by excessive traffic, enacts, that "no travelling waggon, wain, cart or carriage, wherein any burthens, goods, or wares, are or shall be carried, or drawn for hire (other than such carts and carriages as are employed in and about husbandry and manuring of lands, and in the carrying of hay, straw, corn unthreshed, coal, chalk, timber for shipping, materials for building, stones of all sorts, or such ammunition or artillery as shall be for his majesty's service,) shall at any one time travel, be drawn, or go in any common or public highway or road, with above seven horse beasts, whereof six shall draw in pairs, and not with above eight oxen, or six oxen and two horse-beasts; nor shall at any time carry above twenty hundred weight between the first day of October and the first day of May, nor above thirty hundred weight between the first of May and the first of October, (except such particulars as are aforesaid;) nor above five quarters of wheat, meal, merlin, rye, pease, beans and tares, nor above eight quarters of barley, malt, or oats, and after that proportion: nor shall any waggon, wain, cart nor carriage for the uses aforesaid be employed, the wheels whereof are less in breadth

penalties, (five pound in one act, and forty shillings in the other,) nor the reasons given in the prefaces any thing near so considerable as those now mentioned. Which is a sign that the lawgiver doth not judge them of equal moment and necessity; and consequently, that the transgression of these laws is not so heinous, nor so much against his will, as the transgression of the other. The penalties also for offences against these are ordered to be so employed, that they may do as much good to the public as the offences do hurt, setting aside contempt of authority, which I cannot excuse.

VIII. But may not a lawgiver, you will say, be mistaken in his judgment, as some think there was an error in that which was enacted about waggons? And if he be, why should we observe such a law? I answer, I am not bound absolutely to be of the lawgiver's opinion, that all such things are for the public good which he decrees: I am only to follow his will, and do what he enjoins when I can without sin. And this I take myself bound to, even when I conceive it were better for the public if it were otherwise ordained. What, will you say again, when there is an intolerable inconvenience, and a very grievous evil to the subjects by obeying? That is the thing I know you would be resolved in. And truly, the moral divines and lawyers say no. It is to be supposed, when that case happens, that it not being the intention of a prince to make his subjects miserable, he would not have made that law if he could have foreseen such a mischief. And therefore it ceases of itself to be a law, and loses its obligation. But then in the reducing this to practice, they tell you there are these cautions to be observed: first, obedience is never to be denied, but when the law is against the public good. If it be still consistent with the public interest, though it be to the damage of some particular persons, they may not break the law. Again, it must be practised then only when the mischief to the public is not small, but so great, that in the judgment of the best and most prudent persons it be a sufficient cause of disannulling a law; and doth outweigh the evil of material disobedience. And (thirdly) this mischief likewise must be certain and notorious, not only in our

than four inches in the tire," the penalty for every infringement of the act to be fifty shillings.—Statutes of the Realm, vol. v. p. 375.]

fancy. The security of which is, when it is declared so by the voice of all men (at least of all the wise and good) and not only by a party, whose particular interest is concerned to vote it to be unsupportable. And yet in case the truly wise and good on all sides think it so, they ought not (fourthly) to disobey the law with the scandal and offence of other men. It must be done so modestly, humbly, and with fear, that the rest of mankind be not taught hereby to slight all laws upon little pretences, and trifling regards. And (lastly) to secure all, we must, if we have time and opportunity, ask leave of the lawgiver, whose leave is to be presumed in such cases, only in time of a sudden danger. And having done thus, if we should be mistaken, and judge that a public mischief which is not, yet the guilt of our disobedience will not be deadly, but such as will easily find pardon both with God and man. To this purpose you may read more in that doctor (bishop Taylor) out of whom this casuist quotes a line or two, relating to this matter only, separated from all the rest of his discourse. Which gives me occasion to note his disingenuity; for besides all the cautions which the bishop there gives[g], I observe (since I writ all this) that he expressly determines point-blank against this man's decision of his case. For this is his maxim, Rule 7, "That a law should oblige the conscience does not depend upon the acceptation of the law by the people." Which, supposing that which hath been already said, is a certain rule, he tells you, and there is no doubt in it.

IX. Of this mind were the first Christians, (as I shall not now stand to show you,) and our first reformers of Christianity in this kingdom. Who, I must let you know, used no such distinctions as these men do now; but said expressly the same that I do, that "we must submit to all manner of ordinances of men for the Lord's sake, so long as they ordain nothing contrary to the express word of God. And he that resisteth shall receive to himself damnation; forasmuch as he resisteth the ordinance of God." They are the words of a book called the Destruction of small Vices, written in Edward the Sixth's days, as far as I can guess. Tyndal also taught the people

[g] Rule of Conscience, book 3. chap. 1. r. 3. n. 10, &c. [Jeremy Taylor's Works, vol. x. p. 43 sqq.]

thus[h]: "Whosoever keeps the law of the prince, whether it be for fear, or vain-glory, or profit, though no man reward him, God will bless him abundantly, and send him worldly prosperity, as thou readest Deut. xxviii., what good blessings accompanied the keeping of the law, and as we see the Turks far exceed us Christian men in worldly prosperity, for their just keeping of their temporal laws." And in another nameless book, called the Sum of the Holy Scripture[i], I find this declaration, that "the very Christian yieldeth himself willingly under the governance of the sword, and temporal justice; he payeth tales, he honoureth the puissance and worldly highness; he serveth, he helpeth, he doth all that ever he may do, to the intent that the same puissance may prosper, and be kept in honour and feared; albeit that the same puissance to him is neither needful nor profitable. And if he should not do so, he were no Christian, but should sin against the rule of charity. For he should give evil example to other, that they should not honour the temporal puissance, but despise it. And this despising of the temporal puissance bringeth dissension, and (mark this) maketh sensual persons profitable unto nothing."

X. It would be too tedious to add the words of other good men, and therefore I shall only desire you to ponder the counsel and direction of the famous Amyraldus, late professor at Saumur. For you are much concerned in it, being given with a particular respect to our affairs, in an address to our present sovereign[k]. "There are three things, saith he, by which the course of our life is governed, and, as we may say,

[h] Obedience of a Christian man, fol. 26. [P. 175 of the Parker society's edition.—8vo, Cambr.1848.]

[i] Printed by John Day, with privilege, 1547. chap. xxvi. ["The Summe of the Holy Scripture, and ordinarye of the Chrystian teachyng, the true Christian fayth, by the whiche we be all justified. And of the virtue of Baptisme, after the teachynge of the Gospell and of the Apostles: with an information howe all estates should lyue accordyng to the Gospell, very necessary for all Christian people to know. 1 Peter iii. chapiter. *If any man longe after lyfe, and loveth to se good dayes*, &c. verse 10–12. *anno* 1547. (8vo.) imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling in Sepulchre's parishe at the signe of the Resurrection, a little above Holborne Conduit."—See Ames' Typ. Ant., p. 616.]

[k] Paraphr. in Psalm. Epist. dedic. [Addressed to king Charles] 1662. p. 1. [4to, Salm. sign. e.]

steered in this sea of worldly affairs. By the law of nature, by the laws of our country, and by the study of propagating religion. To this last we should yield all, if the other two do not openly gainsay it. Where either the law of nature or the political laws do command any thing which is inconsistent with our study of promoting religion, we must diligently consider what God commands us in that matter, that so we may exactly distinguish between his will and our own; between what he requires, and what we are moved unto only by our own zeal. What God commands is to be done, though our parents or magistrates command the contrary. But whatsoever is commanded by them, which is not contrary to the express precepts of religion [l], that we are to look upon as commanded and given us in charge by God himself, (because God is the Author of their power, as he is the Author of nature,) whose commands, and not our own voluntary zeal, we are to make the rule of our life. And therefore we are not here to have more regard, either to the danger which we may fancy the church is in, or to the hope which we have conceived to ourselves of advancing the glory of God, than to that will of the most high God, which is manifested to us either in nature or in civil laws. For God hath affection enough to his own glory, and kindness enough to his church, and power and wisdom sufficient, notwithstanding all the dangers that I see, to advance his kingdom and support his church: although I contain myself within the bounds and limits which nature and civil government prescribes."

This is the resolution of that excellent person, by whose principles I wish heartily you would all govern yourselves; otherwise the most glorious profession that you can make will not persuade us you have the same spirit of Christian piety. You have read perhaps, or heard, how the devil one day appeared to St. Martin as he was at prayer, all glittering and shining in a most majestic state, telling him that he was Christ; who being shortly to come down upon earth, gave him a visit first. This he repeated again, saith the story [m], and bid him not be faithless, but believe. "So I will," replied the good man,

[l] Disertis religionis præceptis non adversum.

[m] Sulpitius Severus, in vita ejus, cap. 24. [Galland. Biblioth. Patr. tom. viii. p. 398.]

" but not till I see him in that habit and form wherein he suffered, bearing the marks of his cross." The application is easy, and, in short, but this. If you would be acknowledged for the faithful disciple of the Lord Jesus, let us see you in that garb wherein they alway appeared; taking up the cross patiently, humbly and lowly; meek and gentle, quiet and peaceable, submissive to government, and obedient to laws. Till then, we suspend our belief. Farewell.

A LETTER

TO THE AUTHOR

OF

A DISCOURSE

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

[1671.]

A LETTER TO SAMUEL PARKER.

Sir,

You have been pleased to interest yourself so obligingly in my concerns, that though I have been thinking of it near half a year, I could never tell in what terms to give you thanks for the excess of your civility to me. I was forced to be silent, because I knew not what to say: and I think you had not now heard of me, were it not for the vexation I have conceived at the trouble you have drawn upon yourself by your kindness to him that cannot yet deserve the title of your friend. Not that I think it will cost you much pains to blow away the trivial exceptions which a rash head hath taken at what you said about the Friendly Debate[a]; but you are like to consume so many precious hours in raking into that indigested heap of stuff which he hath huddled together against your own book, that I ought not to presume you have any spare moments to throw away in the vindication of mine. Your good nature, indeed, I know, will be apt to prompt you not to leave it without some defence; and in your hands it will be safer than in my own: yet pardon me, I beseech you, if I be not wholly an idle spectator in the contest; and let not your zeal to serve me so exceed all bounds, as not to leave room for me to appear with an offer of that help, of which you have no need.

The most of his declamation everybody sees is spent against the manner and way of my writing; which he would have his easy disciples believe (notwithstanding all that hath been said) is "peculiarly accommodated to render the sentiments and expressions of our adversaries ridiculous, and expose their persons

[a] [Dr. John Owen had recently made some severe reflections upon Parker's treatise in a pamphlet entitled "Truth and Innocence vindicated, in a survey of a discourse concerning Ecclesiastical Polity, and the authority of the civil magistrate over the consciences of subjects in matters of religion."—8vo, Lond. 1678. Reprinted in his collected works, vol. xxi. pp. 161—372.]

to contempt and scorn[b]." Insomuch that " in points of faith, opinion, and judgment, this way of dealing hath been hitherto esteemed fitter for the stage than a serious disquisition after truth, or confutation of error[c]."

Thus this high and mighty dictator is pleased to pass his censure; and he seems to pronounce it standing on his tiptoes, imagining he hath spoken bravely, and blasted the credit of all dialogues for ever. But when his head is a little cooler, so that he can distinguish between the results of a sound judgment and the flashes of a distempered fancy, I persuade myself he will be ready to eat his words, and wish they had never been spoken: especially if he consider these things following.

First, from whence it is that he dates the time, in which to the day of his writing this way hath been in so low esteem. I doubt he will find it is but a little while ago, no longer than since the printing of the Friendly Debate. Before that the most excellent persons have chosen this way as exceeding fit and accommodate (if not the aptest of all other) both to teach the weightiest truths, and to baffle popular errors. Minutius Felix, for instance, a famous advocate, thought good to plead the most sacred cause on earth in a dialogue between two disputants, a Christian and an heathen[d]. Which that great lawyer and antiquary, Franciscus Balduinus, calls *antiquum eruditumque scribendi morem*, 'an ancient and learned manner of writing.' For in this, I observe, Tully himself handled a great and grave argument, *Rem magnam complexus sum et gravem*, as he speaks, viz. that concerning a commonwealth: and tells us withal, that a great many of the books were *joculatoria disputatio*, 'a pleasant and jesting disputation,' as his words are in one of his letters to Atticus[e]. And so were Erasmus's Colloquies in the beginning of the Reformation: which were received notwithstanding by the wisest and best men with great applause, read in the schools with much greediness, and commended for this among other things, that " by an ad-

[b] P. 47, 48. [Works, vol. xxi. p. 186.]

[c] P. 50. [Ib. p. 188.]

[d] Dialogum scripsit Christiani et Ethnici disputantium.—Hieron. in Catal. Scrip. Eccl. [cap. 58. tom. ii. col. 883.]

[e] L. 4. epist. 16: and in another place tells us, Atticus himself composed mirificos cum Publio dialogos, l. 2. cap. 10. [Epist. 9.]

mirable dexterity and most sweet manner of speaking they delivered to youth the precepts of piety and good manners[f]." Since which time several matters of no small moment have been handled in this way by the approbation of the highest persons. Mr. Alexander Cook, I remember, wrote a dialogue between a protestant and a papist, to prove there was a woman pope; which was entertained even by strangers with so much respect, that it was translated into the French language by F. de la Montagne[g]. And he hath heard, I suppose, of one before that, called *Deus et rex*, 'God and the king[h],' between Philalethes and Theodidactus; wherein is proved that the king justly challenges whatsoever is required by the oath of allegiance. Is this, must we think, no point of faith, opinion, or judgment? Or was his majesty mistaken in recommending to all his subjects the perusal of this book, which handled the matter in such sort (according to this rabbi) as made it fit only for the theatre? So the oracle hath in effect pronounced, and we must all lay aside our doubts, and acquiesce in its word. Kings themselves must not scruple submission to so inspired a supremacy. Now they hear the voice of this more sovereign judge, they ought to revoke their own decrees, and teach their people obedience according to his sentence.

The only comfort is, that he may contradict himself, and so give us leave to decline his authority. And truly I have some hope to convince him of his error, though he should loftily overlook all this as unworthy his notice, if he will but vouchsafe to stoop so low as to cast his eye upon what he hath writ himself. For I find that he who taxes others so boldly for not clearlystating the question in hand is doubtful and staggering in this easy business. After he hath told us that "dialogues are peculiarly accommodated to the ends mentioned," p. 48, and that they are "absolutely most accommodated of all

[f] Melch. Adam. in vita Jac. Heerbrand, p. 669. [Vitt. Theol. German. 8vo, Heid. 1620.]

[g] Printed at Sedan, 1633. [Cooke's dialogue was first printed in 4to, 1610: reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. iv. pp. 63—141.]

[h] Printed 1615. ["Deus et Rex: sive Dialogus, quo demonstratur serenissimum D. nostrum Iacobum regem immediate sub Deo constitutum in regnis suis, justissime tibi vendicare quicquid in juramento fidelitatis requiritur.—Londini, excusum cum speciali regiæ majestatis privilegio et mandato. (4to,) 1615."

The characters of the dialogue are Theodidactus and Philalethes.]

sorts of writing," to such a design, p. 50 ; he sinks extremely in his confidence, and only tells us, the advantages mentioned are somewhat peculiar unto dialogues, p. 61. His heart at last began to fail him, when he had a little evaporated his ungovernable heat ; and I have great cause to think it checked him often in the very midst of it, and bade him not be presumptuous. For (good man) he dare not stand to this neither, but acknowledges unawares before he hath done that there "is no peculiarity at all" in this way of writing to make things or persons ridiculous. For, first, he is forced to acknowledge that it may be used to very serious purposes; as it was by Tully and Plato, who employed this method (as he confesses, p. 47,) "to make their designs of instruction more easy and perspicuous." And whatsoever he is pleased to say falsely and scornfully concerning my "boasting of the skilful contrivance of my dialogues," *ib.*, this is all that I alleged as my reason for that way of writing[1]. Which he is so far from disapproving when he is in a good humour, that he cites bishop Bilson's dialogue in answer to the Jesuits' apology and defence with due respect, p. 174. But when he hath done this, then (secondly) he cannot deny that orations and declamations, that is, his own way of writing, are capable to be employed to the contrary purposes (which he makes peculiar to dialogues) as well as any other way of speaking or writing whatsoever.

Cato, for instance, was made the people's sport no less by Cicero's Oration than Socrates by Aristophanes' Dialogue, (so he calls his comedy.) For he represented, he acknowledges, the opinions of that sect to which Cato was addicted, in such a fashion, that "he put the whole assembly into a fit of laughter," p. 51. And he might have known and remembered (if he be such a scholar as he makes a show of, by pouring out so much Greek and Latin), that the best masters of rhetoric have given precepts about ways of facetious speaking and moving laughter in the making of orations. Cicero himself hath treated at large of this argument in his second book *de Oratore;* and touches it again in his *Orator ad Brutum.* And whosoever he was that wrote the books *ad Herennium,* he shows (*lib. i.*) how to refresh the judge, when he is weary of

[1] "Contrived the discourse into the form of a dialogue to make it more easily apprehended." Preface to the first part. [Vol. v. p. 267.]

hearing a long speech, by jests and pleasant reflections. So doth Quintilian likewise; who, treating of the way to move affections, spends a whole chapter (and one of the longest in all the twelve books) in a discourse concerning laughter[k], the exciting of which he acknowledges may be useful and to good purpose. Now what plainer instance can we have than this, of the childish forwardness, negligence, or ill nature of this haughty writer, that, after so peremptory a censure as that before mentioned, he should himself grant that serious things may be advantageously delivered in my way of writing, and ridiculous things in his own? He seems to me to have a tang of the spirit of those divines whom Martin Dorpius described (above one hundred and fifty years ago[l]), and forbad to meddle with that dialogue, which hath furnished this writer with some swaggering language, (p. 13. 46.) who in this angry, envious, and impatient humour carp and bawl at every thing indifferently which is not in their way of learning.

Siquidem stomachabundi, oblatratores, facere
Pergant etiamdum, quod nunquam non factitant;
Clamoribus ampullosis infremere, et
Venena livoris effunditare sui,
Et obloqui, et ogganire, et dentibus omnia
Arrodere carnivoracibus; et sicut canes
Solent, quibuslibet allatrare sibi obviis.

Which a friend of yours and mine hath thus Englished.

"And let the choleric testy sirs bawl on,
Peevish and moody, fret and chafe their fill;
They act in all this but their nature still.
The secret poison in their entrails pent
By full-mouth'd clamours seeks itself a vent:
Nothing from their envenom'd tooth is free,
But like to village curs they snarl at all they see."

If he would have done like a man, he should not have stood quarrelling with the way, but plainly shown that their opinions

[k] L. vi. Inst. Orat. c. iii. de Risu.

[l] Prolog. in Mil. Gloriosum. [Written on the occasion of the play being acted by his scholars at Lille, in the year 1508, and appended to his Oration in praise of learning pronounced before the university of Louvain, Oct. 1, 1513; P. 90. Published in 8vo, without title-page or date.]

or sayings were falsely represented by me. And if he had withal done this in the same form of writing that I used, it had, in my poor judgment, been more for his reputation: and he might have found a great example for it. Gregory Nazianzen I mean, who, observing the books of Apollinarius, (a person of great wit and learning,) his New Psalters, (though jarring with that of David,) his Elegant Poems on divers subjects, take so much with the people, that they were esteemed as if they had been τρίτη διαθήκη, a 'third testament,' thought of a way how he might disenchant those poor souls, and instil some better principles into their minds. And what course did he pitch upon? To declaim, as our new doctor doth, against this way of dealing? to say that poetry was always employed to cheat and gull the easy multitude? peculiarly fitted to charm and bewitch their affection without, nay, against all reason? No such matter. He knew very well that this was an ancient way of instructing the world; that laws were sometime writ, though not in rhyme, yet in measure; and as St. Hierome [m] his scholar observes, the most ancient book (as it is esteemed) of all the Scripture is for the greatest part composed in the same manner. That great divine therefore resolved to encounter him with his own weapon, and tells Cledonius [n], καὶ ἡμεῖς ψαλμολογήσομεν, &c. "We will compose psalms too, we will write many books, and make verses as well as Apollinarius." And so he did: some in his old age, when he might seem to be most unfit for such inventions. But this was the occasion (as Elias Cretensis notes [o]) of his writing such a volume of poems, which still remain, and were then in so great esteem that they made those of Apollinarius be quite forgotten. Now what if Apollinarius had decried the verses of this father because they were not all heroics or all iambics, or such as he most fancied? Nay, what if he had taken occasion to reproach those composures, because he used χαρακτῆρσί τε τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας, the 'style both of tragedies and comedies,' (as Gregorius the Presbyter tells he did, that he might represent divine things in all shapes and fashions to the Church of

[m] Præf. in lib. Job. [tom. ix. col. 1099.]

[n] Greg. Naz. Ep. 1. ad Cled. seu Orat. 51. [Ed. Ben. Epist. ci. tom. ii. p. 93 B.]

[o] [Greg. Naz. Opp. una cum schol. Eliæ Cretensis, tom. ii. col. 1305. ed. Morell.—fol. Par. 1620.]

Christ,) would he not have been thought a ridiculous caviller? and justly passed for a pitiful coward, who when he durst not assail the body of his adversary, fell a fighting with his shadow? It is no less ridiculous in this innovator to reproach this ancient and profitable way of writing which I have used, as if it were fit only or principally for abuse, sport or laughter. Let me tell him, he that asserts this forgets that he condemns in effect the Holy Scripture itself: for the Song of Songs, as a learned person of our own long ago expressed it[o], is "a kind of divine pastoral, or marriage-play, consisting of divers acts and scenes; or a sacred dialogue with many interlocutory passages. First, the bride comes in and saith, *Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth:* then the bridegroom, *I have compared thee, O my love, to a troop of horses,* &c. After which he withdraws himself, and sits at his repast, ver. 12, leaving the bride with her companions as it were alone upon the stage, who thus speak to her, *We will make thee borders of gold, and studs of silver,* ver. 11." Nor is this any novel conceit of his, but I can justify it out of the father before named; who, persuading virgins of both sexes to be carried with the whole force of their affections unto God, and to think that only fair and amiable which is eternal, "so," saith he[p], "mayest thou be wounded in such sort by the chosen dart, and learn the beauty of the Bridegroom, that thou mayest be able to say, ἐκ τοῦ νυμφικοῦ δράματός τε καὶ ἄσματος, 'out of the nuptial play and song,' *Sweet art thou, and altogether desirable.*"

I could produce more to the same purpose, but that I begin to be a little ashamed that I am fallen into this strain of quoting Greek and Latin. All that I have to say for myself is, that our antagonist makes such a noise with them, that I was willing

[o] Dr. Featly, Rehearsal Sermon at Paul's Cross, 1618. [The Rehearser's Conclusion, added by Featley to four sermons upon "The Spouse her precious borders," (Cant. i. 11.) preached at Paul's Cross by Warburton, dean of Wells, Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich, Hacket, fellow of New-College, Oxford, and Francis White, bishop of Ely; which are given in an abridged form by Featley in his Clavis Mystica. Serm. xxxii. See p. 448.]

[p] Greg. Nazian. Orat. 31. p. 503. Edit. Paris. [Ἆρα τοσοῦτον ἐτρώθης τῷ ἐκλεκτῷ βέλει, καὶ τοῦ νυμφίου τὸ κάλλος κατεμαθές, ὥστε καὶ δύνασθαι λέγειν ἐκ τοῦ νυμφικοῦ δράματός τε καὶ ᾄσματος, ὅτι γλυκασμὸς εἶ, καὶ ὅλος ἐπιθυμία.—Orat. xxxvii. ed. Ben. § 11. tom. i. p. 653 C.]

to make a small show of learning, merely to be even with him; especially when it would serve not for flourish or vapour, but offered itself for a substantial proof. It is likely indeed that he will smile among his clients, and say I have proved nothing; nay, crow over me like a cock of the game when his head bleeds, as if he had got the victory. But whatsoever he may say in private, he will be better advised, I believe, than hastily to renew the quarrel in public again; and not be tempted by their importunities to make such another vain babble as this book, for them to sport themselves a while withal. If he be wise, he will take more time, and consider what he saith, before he make his second survey. And if he think he is able solidly to answer what I have now writ, I hope he will take this one thing more into his thoughts.

That, let this way be as peculiar as it is possible to the ends he mentions, yet it is not peculiar to us, but (as hath been shown already in the second part of the Friendly Debate) hath been often employed by themselves. He ought therefore in justice either to have acquitted me, or condemned us altogether. For even Aristophanes's way of dialogue by comedy hath not been balked by these solemn men, and that in serious, if not holy arguments, when it would serve their turn: witness a book called Tyrannical Government Anatomized, licensed by a committee, and subscribed by Mr. John White, in this manner, *Die Martis* 30 Jan. 1642: "It is ordered by a committee of the house of commons concerning printing, that this book be forthwith printed and published[q]." In which the collocutors and complainants (as the author speaks,) are Malchus, Gamaliel, John the Baptist, Chorus, or company of Jews, king Herod, the queen Herodias, her daughter and messengers. What should be the reason that these men are so coy and nice now, that they cannot away with a simple dialogue, who could digest a comedy, and that a sacred one, heretofore? Is not their stomach to it, think you, as good as ever? I can make no question of it; but the matter is not now for their tooth, and that makes them spit it out of their mouth. They would dis-

[q] ["Tyrannicall government anatomized, or a Discourse concerning evil councellors: being the life and death of John the Baptist; and presented to the king's most excellent majesty by the author,"—anon. 4to, 1642.]

semble the distaste they have taken at just reproofs, by making faces at the manner in which they are delivered. And like the cuttle-fish, which hides itself in its own ink, they shuffle up and down, and endeavour to blot my dialogues, that none may read their faults which are there discovered. Were it not for this, dialogues should have their good word as well as any other form of writing. They are inwardly convinced there is no harm in them, nor is a pleasant way of conveying our thoughts into other men's minds condemned by unbiassed and impartial judges. Only, as Erasmus speaks in his preface to Tully's Offices, *Aliter scurra jocatur, aliter vir probus et integer,* "A scurrilous companion jests after one fashion, an honest man after another." The distinction between them is so easy[r] that I shall not mention it, but only remember that an honest man may write after such a fashion as I have done, Beza thought was without all dispute. "What," saith he, "if I have answered one that deserved no better *quasi per ludum,* &c., in a sporting manner, as the times would then bear? Solomon sure doth not simply forbid us to answer a fool, and what hinders but that a man may laugh and speak the truth? The Spirit of the Lord sometimes doth not abstain from holy ironies; and Nazianzen's Orations against Julian, even after he was dead, are in every body's hands; which, though they be biting enough, thou hast not the face to blame." They are his words in his defence of himself against the accusations of Genebrard[s], who dealt with him just as this gentleman hath done with me. He found fault with him not only for writing a wanton paraphrase (as he would have had it believed) upon the Canticles, but for writing it in trochaic verses, whereas iambic best pleased his bitter humour. But what was this to the business, as Beza truly answered, (and I may reply to this accuser,) "for one may flatter in iambics, and be angry in trochaics?" And who gave him this authority to impose silence on us, or else prescribe a certain sort of verse to which we must be confined[t]?

[r] As Tully observes, l. i. Offic. Facilis est distinctio, &c. ["Facilis igitur est distinctio ingenui et illiberalis joci: alter est, si tempore fit ac remisso animo, libero dignus; alter ne homine quidem, si rerum turpitudini adhibetur verborum obscenitas."—cap. 29.]

[s] An. 1585, page 61, 62.

[t] Ib. page 10.

"If such reasoning be sufficient to blast a work, Socrates and his friends were very weak people to suffer Aristophanes's comedy to go away with applause. They might have only said, "Good Mr. poet, you are exceeding witty, but it is only by a knack you have at one kind of verse which ought not to be used;" and then his Clouds had vanished with a breath. For this, you know, was the thing that gave him so much reputation, not his mere dialogue-way, (as this author would have it believed, else the story is nothing to his purpose,) but his smooth and pleasant verses, as Ælian, whom this writer follows, expressly tells us. And indeed he had a singular faculty in such composures, there being one sort of measure which bore his name, and was called the Anapæstus of Aristophanes[u], διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν κατακόρως τούτῳ χρησάσθαι, 'because he used it so frequently,' as the scholiast tells us upon that very comedy called the Clouds[v]; which play he needed not be hired to make, having conceived a displeasure at Socrates because he despised the comedians, though he would come to Euripides's tragedies. This Ælian himself confesses was the σπέρματα τῆς κωμῳδίας[x], and not merely the instigation of Anytus and Melitus: and it appears from the comedy that this stuck in his stomach, for in the latter end of it[y] he jeers at Euripides's poetry. Nor is it supposed by any ancient writer that I can meet withal, that Aristophanes was hired to abuse the philosopher, as he stands accused by our author, who justifies the old saying, that it is easy to make the tale run which way it pleaseth the teller. Ælian himself doth not suppose it, but only saith, perhaps he was, and that it would be no wonder if he did take money; concluding at last, (as men do now that have little ground for their suspicions,) "but Aristophanes himself knows whether it were so or no." It seems none of his acquaintance did, and since the poet was not alive to tell the very truth, both he and this gentleman ought to have left out that.

Nor is there any cause that he should make this comedy strike such a stroke to the taking away of Socrates' life. Alas! it abated so little of his reputation, that by his brave contempt

[u] Mentioned by Tully in his Orat. ad Brut. [cap. 190.]

[v] In Act. 1. sc. 3. [p. 93.] et Schol. in Plut. Act. 2. sc. 5. [p. 350.]

[x] [Var. Hist. ii. 13.]

[y] Nub. Act. v. sc. 2. [1371.]

and scorn of those abuses which he expressed even in the open theatre, as Ælian confesses[z] in the midst of the action, he did himself a world of credit, which he preserved and maintained a long time after. It is confessed by learned men, that he lived sixteen years after the acting of this play; but Palmerius hath demonstrated that he lived no less than four, if not five and twenty years after. For it is plain from several places in the play, that it was acted before Cleon's death, which happened the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war, at which time Aminias was the chief magistrate at Athens, An. 2. Olymp. 89. But Socrates was accused when Lachetes[a] governed, An. 1. Olymp. 95, three and twenty years after the death of Cleon[b]; which is sufficient to show that the comedy did him little hurt, and that our author was rash, ignorant, or ill advised to say[c], that when his adversaries had got this advantage of exposing him to public contempt, they began openly to manage their accusation against him. This is to invent, not to write a story; a pure fiction of his own or some other confident brain, like that of the late commentator upon A. Gellius[d], who saith that Aristophanes having lacerated Socrates in his comedy called the Frogs, (so he mistakes,) the very next day he was accused and condemned to death. For it is neither so, nor so; he neither became hereby the public scorn, nor did they now begin to manage their accusation. He flourished a long time after in no small esteem both for his wisdom and for his wit, which was so excellent and smart, that I do not see but Socrates was as great a wit in his way as Aristophanes in his. And that was the dialogue way, in which no man could do better: nor was any man more skilled in ironies, or could manage that which is now wont to be called ingenious raillery, with greater dexterity[e].

Cicero in the first book of his Offices saith, that he was wondrously facetious and pleasant in his discourse, *atque in omni*

[z] And Diog. Laert. observes that Ἦν ἱκανὸς καὶ τῶν σκωπτόντων αὐτὸν ὑπερορᾶν. [Lib. ii. cap. 5. §. 11.]

[a] [Ἐπὶ Λάχητος.—Diod. xiv. 35, 37. Aristid. ii. 286.]

[b] Page 49.

[c] [Socrates was put to death in the month of Thargelion, in the first year of the 95th Olympiad, B. C. 399.—Clinton, Fast. Hellen. ii. 101. Grote's Greece, viii. 662. Thirlwall, iv. 266.]

[d] Ant. Thysius in l. 1. c. 17. 1666, who borrowed it, I have cause to think, from Oliverius in l. 7. Val. Maxim.

[e] Vid. Cicero, l. 2, de Oratore, [cap. 67.]

ratione dissimulator[f]. Plato himself could not otherwise represent him, than as one that was perfect in the art of jesting: which he used so much, even in his most serious discourses, that such morose men (as I fancy him we have to deal withal) commonly called him the Scoffer[g]. Their sullen gravities did not or would not understand that this was a very subtle and ancient way of teaching morality: and that the shortest way to persuade is to please those whom we treat withal. He was persecuted, I imagine, as much by their sour wisdoms as by Aristophanes. They were afraid he should grow too popular, and therefore called him the Mocker, that they might ingross the name of philosophers. This, I am told by a good author, (Diog. Laertius,) was the reason that Anytus, one of his accusers, took such a pique at him. Socrates made little account of his worship, and had given him a nip, for which he resolved to be revenged. And the envy of others (as the same author tells us) began upon this occasion. The oracle told Chærephon (one whom Aristophanes also abuses) that Socrates was the wisest man living: and he was wont to represent the self-conceited wise men as very fools and idiots. They resolved therefore to have him out of the way, if it were possible: but did not lay to his charge his Non-conformity in religion, (as this writer is pleased to tell the tale[h],) as the principal crime he was guilty of. There was not one word of that matter in the first libel exhibited against him, as any one may see in Plato's Apology[i], where it is recorded. Xenophon indeed, Laertius, and others tell us, he was accused of bringing in new demons, &c.; but this, learned men agree, was the crime which his later accusers objected to him, (with far less probability than the other,) to make him the more odious. No man was more conformable in his practice to the laws about religion than himself, if we may believe some of those very authors which this person quotes. Xenophon, for instance, assures us, that as he allowed divinations, so he sacrificed openly, ofttimes

[f] ["De Græcis autem, dulcem et facetum, festivique sermonis atque in omni oratione dissimulatorem, quem εἴρωνα Græci nominaverunt, Socratem accepimus." — Cic. de Offic. i. 30.]

[g] Cicero mentions one [Zeno the Epicurean] that called him Atticum Scurram, l. 1. de Natura Deorum, [cap. 34.] See Seneca, l. 5. De Benef. c. 6.

[h] P. 49. [i] P. 19 edit. Serran.

in his own house, and often upon the common altars of the city [k]. And moreover, that he regulated himself both in sacrifices and in the service of their ancestors, and in all other things, according to the direction of the oracle; which said, that those did godlily who performed them *νόμῳ πόλεως*, 'according to the law of the city.' So Socrates himself did, so he exhorted others to do; and those that did otherwise he held to be *περιέργους καὶ ματαίους*[l], 'impertinent and vain persons.'

All which considered, I hope this worthy author (to return him that epithet which he bestows on one of my books[m]) will be persuaded that he had better have let this story alone; though it make the most plausible show of any thing he hath writ. And since Socrates was no Non-conformist, methinks hereafter he should be none of his followers: nor study that knack which Aristophanes so often twits him withal, *τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν*, 'to make a bad cause appear as if it were good.' I confess he hath a pretty gift this way, and hath learned one lesson very well which the great orator teaches his scholar, viz. to slide over those arguments which are hard, and take no notice of them. Nay, he goes beyond the ablest masters in this point. He contemns the difficulties that are objected to them, and pretends they are so slight and frivolous that they merit not an answer. But methinks there is some conscience to be made when a man uses this trick; and I expected a little more honesty in him than that he should say, there is but one thing in all my discourse that seems to him of any consideration, p. 54.[n] He cannot be so blind, I persuade myself, if ever he cast his eyes on them, as not to see a multitude of things there that deserve not only their serious thoughts but call for their ingenuous confession and hearty repentance. He knows those books are not mostly filled (as he calumniates, p. 60,[o]) "with exceptions against expressions, sayings, occasional reflections on texts of Scripture." These make the least part of them, and are not their main design; but alleged to show either that they who despise our ministers are not such powerful men as they persuade the people, nor so full of the Spirit as they pretend; or that they can bear with

[k] L. 1. Memorabil. p. 708. [cap. 1.]
[l] Ibid. p. 722. [cap. 3.]
[m] P. 47. [Owen's works, vol. xxi. p. 187.]
[n] [Page 190.
[o] [Page 193.]

worse things in them of their own party than those they accuse us of, or for some such like considerable purpose. But as for invectives there are none, unless they be such as those of Nazianzen against the apostate emperor, which (as his Scholiast interprets the word[n]) were ψόγος τῶν Ἰουλιανῷ πεπραγμένων, 'a reprehension of those things which had been done by Julian.'

For this, though it was very smart, Beza thought Genebrard himself durst not accuse the holy father: but behold a man here that hath the face to talk of impertinent calling over of things past and bygone: which is such a piece of confidence that it deserves the name of impudence; for nothing can be more pertinent than to remember how they have deceived the poor people, and how they contradict themselves. And if they were such friends to morality (as he would have us believe), they would save us the labour of remembering these things by doing it themselves: nay, they would call to mind, bewail, and openly renounce all and every those disloyal, unmerciful, and irreligious actions which they have been either guilty of themselves, or countenanced and connived at in others. But we must not hope, I see, for such ingenuity and condescension from men of this lofty spirit, who are not so much for the good old way which calls men to repentance, as for the good old cause which could justify all things, and hallow the blackest crimes. These they must by no means hear of, because they will not condemn, and dare not defend them. It is an unpardonable fault if we do but make mention of their evil deeds. They will never have a good opinion of us more, if we do but tell them how bad they are. This, I know, hath stirred up such anger at me, that I have put them in mind of but a little of their folly; and told them of some sins which I cannot learn they rebuke as they ought, and some duties which they do not press, and that if they be pressed by our ministers they run away, and say they will hear them no more. From this we may conclude, (notwithstanding his fine talk of their principles concerning sin, duty, and holiness, &c. p. 55,) that they are very sore, who cry out if we do but touch them, and cannot endure to be meddled withal. His advice to me, " to sur-

[n] In i. στηλητευτ. [P. 1. of Mountagu's edition of the orations against Julian, containing the Scholia, 4to, Etonæ, 1610.]

cease my proceeding," (p. 52,) sounds no otherwise in my ears than the words of that ulcerous fellow in Sophocles, mentioned by Tully[o]: who, not being able to abide so much as the chirurgeon's hand, cried out,

Abscedite, dimittite ;
Nam attractatu et quassu sævum amplificatis dolorem.

' Begone, let me alone; for by this handling and shaking you increase the cruel pain.' He would fain affright me indeed with the danger of retaliation; but alas! that is a mere bugbear, and will not hurt my cause at all. Nothing that they can do in that kind will be to the purpose, or give any answer to my writings, as I have told them often enough. And therefore, notwithstanding that, I shall not fear to go on, if there shall be any need. And let him threaten what other danger he pleases, I hold the resolution of the great captain in Homer most noble, which the same Roman[p] elsewhere mentions :

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

Englished thus by one of our own writers : " Whatsoever the chanting of the birds foretell, it is best to defend a man's country valiantly."

In that employment, I believe, this letter will find you, and therefore it shall not trouble you further. But I shall beseech God to prosper your labours, and to give us all grace to submit to truth wheresoever we meet it, and in whatsoever shape it appears to us: and likewise shall watch all opportunities to serve you, and approve myself

Your affectionate friend.

[o] Tusc. Q. [Cap. 21. § 50. from the version by Pacuvius of the Νίπτρα or Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ, a lost drama of Sophocles.]

[p] L. 2. Epist. ad Attic. 3. ex Iliad. μ. [243.]

A DISCOURSE

OF

PROFITING BY SERMONS,

AND

OF GOING TO HEAR

WHERE MEN THINK THEY CAN PROFIT MOST.

A DISCOURSE

OF

PROFITING BY SERMONS.

AS there is nothing that all good men more desire, nothing that they more heartily seek and endeavour, than a happy reunion of all those with us who have rent themselves from us, (which we should reckon to be one of the highest blessings that God can now bestow upon us,) so there is little hope of seeing those desires and endeavours satisfied, while the smallest scruples seem a sufficient cause to hinder many people from joining with us.

But among all the reasons that I have heard alleged for leaving our churches, this seems to me to be the weakest and most ungrounded, that our ministers are unedifying preachers, for they cannot profit by their sermons. Which, I am informed, is so commonly objected, and some lay such weight upon it, and it carries with it such a show of piety, (it being a very commendable thing to desire to be the better for every sermon one hears,) that it is thought to be worth somebody's pains to try to remove this unjust prejudice, which too many have entertained against the most instructive and useful sermons, that, perhaps, are preached any where in the Christian world.

This may seem too high a commendation, but it is the judgment of more indifferent persons than we are on either side: of strangers, I mean, who have seen the world; and having learnt our language, and heard and read the sermons that are commonly preached and printed in this great city, affirm there are not the like to be found in any church whatsoever. God grant we be not deprived of such singular helps by our con-

tempt of them; and that our candlestick be not removed out of its place because we withdraw ourselves from the light which it holds forth to us.

Of which we are in very great danger, if, not knowing what it is truly to profit by sermons, we make no progress at all in the state of Christianity; but deceive our own souls in a vain opinion of our acquaintance with God, and our blessed Saviour, and the mysteries of the gospel, which have little or no effect upon our hearts and lives.

I do not pronounce this to be the case of those who object to us, that we have an unprofitable ministry: but I doubt not to demonstrate that the sermons which are generally preached by the ministry in this city (to whose inhabitants I principally write) are such that they may profit by them, if it be not their own fault: and then leave them to judge of themselves as they see cause.

I suppose we are all agreed, or may easily agree, what it is to profit by sermons: for we agree that the holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to our salvation; and therefore, when they are rightly opened and duly applied in a sermon, so that the hearers improve either in Christian knowledge, or in faith, or in well-doing, then they profit by that sermon. Now if any man do not improve in these by the help of the sermons which he may hear in our churches, and the fault lie in the sermon, it must be either in the matter of it or in the manner: for none, I presume, will be so bold as to affirm that God's Spirit doth not accompany a sermon which wants nothing belonging to either of these, the preacher also being duly qualified. And, thanks be to God, there are none that dare now complain of an idle, scandalous, insufficient ministry about this city: but instead of that, they that were wont to have those words in their mouths have taken up the complaint of an unedifying. Whereby we have gained this great point, that they have no colour to pretend the person who preaches is unsanctified, and therefore God doth not bless his ministry: but the fault must lie (if there be any) in the sermon itself; and that in the matter of which it consists, or in the manner of its delivery.

I. And as for the former of these, I can scarce think that any dissenter, when he seriously considers, will except against

our sermons upon that account; they being taken out of the holy Scriptures, (which are the foundation of our religion,) and with such care to find out their true sense and proper meaning, that perhaps they were never more clearly opened and rightly applied than they are nowadays in our churches. I am sure, all that heavenly truth which was delivered to our first parents when they were about to be expelled out of Paradise, which God repeated in his promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which he shadowed and confirmed in the law of Moses, illustrated by the oracles of the prophets, and finally fulfilled in the incarnation, birth, life, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Son of God, and diffused by the preaching of the apostles and the power of the Holy Ghost all over the world, is there so fully and distinctly taught, that we may safely say the whole counsel of God's will is at one time or other faithfully declared among us.

And as that is declared completely, so little else is meddled withal; matters of controversy being as rarely handled in our pulpits, I believe, as in any place of the world, unless it be those which the present state of things sometimes makes absolutely necessary to fortify the people against popery, and against separation: yet even these are not so often treated of as matters of general concernment to all parties of Christians whatsoever. For the great drift of our preachers seems to be, to instruct the people in the truth, and to make them good (particularly to give them right notions of God, which are the very bottom of all religion,) knowing that errors and superstitions will fall of themselves, without a particular confutation. For they are supported by nothing but ignorance and naughty affections; which will uphold them against all the arguments whereby they can be assaulted, unless men's minds be informed and possessed with such a right sense of things as alters their wills and affections, and turns them to an unfeigned love of God and goodness.

Which seems to me to be the aim and scope of the sermons which are generally preached by our ministers: and which is so well performed, that we need not fear to affirm there is nothing necessary either to make men truly knowing in the things of God, or to work belief in them, or to confirm them in the faith, or to direct them in their practice of what they know

and believe, or to excite them to follow those directions, and to live according to the laws of the gospel, or to satisfy material scruples, to resolve doubts and cases of conscience, to comfort disconsolate penitents, and awaken drowsy sinners, or any thing of like nature; but may be met withal in our churches, so fully, solidly, and judiciously handled, that men need go no whither else for edification, if that be the thing they truly desire, and sincerely seek and endeavour.

For what truth can they learn any where else, which is not to be learnt, if they will attend upon God's service there, in our churches? what motives to believe, or what arguments to convince men of their duty, which are not there represented and pressed? What vice is there which doth not there receive just correction? What virtue that is not there most strongly recommended? Which of the promises are not there applied to the hearts of the faithful? and where can men have better means of knowing the *terror of the Lord*, as the apostle speaks, against all the impenitent and disobedient? And if men cannot profit where such things as these are constantly managed to as much advantage as the skill of the preacher will enable him, I am sure the fault must lie somewhere else than in the matter of the sermons.

II. Yes, will some say, we allow the matter of them to be good enough; but the manner of them is such, that we cannot reap the like benefit by them that we do by other men's preaching, who cannot conform to the church of England. Which if it be a just exception, the fault must lie either in the composition of them, or in their delivery after they are composed.

1. Now if the composition of them be faulty, it is because their method is not clear and perspicuous, or the language not plain enough to convey the sense of them to the mind of the hearers. Neither of which, I am confident, can be truly charged upon them. For never did men more endeavour orderly discourse, and aim at plain, unaffected speech, than they do now in the Church of England: where good sense, in the most easy and familiar words, is now looked upon as the principal commendation of sermons.

Some indeed, I have heard, find fault with our sermons for not keeping the old method (as they call it) of doctrine, reason,

and use: which is altogether unjust as well as frivolous. For there is no man that balks that method when it is natural; but rather chooses it, because it hath been common, and is easy and useful. As for example, if any man among us were to preach upon this text, *And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity*[a]; he would, without doubt, not only observe among other doctrines the preeminence of charity, but also give the best reasons he could think of why it ought to be highest in our esteem, and our affections too; because it is the very end of faith and hope, and because it makes us like unto God, which faith and hope do not. And after such like things, he would likewise make that use of this doctrine which the apostle himself doth immediately in the very next words, (ch. xiv. ver. 1,) pressing every one to *follow after* the love of God and of their neighbour: to follow it earnestly and vigorously, and never cease their pursuit till they feel their hearts possessed with it; not contenting themselves merely with believing, but being so affected with it, that they attain the end of their faith, which ought to *work by love*. Nay, he would wish them to examine and prove their faith by this, whether it be likely to save them or no. For if it leave them short of this charity, it will leave them short of heaven: for it is charity alone that hath any place there. And who would forbear most pathetical entreaties here to be very serious in this search? there being so much pretence to faith in the world, and so little charity to be found there. To one sort of faith especially, which is the apprehension of Christ's merits, and application of them to themselves, which everybody makes bold withal, whilst very few have any thing of that charity which St. Paul describes in the chapter beforenamed, of that *long-suffering and kind charity which envieth not, which vaunteth not itself,* (or is not rash,) *is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil,* (but takes things in the best sense, and puts the fairest construction upon them;) in one word, makes a man inoffensive not only towards God, but towards men of all sorts, high and low, rich and poor, that is, to the whole church of God.

[a] 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

The like I might say of all other subjects of the same nature, which lead him that handles them into this method. But sometime the matter to be treated of is such, that there is no other reason to be given of it but only the divine revelation, upon whose testimony we receive it, as we do that Jesus Christ is the eternal Son of God, "begotten of his Father before all worlds." The uses of which I never heard any preacher amongst us fail to make, both for the begetting reverence towards him, faith in him, and obedience unto him.

But what need is there of so many words about this method of sermons, when the ancient doctors of religion, it is manifest, did not mind it, nor any other, but spake to the business before them without observing any constant rule at all in their discourses? And then it is apparent people profited by sermons much more than they do now, when they are most artificially contrived. And it would be an inexcusable sin in those that should leave our church, did the ministers of it only open the sense of the Epistle or the Gospel for the day, (or any other portion of holy Scripture, as St. Chrysostom was wont to do,) without making particular observations, or concluding all with distinct uses, (as the manner now is,) but only with a general application, pressing what they thought most material, or what the necessities of their people most required.

By which way of preaching, if men can receive no profit, they must lay the blame somewhere else than upon the composition of the sermon, or the manner of its delivery either, which is the next thing to be considered.

2. Now here two things are found fault withal: first, that our preachers are not vehement enough in the delivery of their sermons; secondly, that they read them.

For the former of these, it is not true; where the matter in hand is of great concernment, and requires more than ordinary earnestness. Which ought in reason to be reserved for some certain occasions, and not be spent upon all things alike: for then it loses its effect at that time when it would be most seasonably and usefully employed.

But there is a great mistake in that which men call vehemence; which ofttimes consists only in the strength of the voice, which neither all your preachers, nor all ours, are endowed withal. And if they were, would be but noise without

good sense; which would move attentive minds as much as a loud sound affects men's ears.

Add to this, that there is a natural heat also in some men's tempers, which makes them speak vehemently, with such a warmth as hath the appearance of much zeal; when they are nothing near so deeply affected with what they say as some men of more sedate and cool tempers are, whose judgment operates more strongly than their passions. And these men surely may be very serviceable for illumination of the mind; with such force of argument as will certainly move the affections vehemently by the help of serious consideration, without which if any affections be raised, they are little worth, and will not last; but vanish as soon as that blast is over which stirred them up.

And this difference of temper is observable in your men as well as in ours; and therefore this can be no hinderance to edification among us, no more than among you.

As for reading of sermons, it is not universally used, but there are those among us whom God hath blessed with such strength of memory or readiness of conception, that they need not the help of any notes at all in the pulpit. And others do not tie themselves to them, so as never to look off the book, but only assist their memory by them sometimes; whereby the auditory is assured that they hear nothing but what hath been beforehand considered and digested; and the preacher himself also is secured that he shall not forget any thing of moment which he hath prepared, and that no expression slip from him on a sudden which may prove indecent or imprudent. As for those whose weakness of memory, or their great modesty and fear of being out, (as we speak,) compels them to keep their eye constantly upon their notes; as they and others have the forenamed advantages by it, so no man can be in the least prejudiced by it, who will but turn his eyes another way and not look upon the preacher. Then the sermon will sound as well as if it were all pronounced without book; or if this make it unprofitable, by the same reason the Holy Scriptures become unprofitable when they are read out of the Bible; and they also must be got without book to make them edifying. Nay, this exception will lie also against some of your own preachers of great note, who read every word. I am sure they did so heretofore, and this

was then thought no hinderance to your profiting by them; or if it were, you heard them when you could not profit by them, so as you could by those that did not read. And so you may do now by our preachers of this kind, nay, so you ought to do when you have nothing to say against them, but what they are equally chargeable withal whom you highly commend.

III. But after all, I have some reason to fear that when men complain they cannot profit by our sermons, they mean nothing by profiting, but that their affections are not moved in the hearing of them, so as they are by the sermons of Non-conformists; unto which I have many things to say if this paper would contain them, but it will be sufficient to touch only upon these three:

1. That men have several talents, both among you and among us, which are all very profitable; some for informing the judgment, others for moving the affections, and others (which is most desirable,) for both. You are not able to say that all yours move you so as some do, and yet you make such account of all, that it hath ever been looked upon as a very disorderly thing among yourselves (and worse than that, I shall prove by and by) for people to run from their own minister to hear some other, (though of the same way,) merely to have the affections more moved. Because,

2. This alone is so far from profiting by sermons, that it is very great unprofitableness to be moved by a sermon, and do nothing thereupon but only commend it. That is, to be tickled and pleased a while, but not altered nor changed a whit; or to be warmed perhaps a little for the present, and then left as cold as a stone, without any spiritual life, or endeavour to be the better.

3. But the great thing of all is this, that affections raised merely by the earnestness of the preacher, at present in the hearing of a sermon,(and it is well if the affections which some people speak of be not motions which they feel merely from the tone of the voice, as from a taking phrase, a similitude or some such trifle,) are nothing comparable to those which we raise by God's blessing upon our own serious consideration, when we reflect upon what we have heard. Which sort of most excellent affections the sermons that are preached in our churches cannot fail to produce, if you please but to attend to

the matter of them, and press them upon your hearts: nay, your judgments being well informed, it would not be hard for you (if you would but take a little pains with yourselves) to excite such affections unto that which you know to be your duty, as would abide and remain; when the others that were excited in the hearing of a sermon are gone and quite vanished, and can never be recalled, but by your own serious meditation upon those divine truths which entered into your mind, and would have touched, nay pierced your hearts, if you would have brought them thither, and held them close to your consciences.

Which ought to be every Christian's care more than I doubt it is, in order to their profiting by sermons, and that they *may not be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*[b].

IV. And now it is time for all those who are concerned in what hath been said, to apply it to the present case, and going down into themselves to inquire where the fault must necessarily lie, if the sermons preached by our ministers have proved unprofitable to them, which supposeth that they who object this against coming to church have come heretofore, at least to the sermon, but went away and came no more, because they reaped no benefit thereby. Else, how can they pretend that our sermons are unprofitable if they never heard them? Now I have demonstrated that the blame cannot be justly cast upon the sermons, which in themselves are every way fitted to do men good; and therefore we must seek for the cause of this unprofitableness somewhere else, and where are we so likely to find it as in those that heard the sermons? Whom I beseech, in the fear of God, by whose word we must one day be all judged, to consider with themselves impartially, and to ask their consciences such questions as these:

1. Had you not some prejudice in your mind against the person of the minister whom you came to hear, either upon the score of his conformity, or of his strictness in it, or some other account? If you had, and carried it along with you, there is great reason to think this made his pains unprofitable to you, because you could not hear him with that indifference which

[b] [2 Pet. i. 8.]

you would have heard another man withal. But looking upon him perhaps as a timeserver, (as the language of some hath been,) a formalist, or one who you presumed beforehand had little or nothing of the Spirit in him, you minded not so much what was said, as who said it, and disliked those things which out of another mouth you would have accepted. For if such prejudices as these be not laid aside, they bar the heart so strongly against the most excellent instructions, that though an angel from heaven should deliver to us the most important truths, yet, we taking him for a minister of Satan, it would stop our ears against him, and make his message ineffectual.

2. Or might not this be the reason of your reaping no benefit, that you came to church but once or twice, and concluded too hastily there was no good to be got there, being willing also perhaps to have this excuse for absenting yourself wholly from it: whereas, if you had constantly attended our ministry, you might have found yourselves so much improved thereby, as never to have thought of leaving the church upon this account, that you could not profit in it. Make a trial now, (for it is not too late, I hope, if you can shake off all prejudices,) and for some time continue diligent auditors of the minister of your parish; and that which at first may seem to you dull, or hard, or obscure, will, after you are used to it, be clear, easy, and awakening: when you are acquainted, that is, with his method, his style, his way of reasoning and discourse, (as well as accustomed to his voice,) which you cannot be in an instant, or at the first hearing. For the Scriptures themselves are obscure and difficult to the best of us in abundance of places, till by conversation with them we grow acquainted with their phrase, manner of speaking, arguing and connection. And if God's word had been generally used as some among us have treated his ministers, (rejecting them, I mean, because they did not presently apprehend them,) it had been thrown out of all men's hands long ago as an unprofitable piece.

3. I desire such further, to examine seriously and recollect themselves, whether the thing that made them first forsake our ministry as unprofitable, was not that when they came to church the preacher happened to treat on some subject cross to their opinion? Which hasty persons (who consider not what different apprehensions men may have in many matters, and

yet agree well enough together,) cannot brook, but presently fling away from those that contradict them, as if they contradicted God himself. Whereas, if they would have had patience, they might have profited even by such discourses; either by being convinced of their error, or more confirmed in that which they took for truth, being able to answer the arguments brought against it.

4. But (that which is worse than this) the minister was perhaps upon some distasteful subject when you chanced to go to church, and happened to treat of such matters as you love not to hear of, though more necessary, it may be, than many others, for this very reason, that because of their ungratefulness they are seldom handled. Will you not be angry nor lay aside this paper and read no further, if I give an instance or two? Which I mentioned for no other reason but because I know some have taken offence (as they call it) at such doctrines, and ought, if it be possible, to be better taught. Was he not preaching, I mean, about schism or disobedience to governors? It is certain there are such sins, which are very heinous and dangerous every way, and therefore no faithful servant of Jesus Christ can, with a good conscience, balk the treating of them some time or other. And suppose he that treated of them when you was at church extended the duties of unity and of obedience further than you desire, might not you, for all that, have profited very much by what was said upon those subjects?

I believe sober men among you have heard some of your own ministers speak harder words of conformity and conformists than you would have had them, and yet you did not for that reason leave them, but still fancied you could profit by them, even by what they said on that subject of conformity. And therefore you would do well to search and try what account you can give of taking such distaste at the established ministry, as to forsake it upon their pressing some things, which are most certainly Christian duties, with greater strictness than agreed with your present inclinations.

And I the rather beseech you to consider such things as these, because it is a common thing to hear men and women of your way to complain of their unprofitableness under ordinances, of the deadness of their heart in duty, and their barrenness under the most powerful means of grace; which arises perhaps

in those minds that are well inclined merely from a natural dulness or indisposition, which makes them unable to attend or to remember and keep in mind, as they desire, what they have heard; and therefore moral indispositions (such as prejudice, passion, disaffection to the way of worship, or to any Christian doctrine,) will much more make men unapt to receive any impressions from what is said to them, though in itself never so good, and fitted powerfully to affect the heart, were it but entertained with an honest mind.

So that if you complain of deadness and unprofitableness under the ministry of our church, it is no more than a great many of you do of the like barrenness under your own; but proceeding, it is to be feared, from a worse cause, of which in reason you should suspect yourselves to be guilty, rather than conclude so suddenly as you do our ministry to be unedifying.

V. The very same may be said to those who fancy that, though they can profit something by our ministry, yet they can profit more by others. They ought in conscience to examine whence this conceit ariseth; whether it do not proceed from prejudice, from disaffection, from disgust at some doctrine which they love not should be touched, from their seldom attendance upon the established ministry, from their careless hearing when they were there, or from the hasty sentence they pronounced against it before a sufficient trial. And withal, they should consider what they mean by profiting; whether really and truly they are not more earnestly pressed in our congregations to be thoroughly good and virtuous, to take a strict care to please God in thought, word, and deed, than they are in those where they imagine they profit more, because they are entertained there, perchance, with more pleasing subjects than this of their whole Christian duty.

I only suggest this as a thing to be most deeply pondered, and do not accuse you to be guilty of such falseness to your own souls: but this I must say, that if you do not grow more holy, harmless, and unreprovable in your common conversation, if your passions be not better governed, if your tongues be not more strictly bridled, if you grow not more humble, less conceited of yourselves, less confident of your own understandings, more fearful to offend God by censuring, rash judging, disrespectful behaviour to your betters and superiors, and such

like things, you do but deceive yourselves with an opinion of profiting more by the non-conforming ministry that by ours. Upon which if you would attend with a mind to improve in these great things, I am well assured your profiting might appear to all men as well as to yourselves; who might be convinced in a little time, there is no need to go any whither else for such edification. And if you go for any other, there will be no end of seeking still for better entertainment of your fancies and itching ears, which will desire to be gratified with infinite variety.

The mischief of which they of your own way have felt and complained of as much as we; and the better any of them have been, the more careful have they appeared in giving cautions against this wanton humour, though pretending never so much to religion, and to growth in grace, or soul-saving knowledge. In the days of your forefathers, I am sure, they who could not in all things conform to the church of England looked upon this as a dangerous principle, that men must go where they can profit most. And because it is likely that the opinion of a grave and serious person, highly esteemed by all your party formerly, may prevail with you more than any of ours, give me leave to mind you what Mr. Hildersham hath resolved in several cases like to ours, particularly about this, of men's leaving their own pastors to hear others[c].

VI. 1. And first, he resolves this, that "it is the ordinance of God every pastor should have his own flock to attend, and every one of God's people should have a pastor of his own to depend upon[d]." From whence he concludes, that none of those people may ordinarily and usually leave that pastor, because then he doth not depend upon his ministry; which he proves every one of them is bound to do.

2. And that you may not imagine he means any other pastor than such as ours, his second resolution is this, that they who dwell next together should be of the same congregation: whence the name of *parœchia*, and "parish," first came[e].

3. Now thirdly, if it happen that he who is the settled pastor

[c] [In his Lectures on John iv. with additions, fol. Lond. 1632. Some account of Hildersham has been given above, p. 338.]

[d] [Page 269.]

[e] [Page 270.]

of the place where you dwell is a man whose gifts are far inferior to some others, his resolution in this case is, that (he being a man "whose gift is approved by God's church, and who is conscionable in his place, and of an unblamable life[f]") "you ought not to leave him at any time with contempt of his ministry." And then you contemn his ministry, when you speak, or think thus in your heart, "Alas, he is nobody; a good honest man, but he hath no gifts; I cannot profit by him." (Mind, I beseech you, these words, which are none of mine, but Mr. Hildersham's, and I doubt too common language now among you;) and mark the reasons he gives, (which I shall contract,) why you may not do this. "First, a man may be a true minister, though his gifts be far inferior to many others:" and consequently, secondly, "you are bound to love him, and reverence him, and thank God for him[g]:" and thirdly, "doubtless you profit by him, if the fault be not in yourselves." The best Christian that is may profit by the meanest of Christ's servants. "And I am persuaded," saith he, "there is never a minister that is of the most excellent gifts, (if he have a godly heart,) but he can truly say he never heard any faithful minister in his life that was so mean, but he could discern some gift in him that was wanting in himself, and could receive some profit by him."

Which is a thing worthy your consideration now; for there is none of your ministers dare say that they cannot profit by the sermons that are commonly preached in our churches; and therefore so may you, if you please to be impartial, how meanly soever you may think of any of our ministers; especially if you observe this fourth thing, which the same Mr. Hildersham judiciously adds, that,

4. "The fruit and profit which is to be received from the ministry depends not only nor chiefly upon the gifts of the man that preaches, but upon the blessing that God is pleased to give unto his own ordinance." To which he applies those words of the apostle, *Who is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planted any*

[f] [P. 268.] [g] [P. 269.]

thing, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase[h], &c. "And God doth oft give a greater blessing to weaker than to stronger means:" and therefore consider, saith he, "the fault may be rather in thyself than in the preacher, that thou canst not profit. And indeed, how shouldst thou profit by his ministry, if thou come with prejudice, without any reverence or delight unto it, and dost scarce acknowledge God's ordinance in it, nor ever seek to God for his blessing upon it," but look wholly at the man who preaches?

To conclude this, he observes the great want of judgment that appears in this sort of Christians in the choice they make of their teachers, and the applause they give unto them; which shows how necessary it is they should be confined commonly to their own: for as some admire and follow another rather than their own pastor, because he can make more ostentation of eloquence, reading, learning, and such like human gifts, than their own pastor doth, (upon which account the Corinthians preferred sundry teachers before St. Paul himself;) so there are those who leave their own pastor and go to others, only for variety's sake. Though their own have never such excellent gifts, yet can they not like any one man long, but having itching ears, must have an heap of teachers. And some also prefer others before their own pastor, "only because they show more zeal (mark this) in their voice and gesture, and phrase of speech, and manner of delivery; though happily the doctrine itself be nothing so wholesome, or powerful, or fit to edify their consciences, as the doctrine of their own pastor is[i]." And "though these be the best of the three sorts now mentioned, and pretend much love and zeal, yet we may wish them more knowledge and judgment."

I omit other things upon this subject, which you may find in his fifty-eighth lecture upon the fourth of St. John. Where he adviseth indeed that a man may sometime go from his own parish church to hear another whose gifts he more admires: but then (like a judicious divine) adds this notable observation to correct and regulate this liberty, that it may not prove an evil humour; viz. "he only makes right use of the benefit of hearing such as have more excellent gifts than his own pastor,

[h] 1 Cor. iii. 5, 6, 7, 8.

[i] [P. 270.]

as learns thereby to like his own pastor the better, and to profit more by him."

Mark it, I most earnestly entreat you, together with his illustration of it by this example; "the excellent gifts God hath bestowed on others in this case may be fitly resembled unto physic; which they use well whose appetite is thereby amended, and are made able to relish and like their ordinary food the better." If "after men have heard one of excellent gifts, they begin to distaste the ministry of their ordinary pastors, and can like of none, profit by none, unless they have rare gifts; they become at length like to those who, by accustoming themselves to drink hot and strong waters, bring their stomachs to that pass, that they can find no relish or virtue in any drink or water, be it never so hot or strong." Believe it, they receive no true profit from the most admired preacher, who learn not by hearing him to profit by any one that delivers to them the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus, and the doctrine that is according unto godliness; though in the plainest manner imaginable, both for method and language.

This I have chosen to write in his words, because there are some, I fear, that would scarce endure such doctrine from us: which may, at least, be more reverently received and duly considered, (proceeding from a person of such note heretofore among Non-conformists,) and beget so much sobriety in you all, as to make you think what manner of spirit you are now of, how you come to differ so much from the best of your own way in former days. This is worth your serious study, that you may not offend, as many hearers do, "in a partial and factious estimation they have the ministers of the gospel in."

They are his words again in another place, Lecture sixty-six[i], where he observes, this partiality arises from two grounds. First, "the respect they have to difference of judgment that is among us in smaller matters;" which makes them affect such only as are of their own mind in every thing, with the dislike of all others that are of a contrary persuasion. And secondly, from "the respect they have to the difference of gifts which is among preachers," (of which I spake before,) which moves them to "admire some whom they judge to be of excellent

[i] [P. 306.]

gifts," (though, alas, their judgment is very small,) "but to despise and contemn all others." And he hath there these two remarkable reflections upon this humour, which I beg of you to observe and remember.

First, that "this factious disposition in the hearers of God's word hath in all ages been the cause of much confusion in the church of God, and greatly hindered the fruit of the gospel of Christ."

Note here. This way which you are in is not the means of profiting in religion, but of hindering the growth and increase of it.

The second is, that "whereas they in whom this humour reigneth are wont to glory as if they had more judgment, and could discern better of gifts than other men, (saying, Alas, poor people, who esteem so highly of such a man's gifts! if they had any judgment or understanding, they would count him nobody;) the apostle tells us it is quite contrary, and that this argues rather they have very little judgment or grace in them: yea, this makes them uncapable of profiting by the word[k]."

O that there were an heart in you to ponder such profitable instructions as these! which were said on purpose to check that evil disposition which began then to appear among people inclinable to non-conformity, and is since grown the prevailing humour: insomuch that some can settle nowhere, but ramble from one preacher to another, as their uncertain fancy guides them, without becoming one whit the better for any.

Yes, will some say, we might be persuaded to come and hear your preachers, and hearken constantly, but we ought not to be compelled to it; that is a thing you can never justify. To which so much hath been answered by others, that I shall only tell you what that good man before named saith to it, in one of those lectures which was preached in parliament time, May 8, 1610[l], where he takes occasion to stir up the people to pray earnestly for the states of the realm then assembled; that their principal care might be to take order about two things: first, "that an able and conscionable ministry may be placed every where;" and secondly, "that all people may be compelled to hear." "For it is certain (saith he, upon this second head) that where there is a good ministry established, the magis-

[k] 1 Cor. iii. 1.

[l] [Lect. 52. pp. 247. 9.]

trate may and ought to compel all subjects to come and hear; notwithstanding all pretence of their consciences to the contrary."

VII. To sum up all then that hath been said in this business. Be pleased to consider what makes a sermon profitable; and what must be done by the people to profit by the sermon.

A sermon is then profitable when it informs the mind and judgment aright in divine truth; when it instructs you in any part of the Christian duty; when it tends to strengthen or awaken your faith, that you may more steadfastly adhere and earnestly apply yourselves to what you know and believe certainly to be God's mind and will, when it works upon the will and the affections to submit entirely to God's will, that you may bring forth the fruit of a holy life; when it corrects any of your errors, stirs up your sloth, encourages you to diligence, cheerfulness, and perseverance, and such like things.

But the best contrived sermon in the world for all these ends, though it were indited by the Spirit of God itself, would have no efficacy at all in it, if they that heard it did not attend to it; and attend without prejudice, without passion, without partiality, without rash and hasty judgment, without pride and conceit of themselves, and their own knowledge and righteousness: that is, unless they consider and weigh what is delivered, though contrary to their present sense; unless they will impartially give every thing that is offered to their mind a due regard, and allot some time for its further consideration, when it is not to their liking, &c. For want of which multitudes did not profit by our Saviour's sermons, but were rather more exasperated by them; and at last finally hardened against him, and against the Holy Ghost, when it came down from heaven to convince them.

I doubt not they were ready enough then to lay the blame upon his sermons, which pressed them to many things unto which they had no mind; being against their interest, or against some opinion, or affection, to which they were deeply engaged: so that they did not profit by them. But for all this, you believe the fault was wholly in themselves, who ought to have come better prepared, with honest and good hearts to hear his word. And therefore have reason to consider in your present case, that since the most profitable sermons that ever

were made can do no good unless men be disposed to profit by them, whether the unprofitableness you complain of under our ministry do not arise rather for want of what you ought to do to make the most excellent sermon profitable, than from any defect in their ministry.

Judge now, I say, upon the whole: if you cannot profit by the public ministry, where is it most reasonable to think the cause of this unprofitableness lies? whether to suspect the cause may lie in yourselves, or to impute it to their sermons, and conclude them to be unedifying? Pronounce, I beseech you, righteous judgment, after you have well weighed the matter: and give such things as I have here laid before you a just and deliberate consideration; so as hereafter to resolve to lay aside all prejudice, and to be perfectly free to hear with patience and candour what can be said by anybody, though against your present persuasion. Let not your passions rise at it; or, if they do, immediately suppress them, and require them not to meddle in this matter, but to submit unto what shall appear to be reason, after you have weighed the matter impartially.

If you cannot do this, you ought to think that you have not profited much by all the sermons you have heard; and consequently suspect you are in a wrong way of growing wiser and better. And after you have brought yourself to so much liberty, I doubt not you will find that you are in a wrong way; and therefore resolve to alter it, and come into the way of the church. Where if you do not meet presently with such advantages for your spiritual growth as you are told you may receive, you have reason to conclude as the forenamed Mr. Hildersham doth, to those that said they could not find such light, such power, such comfort in the word, as was spoken of; "First, either you have not sought it aright, not with earnestness, or not with a good heart: or, secondly, if you have, and do not find it at first, yet you shall hereafter, if you seek it here with an honest heart."

VIII. And the preaching of God's holy word among us would be of greater efficacy upon your hearts, if when you come to partake of it you would remember and observe some rules (delivered by the same author in another place, Lecture XXVI) about the public worship of God, which now, alas! are generally neglected, and therefore had need to be pressed

for the disposing all men's hearts to profit by their attendance on it.

1. One is, that "at your coming into the congregation, and during the whole time of your abode there, you would behave yourselves reverently[l]." For "we may not come into the place of God's worship as we would into a dancing-school, or play-house, laughing or toying, &c.; neither may we go out of it as we would out of such a one: but in our very coming in, and going out, and whole outward carriage there, we ought to give some signification of the reverence that we bear to this place, and that we do indeed account it the house of God."

Which serious temper of mind and awful sense of God's presence possessing the mind would, no doubt, be an excellent preparation to receive benefit by the whole service of God, as well as by the sermon. For which end,

2. Another rule is, that "we must all come to the beginning of God's public worship, and tarry till all be done...Yea, it is the duty of God's people," saith he, "to be in God's house before the beginning: for it becomes them to wait for the minister of God, and not to let him wait for them[m]." The reasons he gives for this are two: first, "there is nothing done in our assemblies but all may receive profit by it." For example, "by the confession of sins," (and absolution, I may add,) "and all other prayers used in the congregation, a man may receive more profit and comfort than by any other. Which is the reason why the apostles (even after Christ's ascension, when the typical honour of the temple was abolished, &c.) were so delighted to go to the temple to pray at the times of public prayer[n]."

And so he goes on to show how, "by hearing the word read all may profit; and "by hearing it preached even by the meanest minister of Christ, if the fault be not in themselves." How "the singing of psalms also furthers the fruit of the word in the hearts of believers," and "much more benefit may the faithful receive by the sacrament of the Lord's supper." Nay, "by being present at the administration of baptism all may receive profit; being put in mind thereby of the covenant God made with them in baptism, &c." Lastly, "by the bless-

[l] [P. 120.] [m] [Ibid.] [n] Acts i. 3, &c.

ing pronounced by God's minister all may receive good:" and therefore none ought to absent himself from any part of the public service of God.

For which his second reason is very remarkable, that "though we could receive no profit by the exercises used in our assemblies, yet we must be present at them all, to do our homage unto God, and show the reverend respect we have to his ordinances. For there is nothing done in God's public worship among us, (observe this,) but it is done by the instruction and ordinance and commandment of the Lord." As he shows particularly, that "it is his ordinance there should be all sorts and kinds of prayer used; yea, this is the chief duty to be performed in our assemblies[n], that in our public assemblies the word of God should be read" as well as preached: "the holy communion administered," &c.; that is, all things should be done as they are now in our Common Prayer, to which it is plain he hath respect. And this he repeats again, Lecture XXVIII.

"If thou wast sure thou couldst not profit, yet must thou come to do thy homage to God, and to show thy reverence to his ordinance[o]."

3. Another of his general rules is, that "when we are present we ought to join with the congregation in all the parts of God's worship, and do as the congregation doth[p]." For "it makes much for the comeliness and reverence of God's worship that all things be done in good order, without confusion...And it is a principal part of this good order that should be in the congregation, when they all come together, and go together, pray together, sing together, kneel together; in a word, when every part of God's worship is to be performed by the congregation as if the whole congregation were but one man."

And in several places he reproves with a great deal of zeal men's great carelessness in this, particularly their neglect of kneeling in the prayers; having observed that men who will kneel at their own private prayers can never be seen to kneel at the common and public prayer.

His last general rule is, that "we ought to teach our children and servants to show reverence to the sanctuary and pub-

[n] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. [o] [P. 129.] [p] [Lect. xxvi. p. 122.]

lic worship of God." For God cannot endure profaneness and contempt of religion, no, not in children[q]." And "it stands us all upon to use the utmost authority we have to maintain the reverence of God's sanctuary; for the open contempt done by any may bring God's curse on us all[r]...." And certainly," saith he, "among other causes of the plague, and other judgments of God upon the land, this is not the least, that God's public worship is performed among us with so little reverence and devotion as it is."

I am tempted to transcribe a great deal more of these lectures; because by them you may see that if I had moved all that hath been said about our sermons, I might (according to the judgment of this devout and learned man) have maintained that there wants not sufficient means of profiting in our congregations, if there were none, as long as the word of God is there read, by which (together with the other holy duties) all may receive the greatest profit and comfort if they please. For it is of far greater excellence, authority, and certainty than the sermons of any preacher in the world. First, because it comes more immediately from God; and though it be translated by men, yet is there in it far less mixture of human ignorance and infirmity than in sermons. While the word is read we are sure we hear God speaking to us, and that it is the truth that we hear, but not alway so when men preach; for the best man is subject to error. (Which, by the way, shows the great ignorance and profaneness of this age; wherein men make nothing of the reading of God's word, but take the liberty to discourse and chat all the time while the first and second lessons are read to them.)

And secondly, the word that is read is the foundation of all sermons, and the very touchstone whereby they are to be tried. To that which we hear read simple and absolute obedience is due, without any question made of the truth and certainty of it; but so it is not to that which we hear preached, further than we find it agreeable to the written word; for they of Berœa were commended for examining by this even that which the apostles themselves did preach.

IX. But I say no more of this: and shall only crave leave,

[q] [Referring to 2 Kings ii. 23, 24.] [r] [Josh. xxii. 20.]

with some earnestness, to desire two things of every one who saith he cannot profit by our sermons.

1. The first is, that he would examine himself strictly upon this question; whether he thinks he could profit by such a sermon as this, did he hear it preached by one of your ministers. Search to the very bottom of your hearts, and be not satisfied till you feel how they stand affected, and how they would receive a discourse upon these subjects, should you come occasionally (as you now speak) into one of our churches, and there find the preacher pressing these things upon the people's consciences. Especially if you heard him add to these rules, that for the reverence of God's public worship, care should be taken that the place where the congregation assembleth may be decent and comely. And he should call this place a temple, and affirm that God's public worship is no where so well performed as in this temple, and that it is a foul sin and contempt done to God's worship that parishioners either will not be at the charge to maintain such as may keep the church decently, or are altogether careless to see it done; and that the true cause why nowadays men will be at no cost with God's house is, because they have no delight in it; and that this is a piece of irreligiousness, which is a just cause of grief to every godly man, &c. Reflect, I say, upon yourselves, and resolve what you really think you would judge of such a sermon. How would it be accepted by you?

Would [you] be apt to look upon it as altogether unprofitable, or at least, as a needless discourse, which might as well, nay better be spared than preached to the people?

If this be your mind, then consider with yourselves, why such things out of one man's mouth should relish well enough, or go down without disgust, which coming out of another's you presently dislike. Is it not manifest that you are partial and disaffected, and that this is the reason you cannot profit by our sermons? Or if you could not like such discourses, either from Non-conformists or from our ministers, then consider whether you have not reason to think you are very much mistaken in this business of profitable sermons; when you imagine such discourses as these to be unprofitable and superfluous, which in the judgment of sober men of all sides are not only very useful, but so necessary to be taught the people, that for

want of a sense of such things they are in danger to lose their religion. For as that good man said long ago, (and I doubt we are much improved in such impiety since that time,) "as superstition made the papists too careful, and too bountiful, so profaneness and atheism hath made us too void of all care in beautifying the house of God[r]."

2. But if you think that you should count such a sermon profitable, then I desire you, secondly, to examine yourselves, and consider whether you have learnt so much out of the holy Scriptures as to observe all the foregoing rules duly and carefully: or so much as to make them your study, and to think how to bring your heart into conformity with them. Do you, for instance, reverence God's sanctuary, and when you come into it, and while you are there, give open significations of it? Do you come at the beginning of divine service, or only to some part of it, at the latter end, or the sermon only? Do you stand up, and do you kneel, when the rest of the congregation doth? &c.

If you cannot say that you are so well acquainted with these and the rest of the foregoing rules as to endeavour to live by them, then in reason you ought to conclude that the fault is somewhere else, and not in our sermons, if you cannot profit by them: for you do not profit by the holy Scriptures themselves; where these things are so plainly taught, that a man ought to think very meanly of himself, and to look upon himself as a poor proficient in religion, who is not advanced thus far in his regard to the duties and the solemnities of God's worship and service.

And if, being admonished of these things, he do not humble himself, nay, become vile in his own eyes, for having thus long entertained an high opinion of himself, though so deficient in the very rudiments and beginnings of religion, he is not likely to be much the better for any sermon whatsoever: because he will relish none but those only which feed his vain conceit of himself, and of his high attainments, and intimate acquaintance with God, and communion with him in his ordinances; while he hath not a due esteem of them, nor makes a right improvement by them.

X. But I hope these short admonitions may put better incli-

[r] [Lect. xxviii. p. 127.]

nations into those men's minds who will seriously think of them, and particularly beget in them a greater regard than is usually given to the holy word of God read in our churches. Which will dispose every one to profit better by all sermons, (which are but the interpretation and application of that word,) especially if, with due devotion of heart, they will join in the whole service foregoing. By which they may profit (I have shown) as much, if not more, as by sermons, if they be religiously disposed, and will come at the beginning of the prayers, and with all humble reverence attend upon every part of God's worship.

For as he that is away from any part of the sermon (says the same person again) shall profit the less by that which he doth hear; so he that is away from any part of the divine service gets the less good by that at which he is present. For there is no part of God's service (not the Confession, not the Prayers, not the Psalms, not the Blessing) but it concerns every one; and every one may receive edification by it, and will lose much of the benefit he might have had, if he absent himself from it. A thing in which it seems many of them who had most knowledge, and were the forwardest professors in those days, did offend: which moved him to set out the sins of those men in several respects and considerations. Which it would be too long for me to mention; nor is it needful, if this that I have discoursed already be laid to heart. And if men will lay nothing close to their consciences, all that can be said, or wrote, or preached, will do them no good; but they will be only hearers, or readers, not doers of the word, deceiving their own souls.

Wherefore laying aside (as St. Peter speaks[s]) *all malice, and all guile* (or deceit), *and hypocrisies, and envies, and all evil speaking, as newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word*, (or that rational sincere milk, the pure food of your mind and understanding, and not of your fancy,) *that you may grow thereby.* As certainly you will, when you become of the same disposition with little children; void of hatred, of guile, of wrath, of dissimulation, and such like evil affections; and are of an humble, teachable, and submissive spirit. For if every

[s] 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2.

one had but such "an increase of grace as to hear meekly God's word, and to receive it with pure affection," they could not easily fail to "bring forth the fruits of the Spirit."

So we pray in our Litany. And may it please God, as it there follows, "to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived," for Jesus Christ his sake. Amen.

AN

EARNEST REQUEST

TO

MR. JOHN STANDISH, &c.

UPON OCCASION OF A SERMON OF HIS PREACHED AT WHITEHALL BEFORE HIS MAJESTY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1675.

FROM

PATROPOLIS,

DIRECTLY OVER AGAINST

IRENOPOLIS.

AN

EARNEST REQUEST

TO

MR. JOHN STANDISH.

Sir,

There is a sermon of yours, which, having flown up and down the city a quarter of a year, is at length come into the country, and hath reached my meanness, who am one that very seldom sees those new books that come abroad, but was tempted by what I heard of your discourse to send for it, and satisfy myself about it. For I was very loath to believe common fame, or to trust to any men's jealous surmises, as I doubt you have done; especially since it would cost me no great pains, nor much money, to see the truth myself. It was a good while before I could procure it; but when it came, and I had read it over, I was soon convinced that you are not wronged, however you may have wronged others. For I found there such an heavy, nay, bloody accusation of your brethren, that it raised a trouble in my mind beyond what you (who enjoy your ease in a sweet university retirement) can imagine. So great it was, that I could not sleep till I had expressed my resentment of it; which moved me immediately to take my pen, and publicly declare the sense of many honest men with whom I discoursed concerning it.

They are amazed, sir, to think in what condition this poor church and kingdom is, if all that you say be true, or if it prove a slander. Either way they are astonished, to hear from Whitehall pulpit, either that this church nourishes such vipers in its bosom as you have given notice of, or, if your notice be false, that any man should have the face to appear there, and spit such venomous words against his innocent brethren. For you tell his majesty that there are certain men who would "supplant Christian religion with natural theology, and turn the grace of God into a wanton notion of morality; who im-

piously deny both our Lord and his Holy Spirit; who make reason, reason, reason, their only Trinity: and preach up natural and moral religion, without the grace of God, and faith in Christ. The fruits and consequents of whose doctrines are, that there is no such thing as supernatural grace; that every man must be his own Saviour, or he is damned for ever," &c. And these "deceitful workers," these "false apostles," (you would have his majesty and the bishops think,) are crept in among us. Else you have laid out your pains and oil (to use your own phrase, p. 12.) to as little purpose as they "that spend their breath in declaiming against sins quite out of fashion," &c. And your sermon would have served better, and been more proper for the swaggering "Polanders" (you speak of, p. 28) than the court of England. You are an ambassador, no doubt, "of more than common prudence, sagacity, and judgment, one that understands his errand throughout," (as your words are, p. 10.) And therefore, it is to be presumed, would not give a prince and his court a false alarm, nor be so impertinent as to trouble that great assembly with your intreaties, and "beseechings to beware" of men who are nowhere to be found among us; nor have expressed your fears "lest they grow the only divines in vogue by the next age;" nay, that we may "live to see our youth trained up in the Cracovian catechism," unless you intended they should think that they are at work already in our church to supplant Christianity, batter down the Trinity, and exalt nature, reason and morality above the grace of God and faith in Christ.

It is no less charge than this which you have brought against some of our preachers. A charge which contains crimes of so high a nature, that either you, or they whom you mean, deserve the severest punishment. Who they are you particularly aim at, I am ignorant; but I something wonder that you are not called upon by the whole body of the London clergy, who are most likely to be concerned in this matter, to interpret your meaning, and declare who these pests are by whom the church is endangered. For whilst the charge remains thus general, and nobody is named, the very best of them shall be branded by malice, as occasion serves, with these fearful crimes. There are many calumnies, I know, which a wise man should rather slight than take any notice of: but there are others of

such a nature that they ought not to be despised; but of which the greatest men in the church have ever endeavoured to clear themselves. You are not ignorant, I suppose, of that which some laymen understand very well; how St. Hierome and St. Augustine are concerned to purge themselves, when lesser crimes than heresy are objected to them. And therefore, since you endeavour to fix even this horrid brand on some or other of our clergy, and leave us at liberty to suspect anybody because you name nobody, there is none of them but has reason to ask, as the apostles did our Saviour, when he told them one of them should betray him, Sir, is it I? is it I?

Speak, sir, for God's sake, though they think fit to be silent and say nothing: speak, and tell us who the men are on whom you have set so black a character. You are bound to answer, and give us some account of it, both for the sake of us poor laymen, and for the sake of the rest of your brethren.

First, we of the laity have reason to demand of you who they are, that we may carefully avoid them, and preserve ourselves from being misled by them. As you love the salvation of all men, which now the church prays in this Ember-week its ministers may set forward, do not deny us this request. For we poor souls are in a dangerous case, if we follow those with such veneration as is due to the ministers of Christ, who carry all these pestilent heresies in their breasts. They will not fail to insinuate them into us, when they have once insinuated themselves into our esteem and affection: and they cannot easily miss of that, since you tell us they are men whose lives are specious, that appear outwardly very innocent, and can carry matters slily, "amusing men with other fears, while they are pecking at the foundation of our faith with their axes and hammers, that is (as you interpret it) with their great blasphemies, and less criticisms." We have the greater reason to press you to discover these close hypocrites, as you call them, who are ever pecking with those dangerous damnable tools, and yet make no noise. For we are in an apparent hazard, unless you help us, to be cozened by such cunning craftsmasters; who have the skill, I suppose, to put off these poisonous doctrines as cleanly and with the same artifice that they manage their lives. I must call to you therefore again, in the name of a number of pious fools, that you would tell us where

these men live, and what are their names. For they are devils, it seems, who walk up and down in the shape of saints. And therefore, again I beseech you, if you have any compassion in you, let us know where they haunt, and who they are, lest they draw us to hell with them, persuading us all the while we are safe, and in the way to heaven.

Which I also beg of you for the sake of your brethren of the clergy; who shall never be able to say any thing against the enemies of our religion, but presently the names of Socinians and Pelagians shall be cast in their teeth; and a sermon of Mr. J. Standish before the king shall be their voucher. For while you leave it uncertain who they are, anybody (as I said) may be drawn within your charge, and malice and ill nature will be sure to fix your character on those who shall most zealously oppose their phrensies. This is no vain surmise, for to my knowledge there are those who do God and his church much service, on whom some fasten this suspicion; though they are as far from any such heresies as Mr. J. Standish himself. You have gratified those at a very high rate who wish our destruction; for they are the men that cry up your sermon, (being extreme glad to hear so much ill of us,) not the children of the church of England. I am sure that all that I have met withal in our parts are sorry to see you doing the work of our enemies; whose art it hath still been (as they learn from our great archbishop in his book against Fisher[a]) "to blast their opposers with the name of heretic, for this serves to shrivel the credit of the persons; and the persons once brought into contempt and ignominy, all the good they desired in the church falls to dust, for want of creditable persons to back and support it."

Speak out therefore, good sir, I again most earnestly entreat you. Let not the credit of any person be blasted by your means. Leave not ignorance and malice any longer to their guesses, who the men are you intend. But tell their names plainly, fix your character upon the very persons that deserve it; that so they may retain no longer any credit to do mischief, and the rest of your brethren may not lose the credit which they have to do good. I know not by what rules you judge of yourself: but I should not take myself any longer to be a lover

[a] [Laud's Conference with Fisher, sect. x. Works, vol. ii. p. 31.]

of God, of my brethren, and of the church, if I were in your case, and did not answer these reasonable desires. You can do it far more easily, sure, than you composed your sermon: the men's names, I should think, are at your fingers' ends, since you are so well acquainted even with their close hypocrisy. Therefore by the next return of the carrier after this is come to your hand, they at London may expect to hear that you have sent to the press a list of those men who you suspect at least believe "no Trinity but reason, reason, reason," and who believe "there is no supernatural grace, and that every man must be his own Saviour."

And, if you please, oblige us so far as to tell us by the way why you scorn reason so much; which distinguishes you from a beast, and hath made you choose, I hope, to be a Christian. For what was it that led you to the belief of Christianity? Do you owe it only to your education? Is there no reason why you believe one God in three persons? We have been taught, even by those whom you miscall and vilify, that there is the greatest reason, or, in your phrase, reason, reason, reason, for it: because God hath revealed himself in this manner, and the church hath always thus understood him, and next to the voice of God, we reverence the voice of the universal church. Whom do you gratify by decrying reason? Need you be remembered who they were that pretended the Spirit against all your learning, and would have pulled down the places wherein you acquire it? What greater advantage could they have desired than some such champions as you to have joined with them in kicking reason out of doors? and then they had soon thrown you all out together with it.

But I am ashamed to say any more of this. I believe you are able to give a good reason for any thing, unless it be of this, why you think or fear there are such men among us as you have described. Why you said it, many guess the reason: but what reason you have to think it true, none can imagine. And therefore I desire you would be pleased to tell us, that we may join with you in crying them down, as much as some do reason. We will lift up our voice, and instead of "Reason, reason, reason," we will cry as long as we have breath, "Down with them, down with them, down with them; out of the pulpit, even to the ground."

But if you stop your ears, and will not vouchsafe to hear or

regard these earnest petitions which I send you in print, and in the name of divers true children of this church; there will be great reason to think that there is a guilt lies at your door, little less foul than that you lay at other men's. And then the right reverend fathers the bishops of the church are most humbly beseeched that they would hear our cry, and call you to an account, making you open your mouth either to confess those wicked men, or else to condemn yourself. I have heard that Apelles painted calumny with many companions, and strong supporters, such as envy, ambition, whispering, backbiting, and treachery, &c. But behind her there followed repentance, with her head hanging down to the earth, in a mournful habit, with tears and shame beholding truth appearing afar off[b]. There are a great many think that they see a very barefaced calumny painted by Mr. J. Standish in his sermon. If they be not mistaken, her companions and upholders are very visible. But they can as yet see no such attendant waiting on her and following her as repentance; no tears, no blushing, no shame. The reason is, they cannot tell how to make truth appear, unless our spiritual fathers will be pleased to cause him to finish what he has begun, and to bring her forth.

We humbly therefore implore their help, and cry to them with as much earnestness as consists with the duty of children, "Search out the truth, search out the truth," in this matter. It is in your power, right reverend fathers, to make this gentleman blush, if, instead of a sermon, he hath sent a libel into your dioceses, as many fear he hath. But if he have not, you will not quite lose your labour; for I hope you will be able, if he be found faithful, to put those to shame whom he convicts of such heresies. You ought (with due reverence to your high place and office be it spoken) to have so much care of the flock committed to your charge, as to make inquiry after such grievous wolves as he describes; who is the only man, as far as I can learn, that knows them, and is able to inform you where they lurk. Let him be summoned therefore to appear before you, and required to do the church of God so much service as to detect those wolves, that their sheep's-clothing may be pulled off, and Mr. Standish, not they, pass for innocent.

He may be willing perhaps to do that privately to your lord-

[b] [Lucian. de Calumnia, dial. lix. § 5.]

ships, which he will not do openly to the world; give in a list, that is, of those men's names who depraved the Christian religion among us by those forenamed heresies.

There is the greater reason he should do it, because he pretends cause to fear, lest "we live to see our youth (unless effectual care be taken) trained up in the Cracovian Catechism," instead of that of the Church of England. A sign that he thinks these pestilent heretics very numerous, unless he and his partakers (if he have any) have instructed their youth so ill, and suffered them to be so corrupted, that they will be as ready to catch any infectious doctrines as some bodies do the plague. Call upon him therefore to let you know where these pests are: let not such a blot lie upon this church over which God hath made you overseers as either they or he have cast upon it. This will be the most effectual care you can take (which he beseeches from you as well as I) to prevent this evil from overspreading us. It will do more good than his preaching, if he will be persuaded to make a discovery of these dangerous men to you.

Whom we beseech you to examine, sift, and try: if they be found guilty, let them be expelled the church as they deserve, and suffer such punishment as the law inflicts. I am no advocate for them, nor shall I beg for the least mercy or mitigation, if you proceed in the most rigorous manner with them; being as great a stranger to their heresies as I am to Mr. Standish, whose face I never saw. And therefore I hope none will so much as fancy I have any spleen at him, when I move on the other side, that if no such men can be found, then Mr. John Standish may be severely punished for his slander. Which is the greater, because it is against God's priests, and before his sacred majesty, and with so high a confidence, from a man that knows his duty better. Let not this man go away without some special mark either of your kindness or of your severity. If he can produce these antitrinitarian and other heretics, let him be preferred to those dignities which perhaps A, B, C, D, and I, do not know who enjoy. But if there be none of this stamp that can be produced, then let Mr. John Standish be punished, (I will not say, as the old law requires, in the same manner that he would have served others,) but with the loss, at least, of his chaplain's place, which he hath so notoriously abused. Use

your best endeavours that he may never more appear before his majesty, but be put rather to some open shame for defaming those so boldly and publicly, who piously apply their endeavours, it is like, to serve God and his church with much labour and industry; whilst such as he (if he have any followers) sit still and do little, as far as appears, but study invectives against their brethren.

Pardon this vehemence, I most humbly beseech your goodness, which I doubt not is equal to your wisdom and prudence. If I have been too bold in pressing that which I conceive to be the duty of my superiors, and shall hear that this paper is condemned by you, I will condemn it too in my own private thoughts, and beg pardon of Almighty God for my rashness. Though I think I have great reason for what I have done, yet I will not be so presumptuous as to oppose my thoughts to yours, but shall condemn that myself which you shall judge imprudently done, or not with sufficient modesty.

I am in good earnest, and very sincere in this profession; which perhaps Mr. Standish may not think unfit to imitate. For if you, my lords, will not be pleased to concern yourselves in this calumny, (as all that I meet withal think they have reason to call it,) then I must return back to him, and earnestly beseech him to call himself to a strict account, and examine upon what grounds he hath indicted his brethren of at least the suspicion of such foul crimes as, if they be true, make them most detestable. Let him ask himself what moved him to it. Was it pure zeal for the glory of God and the good of souls? or was it envy at the reputation which some men have got by their diligent preaching and writing in the church of God; and fear lest they should step into those preferments of which, perhaps, he thinks himself far more worthy? I accuse him of nothing of this nature, because I know him not; but it will be safe for him to search his heart, whether something of these or such like ill affections do not lurk more secretly there than he fancies Socinianism doth in others. I will not put him upon any inquiries about the rest of his sermon, (though some, I perceive, would fain be satisfied about many particulars besides this,) let him only ask himself again what assurance he hath that he did not wrong the innocent in this part of it. For a number of grave persons, whom I have

spoken withal, and that know the world better than he, are very confident, upon particular search that they have made, there are no such men as he hath described among our clergy. And if he find that his declamation was grounded on weak surmises, and there is nothing substantial to support so dreadful an accusation, let him condemn himself for a grievous offender. Let him fall upon his knees and beg God's pardon; let him inflict that penance on himself which his fault deserves; though the church suffer him to escape without any censure. It will be too much, perhaps, to expect that he should make satisfaction to his brethren whom he hath wronged, by open concession under his hand, that he was rash and too easy to believe evil of others, (to use no harsher word.) If I were as they, I should take his silence for such a concession; and look upon him as a man truly sorry for his sin, if after this he hold his peace.

I have but one word to add to him, and a word to some others, who, I hear, are prone to entertain the same jealousies, and then I have done.

Mr. Standish, let me beseech you once more to consider, (together with all that hath been said,) how rude and barbarous a thing it was for you, who live in the shade, as I may say, in a cool delightful retirement, to come out of it merely to revile those men, many of which, it is thought, bear the heat and burden of the day. If you had not accused them of heresy, (let that be set aside,) yet you cannot but think it a piece of very ill nature, when you seriously reflect upon it, for you who live at your ease, and enjoy a pleasant life in a college, to appear with your flourishes before the court, and there vapour over your deserving brethren, those painful, laborious men who have the constant cure of souls, and contend in that station with innumerable difficulties. They have load (one would think) enough upon them; you needed not have laid on an heavy load of reproaches. They meet with enemies too many; it is very hard that their friends become their enemies: they with whom they walk to the same house of God in company rise up against them. This is bitter, and needs a great deal of patience to bear it.

And the more, because there are a sort of men, I hear, who, as they have been prone to entertain these suspicions, so will

not suffer themselves to be dispossessed of them; notwithstanding all that those men whom they aim at have said and done both in public and private to purge themselves and all their acquaintance of all such heresies, or any thing that looks like them. These are persons of a strange disposition, whose bare surmises must be believed against other men's downright protestations. They pretend, it seems, to see into the heart. They are not to be informed by words what their neighbours think; but they look into them, as they say angels do into one another's thoughts, by I know not what immediate intuition. There is no way to deal with these men: patience is the only refuge in this case, together with serious appeals from them to the all-seeing God, who knows the hearts of those that censure (and what they aim at) as well as of those that stand suspected. And I am sure some of those whose names are endeavoured to be blasted address themselves to him in the words of Susannah, v. 42, *O everlasting God, that knowest the secrets, and knowest all things before they be; thou knowest that they have borne false witness against me, and behold I am condemned; whereas I was never guilty of such things as these men* (though I hope not maliciously) *have invented against me.* And *the Lord,* who, as it there follows, *heard her voice,* will surely hear theirs: and will *make their righteousness* (to use the Psalmist's words) *as clear as the light, and their just dealing as the noon day.* Which will move many good men *to praise God with a loud voice, who saves them that trust in him;* and teach even you, Mr. Standish, to learn that lesson better, which you have often, no doubt, heard, Ecclus. xi. 7. with which I shall conclude.

Blame not before thou hast examined the truth: understand first, and then rebuke.

FALSEHOOD UNMASKED;

IN ANSWER TO A BOOK

CALLED

TRUTH UNVEILED.

WHICH VAINLY PRETENDS TO JUSTIFY THE CHARGE OF

MR. STANDISH

AGAINST SOME PERSONS

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY A DUTIFUL SON OF THAT CHURCH.

IMPRIMATUR.

Ab. Campion.

Novemb. 3, 1676.

TO THE AUTHOR

OF THE

VINDICATION

OF

MR. STANDISH'S SERMON, &c.

Sir,

Being at this time not far from London, I have met with a little pamphlet called The Truth Unveiled, &c. (which you pretend to be a Vindication of Mr. Standish's Sermon) a great deal sooner than otherwise I should have done. The pamphlet itself doth not seem to me to be worthy of any regard: but to yourself, who seem to be much concerned for the safety of our religion, there is a great one due; and therefore, in mere charity to you, I have once more set pen to paper, briefly to demonstrate that you wrong yourself exceedingly in employing your time about works of this nature, for which you are not at all fitted. You are a "person of quality[a]," I make no doubt, because I have your word for it; but I must take the boldness to tell you, that whatsoever other qualities you have, you are not qualified (to imitate a little your way of writing) to pass a censure on men, and on books, as you have taken the liberty to do.

You will be apt, it is like, by this blunt beginning, to make the same judgment concerning me; but I trust I shall evidently show it is no rashness or presumption in me to undertake this task; which is so easy, that it requires no great abilities to make good this charge, viz. that there is a notorious defect either in your will and affections, or else in your mind and judgment: either of which make you unmeet to meddle with these matters.

[a] [Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesey.]

The former of these I dare not suspect, because you profess downright honesty, though no arts; and in many passages speak very piously. Though I cannot forbear to say thus much, that the constant affectation of little strains of the lowest and poorest sort of witty reflections is no good sign of that serious inside piety, whose "heart blood," you say, "is now letting out by a generation of men for whom you cannot find a name bad enough." Who can read without some disdain such pitiful puns as you have made upon the names of several persons; which I doubt you would not allow in another, while you take a great liberty this way yourself? You would call it, I have reason to think, flirting and fleering, or lightness and vanity, if not jeering and abusiveness, in those whom you take to task; which you practise without any scruple from the beginning of the book to the end. Mr. Bull comes first "with his horns and eager pushes," p. 33, having lately "pushed a piece into the world," p. 37. Then Mr. Baxter is described by the character of one who "hath spoiled in his time many good bakings:" and elsewhere, Dr. Heylin passes under the name of "St. George's champion," and you doubt "his dragon too." And there is another I am confident you aim at, when, upon the mention of Dr. Owen and Mr. Jenkins, you tell us of "the grovelling outcries that are made." Nor can I devise any other reason why you contracted the name of your book in the entrance with an &c. (when it stands at length enough in the title-page) but only to bring in the far-fetched conceit of "the oath, &c." Sure, sir, this trifling is not to be a practitioner of piety in Bailey's way[b],

[b] [Referring to the admirable manual entitled the Practice of Piety, written by Dr. Lewis Baily, chaplain to Henry prince of Wales, and subsequently, on the premature death of that prince, to his father James I, by whom he was appointed in the year 1616 bishop of Bangor. He died at the palace of his see Oct. 26, 1631. The exact date of its first publication has not been ascertained, but it was later than Henry's death, which occurred Nov. 5. 1612. The eleventh edition appeared in 1619, and before 1673 it had been printed above fifty times in English both here and on the continent, and translated into the Welsh, French, Hungarian, Polish, and various other languages. A new edition was published in 1842, with a short biographical notice of the author, compiled chiefly from Bp. Kennet's papers, preserved by Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 525. The book itself formed the substance of several sermons preached at Evesham in Worcestershire, of which Bayly was minister, in or about the year 1611.]

nor to watch over your actions according to Brinsley's rules [c], and as you direct us, p. 30. If it be, those books, and the rest you commend to our use, do not surpass so far as you would have the world believe the labours of the "new speaking gentlemen." So you call the writers you oppose, though that excellent man Dr. Hammond (after whom follows bishop Taylor) leads the van, as you speak, and was the forlorn hope. Who deserved sure to be treated with more reverence, especially by a person of quality, who ought not to have stooped to so low, so paltry a way of writing, nor to have comprehended so great a divine and so holy a man under no better name than that of a "new speaking gentleman."

But you do not deny but "there are abundance of excellent, useful, seasonable, well-said things in his Practical Catechism," and therefore, notwithstanding all this, I doubt not but you are (though I know not who you are, no more than the man in the moon) a pious, serious, honest gentleman, (or person of greater quality,) who intends to do service to religion, though you are not well skilled in the business you go about.

For that there is an exceeding great defect in your judgment it is apparent from hence, that pretending a vindication of Mr. Standish's sermon, you have not written one syllable to the purpose. For the men whom he informs against, and whose names I desired we might know, are such as "impiously deny both our Lord and his holy Spirit; who make reason, reason, reason, their only Trinity; who preach up natural and moral religion, without the grace of God and faith in Christ; and in effect say there is no such thing as supernatural grace." That is, in plain terms, rank Socinians, or worse, (if worse can be,) for the Socinians do not advance natural religion against the Christian, nor deny all supernatural grace. Now I did not nor do believe that there is a man to be named among our clergy, who is guilty of these foul detestable heresies. Yes, say you, (or you say nothing,) "since you call so loudly and importunately for a bill of particulars you shall have it:" and the first names you give in are Dr. Hammond and bishop Taylor.

[c] ["The true Watch and Rule of Life," by John Brinsley, in four parts; a devotional work highly esteemed among the puritan body, published in the year 1614.]

Who must therefore be the ringleaders of those deceitful workers, those false apostles Mr. Standish speaks of; or else (to speak mildly in one of your own phrases) "you have missed the cushion." Choose you which of these you will, it is certain you will be found to be an incompetent person to interpose yourself in these differences, though I doubt not you are, as in humility you style yourself, p. 34, "a well-meaning scribbler."

Do you really intend to charge those great men with the crime of Socinianism? Is the Practical Catechism in effect but the Cracovian, in which Mr. Standish feared "we might live to see our youth trained up[d]?" Hath any one more effectually established the doctrine of the holy Trinity than the ever memorable Dr. Hammond, upon the first Epistle of St. John, the fifth chapter and the sixth verse[e]? I believe I may answer for you, that you did not mean to impute any such heresies to either of them. And therefore it remains, if you acquit them, that you condemn yourself of the grossest impertinency and heedlessness, in naming these as the heads of that black faction. For if you can lay things together, you will see that this must be your meaning, or you did not mind what you wrote about; but having something in your head concerning innovations in our religion, regarded not how you applied it. Look over the Earnest Request to Mr. Standish, read the character of the men a list of whom I desire him to communicate, and then apply it to Dr. Hammond and bishop Taylor, and you will very hardly hold (to speak your own language again) from asking yourself that question which you observe, p. 29, Sir John Suckling asked, when he found Sir Toby Matthews in the session of poets, "What do they here[f]?"

Perhaps you will as earnestly reply, "have I not alleged a strange passage out of one of bishop Taylor's prayers?

[d] [Standish declares it to be his prayer, "that we may never live to see our youth trained up in the Cracovian catechism; never live to hear ourselves called by any other new name, but that of God's own giving; that as the disciples were first called at Antioch, so they be last called Christians here in England."—p. 25.]

[e] [Annotations, vol. iv. pp. 462—469.]

[f] ["Toby Matthews—deuce take him, how came he there?"—— Sir John Suckling's Session of the Poets,—Selections from his works, p. 89. 8vo, Lond. 1836.]

What do you say to it?" I say I have taken notice of it myself, and do not know what he meant; but I am sure he was no Socinian, and that there is no Socinianism in the words you quote, whatsoever there be else; and therefore I know not what you meant to thrust them in here where they have nothing to do. There is no man of the church of England, I believe, that will answer for every word in that great man's writings; but no more will any discreet man of your way answer for all the hard sayings that are in Mr. Calvin's. I am sure I find in my small reading the greatest men who have undertaken his defence absolutely disclaiming their being bound to make good every thing that he said, and therefore, had it been more pertinent than it is, you might have let it pass and not have disturbed Dr. Taylor's ashes, (as they speak,) but suffered a person of his merit to sleep in peace.

But some of those that follow perhaps may be of the Racovian stamp, though these two be found as innocent as all you have said about them is impertinent. Let us try, if you please, what you have to say to St. George's champion, who next follows. If we should allowhim to have been, as you doubt, his dragon too, we shall never find him spitting any such venom as that mentioned in Mr. Standish's sermon. You yourself cannot charge him with any such thing, but detain your reader only by a long tedious reflection (in seventeen particulars) upon his Cyprianus Anglicus, or the Life of our great archbishop Laud, which still shows that you are beside the cushion, and without question expect, as you say of him, that "readers should rest upon your dictates without any searching whether you write to the purpose or no:" or else you would never have so determinately called your book a Vindication of Mr. Standish's sermon, which in truth is far otherwise. It would have saved you a great deal of needless pains if you would but have minded the last words of my request to him (which are not mine, but the wise son of Sirach's, *Understand first, and then rebuke*[g]. You would not have troubled us, if you had heeded this good counsel, with a story of his "Arminianism strutting through all the pages of his book;" which is no more to the vindication you undertake than "the mysterious agency of Panzani and Con[h]"

[g] Eccles. xi. 7.

[h] [Gregorio. Panzani, a Romish priest and civilian, was despatched to England by the pope in the year

(which you talk of afterward), and " that which was a doing (I know not when) at Clerkenwell and behind Drury Lane."

Nor hath the " ghost of Tilenus," whom you bring in next, any thing to say about the business. It is only a dumb apparition; and we have nothing but your word for it, that it " makes very irregular glances, and would let out the heart's blood of sundry truly protestant doctrines." All that follows it likewise is but wind, against Parker, Hickringale, and " sweet Mr. Sherlock," (as you are pleased in much civility to term him,) whose writings, you say, contain not much more than sophistical harangues, perspicuous calumnies, and prodigious drolleries. What that " much more" is you will not let us know; it is like that, as little as you think it, it contains a confutation of your accusations. For one of those persons whom you rank with them, Georgius Bull, I am acquainted withal, and know him to be both an holy and a very learned person, who hath in his last book[i] thrown off this charge of Socinianism with as much indignation as you can do the writings of any of the new speaking gentlemen. And there is nobody that knows him but is assured he most sincerely declares his inmost thoughts, and would not for a world embrace any doctrine contrary to what hath been taught by the catholic church, with which he is certain the church of England is not at odds.

But why do I make so many words about this sort of writers? Our books of devotion will not down with you neither; but upon this, that is no occasion, fall under your lash. If they do

1634 with a commission of oyer and terminer, to examine and decide the question then at issue between the secular and regular clergy of the Roman communion, with respect to the validity of the episcopal powers exercised by Richard Smith by virtue of his consecration as bishop of Chalcedon. Another project of his mission was to obtain the royal assent to the creation of Romish bishops in England, even on the condition that they should be nominated by the crown. On his departure from England after three years George Con, a Scotchman, was commissioned as the papal agent in this country, to arrange the former dispute, and carry on the negotiations with the court, &c.—Wood, Athen. Oxon. iii. 387. Collier, viii. 147. Memoirs of Panzani's mission, translated from the Italian, by Dr. Joseph Berington, 8vo, Birm. 1793.]

[i] ["Examen Censuræ," &c., together with Apologia pro Harmonia, in defence of his Harmonia Apostolica against the attacks of Dr. Tully in his Justificatio Paulina. These two works were published together about the end of the year 1675. See Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 196.]

but omit any thing which you would have in them, straightway you quarrel, and think it a sufficient reason for your displeasure at them. The Method and Direction for Private Devotion[i] is not for your tooth. And, which is more, the Whole Duty of Man[k] is not secure from your impotent assault, p. 29 and 32. We must use no other books but such as you like, or else quit our title to the name of the right sons of the church of England. Instead of the excellent book last named, we must buy the Practice of Piety, (though far more liable to exceptions in many wise men's judgments than any book of devotion you have mentioned,) or else you will not be in a good humour. What an imperious dictating spirit is this, (which rules in men of this strain,) who will not allow us so much as to speak out of their phrase! Is this the spirit of true genuine Calvinism, which you so highly commend, p. 28? Are those that carp at every thing, and can relish nothing but what is of their dressing, nor fancy anybody but those that are exactly of their own cut, the rightest sons and fathers of the church of England?

Why, (will you here, I fancy, interrupt me, and be apt to say,) what have you to object against what I have writ, that "an episcopal Calvinist is the rightest son or father of the church of England, the best protestant, (and if a good man) the best Christian?" p. 28. I answer, if you will not count me impertinent for meddling with that which was not my present business with you, I have very much to object. And first I say, that no right son, much less father of the church of England will endure to be called or thought either a Calvinist or an Arminian: for our church follows no particular man, though never so great, neither Calvin, nor Luther, nor Arminius. None of these are the founders of its faith, which is not taught by Calvin's or any other institutions, but by the holy Scriptures, interpreted by the church of Christ in the best ages of it. Or (to give it

[i] ["Enter into thy closet, or a method and direction for private devotion." A little devotional manual, written by Edward Wetenhall, D. D., bishop of Cork and Ross, and afterwards of Kilmore, first published in 12mo, Lond. 1666.]

[k] [The authorship of this celebrated treatise has never been decisively ascertained. It has been attributed to lady Pakington, bishop Fell, archbishop Stearne, archbishop Sancroft, archbishop Frewen, bishop Chapel, Dr. Allestree, Abraham Woodhead, and other writers.]

you in the words of an once father of this church,) "interpreted, not according to the fancies, and mostwhat presumptions of some one man, delighting commonly to oppose and thwart the stream of antiquity; but according to the sense and meaning of those times that drew water nearer unto the well head, that is, to the apostles and their successors immediately."

Upon which score it is certain that the doctrine of this church cannot be Calvinian. For the first and purest ages by which it is guided, you yourself are sensible was not so; only you think it sufficient to smile at those who pretend to authority, and say, "it is little less than ridiculous to talk of the fathers before St. Austin's time in reference to these questions," p. 25. Why so, I beseech you? "Because they lived," say you, "before the controversy was started, and so did not nor could intend to speak appositely to the points of original sin, the power of grace, &c." By which reason we must not appeal to them in the points about popery, for then the pretences of St. Peter were not on foot, &c., and then they could not intend to speak appositely to such matters. I should think those great lights of the church ought not to be thus slighted in a matter of such moment. And an indifferent person would, for your reason, conclude the quite contrary, that they are the more to be heeded, because they are the more likely to have delivered purely their sense without any bias, when they were not engaged among themselves in the heats of controversy, which too oft pervert the understanding. And those doctrines which subvert Mr. Calvin's system were so certainly believed by them, that they made no controversy of them, but with one consent rejected the doctrine of fate, which was then no less rife among the pagans (against whom they were careful no doubt to write appositely) than the absolute irrespective decrees are now among Christians.

But besides this, I am also certain that the sons and fathers of the church of England have opposed this doctrine long before Mr. Hoard appeared, who, you say, was the first who ventured to give our British world new notions of God's love to mankind[1]. This is so palpable an untruth, that bishop Hooper's

[1] [Samuel Hoard published anonymously in the year 1633 a 4to tract against the Calvinian doctrines of absolute predestination and reprobation, entitled "God's Love to mankind, manifested by dis-proov-

works show these notions which you call new are as old as the Reformation. And a sermon preached at St. Paul's cross on the 27th of October, (as the title-page informs me,) *anno Reginæ Elizabethæ* 26, by Samuel Harsnet[m], is such an illustrious testimony against you, that there cannot be a greater. He was then but fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, but afterwards promoted to be one of the fathers of the church in king James' time, and at last advanced to be one of our primates, for he died archbishop of York. I suppose, sir, a person of your reading, who undertakes to trace the crooked muddy stream, as you call it, to its first weak ebullitions, cannot be ignorant of the strong efforts (to use your own word) made by this preacher, who expressly makes the doctrine which Mr. Hoard long after opposed a daring enemy risen up against our Israel. For he expressly calls it "a Goliah, which was grown huge and monstrous, reviling not the host of the living God, but the Lord of hosts[n]." And mentioning those words of St. Paul, *God would have all men to be saved,* tells that numerous auditory, "the Genevan conceit hath dealt with this gracious bounty of God, and this blessed saying, *God would have all men to be saved,* as Hanun did with the ambassadors of David; he cut off their garments to the hips, and this hath curtailed the grace of God to the stumps: for it saith, it must not be meant that God would have every living soul to come to heaven, but one or two perhaps out of every order and occupation. But the spirit of St. Peter (a great deal wiser than that of Geneva) saith plainly, God would not have any one perish, &c. I trust we

ing his absolute decree for their damnation." A second edition was published, also anonymously, in 1673, but without any notification of the work having been published before.

The author was a native of London, entered at the age of fifteen All Souls College, Oxford, subsequently removed to St. Mary's Hall. He was presented to the rectory of Moreton, near Ongar, Essex, and died in 1657. He was originally a Calvinist, but abandoned and denounced those tenets, becoming a zealous Arminian. He was also the author of The Soul's Misery, and Man's Recovery; and The Churches' Authority asserted, reprinted by Hickes in his Biblioth. Script. Angl. p. 190.]

[m] ["A Sermon on Ezek. xxxiii. 11, preached at S. Paul's Cross in London, the 27 day of October, anno reginæ Elizabethæ 26," &c., appended to three discourses by Dr. Richard Stuart, dean of St. Paul's, 8vo, Lond. 1658.]

[n] [Page 134.]

shall have grace to believe him, since himself can better tell what himself would have, than the men of Geneva can." What think you now after this downright declaration? (which I have transcribed a small scrap of, out of that sermon on Ezek. ii. 33 [o].) Was Mr. Hoard the first man that ventured to teach God's love to mankind in a way quite opposite to that of the Calvinians? Is not here a man that boldly tells the British world in the greatest assembly it had, that your beloved doctrine is a stranger, nay, an enemy to our church; strutting indeed about at that time, and bearing itself high, (as you speak of Dr. Heylin's Arminianism,) so that men trembled and shaked at it; but by him resolutely endeavoured to be cast down as a foreign conceit which ought not to be admitted here. We know very well how it came to spread and grow so huge and monstrous, but it was then no more the sense of the church of England than Arianism was the sense of the church catholic when all places were overrun by it. There were still more than one who had the same resolution with Athanasius, to bear witness against it, as I could show out of good authors.

And I can see no cause why bishop Mountague (whom, as becomes a true coarse Calvinian, you call bare "Mountague," and therefore the rest, by the way, need not take it ill they are no better treated,) I should be quite struck out of the number of those from whom we may learn the notions of our church in his days. For I can find no state politics in his book, (which you pretend for his rejection,) but, as he assures us, "the proper, true, and ancient tenets of the church of England, such as be without any doubt or question legitimate and genuine, such as she will both acknowledge and maintain for her own." So he avows in his Epistle Dedicatory to his late majesty before his *Appello Cæsarem* [p]. And there is no reason to think him partial in this case, since Dr. Francis White, then dean of Carlisle, (no mean champion, sure, of our church [q],) testified as much, after he had been authorized by king James to read that book over duly, and give his judgment of it, which is this, as you may see in his approbation or license of it for the press, 1624,

[o] [Page. 153.]

[p] [This work, and the occasion which led to its production, have been noticed above, p. 24.]

[q] [See some account of White, p. 49, above.]

that having diligently perused it, he "found nothing therein but what is agreeable to the public faith, doctrine, and discipline, established in the church of England."

Now mark what this writer saith to those that informed against him. "You would make the world believe (as you, sir, endeavour also to do) that the church of England Calvinizes: show me good warrant for it, and I yield. I may rather say that the church of England hath opposed this doctrine, because that many of the learned (yourselves will not deny) in that church, and most conformable unto the discipline and doctrine of the church, have mainly opposed it." You may find this lively testimony against you in the first part of the seventh chapter[r]: towards the conclusion of which he further adds[s], "I am sure it hath been opposed in the church of England; otherwise taught and professed in the schools, when I was an auditor there. It hath been prohibited to be enjoined and tendered, or maintained as the authentical doctrine of our church, by supreme authority; with sharp reproof unto those that went about to have it tendered, then when those conclusions or assertions of Lambeth (which you mention) were upon sending down to the university of Cambridge." This is quite sufficient to convince you of your error, or if it be not, let me add that bishop Davenant himself, (who you do but hope reduced Mr. Hoard to a sounder mind, for I can prove to the contrary,) in his Lent sermon before the king, and the last, I think, that he preached, declared his opinion to be, as for universal redemption, so for universal grace, within the church. Which, I doubt, the Calvinians will not allow; I am sure those that are called Arminians desire no more. You may find this, if you please, in Dr. Hammond's letters to bishop Sanderson, concerning God's grace and decrees[t], p. 27, and I hope you will take his word in a matter of fact for a greater thing than this.

But if all this will not be regarded, yet I presume the church itself will be allowed to understand its own sense, which hath directly, and in express words, (saith the forenamed bishop Mountague, in that book licensed by the king's authority,)

[r] [P. 59.] [s] [P. 71.] [t] [Χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη, or a "Pacific Discourse of God's grace and decrees," in three letters to Robert Sanderson, D. D. — Hammond's Works, vol. i. p. 559.]

overthrown the ground of Calvinism in teaching thus: "that a justified man and predestinate in your doctrine may fall from God, and therefore become not the child of God, p. 59," which he repeats again, p. 73. "The church holdeth and teacheth punctually (and that in the opinion and with the dislike of the learnedest of your side) that faith, true, justifying faith, once had, may be lost and recovered again; that a man endued with God's holy Spirit may lose that holy Spirit, have that light put out, become like unto Saul and Judas," &c. How can the church of England then be thought, even in your own understanding, to be Calvinian; which teacheth things so cross to Mr. Calvin's hypothesis, that they utterly overturn it? And it had been very happy if they that endeavoured to bend some other articles of our church to his sense, had rather studied, as they ought to have done, to frame their sense in all other things to this article, which is directed so expressly against what he teaches. This church then would have been in a better condition than it is; being now in danger to be destroyed by those who were never quiet, till with the doctrine they had brought in the discipline too of Mr. Calvin among us. Those are memorable words of bishop Mountague's (whom, if he had been yours, you would have gone near on such an occasion to have styled a prophet) which we meet with in the fifth chapter of the first part of his Appeal [u], where he charges those that informed against him with "waving the doctrine of our church, preaching against it, teaching contrary to what they had subscribed; that so," saith he, "through foreign doctrine being infused secretly, and instilled cunningly, and pretended craftily to be the church's, at length you may wind in with foreign discipline also, and so fill Christendom with popes in every parish for the church, and with popular democracies and democratical anarchies in the state." If you please to reflect upon our late confusions, and compare them with this prediction, perhaps you may hereafter love bishop Mountague better, as a person of some judgment and sagacity in other things as well as in this.

But I list not to trouble the reader with any unpleasant re-

[u] ["Appello Cæsarem, a just appeal from two unjust informers," &c. p. 44. Compare p. 24, above.]

flections upon those dismal times; I will rather upon this occasion refresh him with a tale, as king James called it in the conference at Hampton Court, p. 82[x]. "There was a time," saith he, "when Mr. Knox writes to the queen regent of Scotland, telling her that she was supreme head of the church, and charging her, as she would answer it before God's tribunal, to take care of Christ's evangel, of suppressing the popish prelates, who withstood the same. But how long, trow ye, did this continue? Even so long, till by her authority the popish bishops were repressed, he himself and his adherents were brought in and well settled, and thereby made strong enough to undertake the matters of reformation themselves. Then lo, they began to make small account of her supremacy, nor would longer rest on her authority, but took the cause into their own hand, &c. I will apply it thus;" and then, putting his hand to his hat, his majesty said, "My lords the bishops, I may thank you that these men thus plead for my supremacy: they think they cannot make their party good against you but by appealing to it; as if you, or some that adhere unto you, were not well-affected towards it. But if once you were out, and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy." With the like reason I may apply it again to our present business: there are certain men that ring perpetually in our ears, "The doctrine of the Church of England, the doctrine of the Church of England;" as if they were the most afraid of innovations in it, and were the most zealous assertors and strongest supporters of it. Whereas the truth is, they are beat from all other holds, and hope to shelter themselves a little by appealing to it; as if some among us were not well-affected towards it. But if once their opponents were out, and they in their places, with a power to settle matters among us, I know what would become of the doctrine of the Church of England, which they would no more value than an old almanack quite out of date.

But I intend not to make a book of this, and therefore have said enough to demonstrate the first part of your assertion is not true; that an episcopal Calvinist is the rightest son or

[x] [See bishop Barlow's account of the Conference, reprinted in the Phœnix, vol. i. p. 169.]

father of the Church of England. As for the second, that he is, if a good man, the best Christian, I have far more to say than I am willing to print. It is sufficient to tell you, that I have known indeed sundry good men of that way, who I verily believe would have been much better if they had not been of it. And others I have known, who have stained their goodness with such irregular actions, and sinister practices and dealings, as I believe they would not have been guilty of, had not their principles betrayed them into them. And lastly, I am apt to think that you yourself would have been more charitable in your censures, more indifferent in your judgment concerning men and things, more civil and courteous in your treatment of those you oppose, less captious, less partial, and not so peremptory as you are in many places of your book, if you had not been a Calvinian: but I will not dispute on which side (would to God we could use no such word, but as we are one body, so were indeed all one) the best Christians are, nor which principles are apt to make the best. Let us all sincerely endeavour to excel in virtue, and be glad that any can outstrip us, though they be not in all things of our mind; which will be far better than contending about precedency, or about any thing else whatsoever.

Here now we might fairly part but that I believe you will be apt to think, either I have nothing to say, or dare say nothing, of that about which you make so many sad complaints, if I should wholly pass by the points of justification by faith, and imputed righteousness of Christ. With the same provision therefore, that you will not accuse me for meddling with that which did not concern me, I will add a few words about those matters.

And I assure you, I abhor the man as much as you can do, who shall teach me otherwise than our church doth, Art. XI., that "we are accounted righteous before God, only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. And therefore it is a most wholesome doctrine, and full of comfort, that we are justified by faith only." But I verily think there are none that teach otherwise; but you have wholly mistaken those persons whose writings have given you the trouble of making this book. For though we are justified by faith only, yet you acknowledge,

p. 37, that all Christian virtues are connate with that faith. Which grants all that Mr. Bull contends for; whose position is, that the faith which justifies contains in it a sincere purpose of a new life. O but none of those virtues (you add) pass into the cause of justification; no, nor is faith itself any cause of it; not so much as an instrumental cause: and therefore you ought not to have quarrelled with Mr. Bull about this matter, who detests any such thoughts as you impose on him, that our good works "are required casually, and antecedently to our justification," p. 39. No such absurd notion is to be found, I will stand to it, in his book; nor lies, I am sure, in his head. He is not so weak, so unstudied a divine, as to make any thing that we can do the cause of that which God alone can bestow upon us. He doth not so much as require good works antecedently to our entrance into the state of justification; but only the purpose of them, which you yourself acknowledge to be included, together with all Christian virtues, in that faith which justifies. And indeed bishop Davenant, whom you deservedly applaud, affirms, as he shows, that those internal good works are necessary to our justification, though not as efficient or meritorious causes, yet as concurring or previous conditions.

There is but one clause which can bring you off and excuse you in this business, which you wisely insert when you speak of Mr. Bull's doctrine, ("if at least," say you, "I can understand him.") I know not what you can do, but I am sure you do not understand him: and therefore ought to have suspected also that you did not rightly understand bishop Nicholson's books, rather than have said so confidently as you do, "doubtless Mr. Bull imposes very far upon the bishop," when he saith, the bishop read, approved, commended his book, and wished him to publish it. This is very uncivil, and hardly to be reconciled with Christian charity, which teaches us to *think no evil*, to *believe all things*, and so *hope all things*, when the contrary doth not evidently appear. It would have been but bare modesty in you to have thought you did not apprehend the meaning of a writer in matters of controversy about faith, rather than have accused a divine (of no mean credit, I assure you, in his country) of falsifying so impudently in a matter of fact, which he avows to the world, and to the bishop himself (to whom he dedicates his work), to be a most real truth. When

you consider it you will acknowledge, I hope, between God and your own soul, this was too rash and peremptory (to speak gently) and not becoming one of the best sort of Christians.

Which if you and I too will both of us study to be, I think verily it is best for us not to trouble ourselves with nice disquisitions about these matters, wherein we find divines cannot well agree; about the way, I mean, of faith's justifying us. It may suffice us, I should think, to know what our Liturgy teaches us plainly in both the absolutions, that God "pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel," (as it is in the absolution pronounced every day,) having "promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn to him;" as it is in that at the holy communion. Let us receive this glad tidings upon our bended knees, and with most joyful hearts thankfully devoted to his service; and leave those that list to dispute about the particular act of faith that justifies, and how it is instrumental, as they speak, in the business of justification; and whether there be such a thing as a passive instrument, and what repentance hath to do in this matter. Nobody shall ever persuade me but we shall have the benefit of the absolution, though we be not able to resolve these questions, or though we never think of them, "if we truly repent, and unfeignedly believe Christ's holy gospel;" or, which is the same, "with hearty repentance and true faith turn to him."

And in like manner (to speak a word or two in the other point) we are sufficiently instructed in our Litany, as I understand it, to expect to be delivered (from our sins I suppose, and the punishment due to them) by the whole humiliation and exaltation of our Lord Jesus Christ; when it teaches us to pray, "by the mystery of thy holy incarnation, by thy holy nativity and circumcision, by thy baptism, fasting, and temptation, by thine agony and bloody sweat, by thy cross and passion, by thy precious death and burial, by thy glorious resurrection and ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost, good Lord, deliver us." It is plain that whosoever minds what he prays trusts to be delivered by Christ alone; who impetrated this mercy for us, and bestows it on us by his incarnation, nativity, circumcision, and all the rest now mentioned.

But what hand each of these hath distinct from the other in procuring our deliverance, and how each of them merits for us and makes us to be accounted righteous before God; and wherein the merit of his life differs from that of his death and passion, and is applied to us by his resurrection, ascension, and coming of the Holy Ghost; we need not, I hope, very solicitously inquire. For justification is not a blessing that belongs only to scholars and subtle wits, but to the plainest countryman of us all; who pray and hope to be delivered by all that Christ hath done and suffered for us, whose righteousness in both regards was so pure and perfect, that God, in consideration of it, (or for its merits,) was pleased graciously to grant us forgiveness of sins, and him a power to bestow it on all those that believe on his name: which is as much as to say, that we are accounted righteous for the sake of Christ's merits, or for the merits, if you will, of Christ's righteousness; the effects and fruits of which we are made partakers of by faith. So the church teaches us to understand Christ's imputed righteousness, (which all good Christians rejoice in.) For righteousness imputed is our being accounted righteous before God, though we are not so in ourselves; and "we are accounted righteous before God," saith the eleventh article, "only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works and deserving."

If you will trouble yourself with notions beyond this, you may; but do not trouble others with them, who profess they cannot understand how the righteousness of Christ can be so accounted ours (which is the modern notion of it), as if in him we had performed perfect obedience to God. He performed perfect obedience for us, (that we believe, and hope to be saved by the merit of it;) but we did not perform perfect obedience in him, (that is contrary, I have been taught, to the very principles of Christianity.) For if we did, then by that perfect obedience performed in him we become perfectly righteous; free, that is, not only from all punishment, but from fault; and then we have no need of pardon, nor of any inherent righteousness, and we have merited a reward.

For my part, I believe the honest people of the church of England who devoutly say the Litany never think of any such thing, but humbly address themselves to God for mercy,

through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, who hath purchased pardon for penitent sinners by the entire righteousness of his life and death. They mean no more when they pray to be delivered by his wonderful condescension, in being incarnate for our sake, (which was the beginning of his humiliation,) and by his bloody death and burial, (in which it was finished,) but that they may be freed from the guilt of their sins, and the punishment due to them, by the merits of these and all other parts of his humiliation: which, they know, by his exaltation into the heavens, and the coming of the Holy Ghost, was highly acceptable to God; being the fulfilling of all his will in what he required for our redemption; and having obtained for our Saviour all power in heaven and earth to dispense the blessings which he purchased. And thus other churches understand this business; the French for instance, who say[y]; "We believe that our righteousness consists in remission of sins, &c. and therefore, casting away all opinion of our own virtues and merits, we rest only in the obedience of Christ Jesus; which is imputed to us both, that all our sins may be covered, and also that we may obtain grace before God." Here they plainly tell us, that their righteousness (which is procured by Christ's obedience) consists in remission of sins; and therefore that obedience of his is imputed only in this sense, that for its sake we may obtain remission of sins, and be accepted with God.

I beseech you, sir, do not accuse me of heterodoxy if I do not jump with your thoughts in these matters; for I protest I have no inclinations to fasten a sense upon the church's words out of my own head, but would most gladly receive it from

[y] ["Nous croyons que toute nostre justice est fondée en la remission de noz péchez: comme aussi c'est nostre seule félicité, comme dit David (Ps. xxxii.) Parquoi nous rejettons tous autres moyens de nous pouvoir justifier devant Dieu, et sans présumer de nulles vertus ne mérites, nous nous tenons simplement à l'obéissance de Jésus Christ, laquelle nous est allouée tant pour couvrir toutes noz fautes, que pour nous faire trouver grâce et faveur devant Dieu."— Art. 18. of the original Gallican confession drawn up at the first national synod held at Paris, May 19, 1559. — Niemeyer, Harm. Confess. p. 319. The Latin version published at Geneva in 1566 is given in the Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum, p. 104, and the English in the Harmony of Confessions, p. 258, 8vo, Cambr. 1586; p. 163 of that by the Rev. Peter Hall, M. A. 8vo, Lond. 1844.]

those that can inform me better about it. And I have a great respect also for all good men that are of a different mind in these matters; and reverence Mr. Calvin very much, though I do not think myself bound to follow his opinions. All I desire is, that neither you nor anybody else would keep a pudder and a stir, as if Christianity were in danger to be lost by I know not what new notions; when Mr. Bull, and all that I have heard of his way, preach the grace of God in such a manner as I have declared: which makes me confident our religion and the church is safe, if they have no worse enemies than he. But I much fear they are none of the church's friends (though they may design its good) who make such a noise, as if all our ancient, most fundamental doctrines were subverted. For the love of God, sir, let us hear no more of this from your hand, if you bear any good will to it. Let us have no more discourse of innovations in our doctrines, no more Truths unveiled, (though you think yourself never so well acquainted with them,) no more Vindications, nor mention of Mr. Standish: who, being the only person concerned, hath, as became an honest and good man, acknowledged his error by silence. I pray, sir, do not you therefore revive that which he thinks fit should die, and be no more heard of. I dare say for him he will give you no thanks for your kind intentions to serve him; and therefore do not study how to oblige him any further in this matter. He honours several of those persons, I make no doubt, as true sons of the church of England, whom you have loaded with the reproach of departing from its doctrine. You have done him a great deal of injury in endeavouring to make the world believe that he struck at Dr. Hammond, bishop Taylor, or bishop Mountague either. Nothing, I am confident, was further from his thoughts; and he wishes, I am of opinion, that he had been as far out of yours. For it was untowardly done to bring him upon the stage again, right or wrong; when he had no mind to persist in making a breach among us, as he had in an heat begun to do.

But he will take it kindly, I am apt to think, if you will not seek to make him any reparation for this wrong; but leave him to justify himself his own way. He may well forgive you all that is past, for one considerable service you have done him, (and the only one that I can find,) which is, that I hope you

have opened his eyes to see that I was in the right when I told him (in my Request to him) what sort of men he would gratify by those passages in his sermon. Even such as accuse our late great archbishop of Canterbury for being an encourager of the Romish faction, (as you do in express terms, p. 28,) i. e. betraying his trust, and this church, which he so affectionately served that it cost him his life. It was not enough, it seems, that they brought him in his lifetime under the prophet's affliction, (as he complains to our late martyred sovereign in his epistle before his admirable book against Fisher,) " between the mouth that speaks wickedness and the tongue that sets forth deceit, and slandered him as thick as if he were not their own mother's son[z]:" but he must still be persecuted with the same calumnies now that he is laid in his grave.

But it is no wonder that pen should do it which bestows such commendations on him who reproaches not only our bishops, but the most famous persons of that order which have been known in the Christian world. I mean the facetious and candid Marvel, (as you praise him up, p. 34,) with whom " honest Mr. Standish," (as you there truly term him,) will not take it well to be joined in the very same breath; as if he carried on that same design with that gentleman. He is an honester man, I dare say, than you would have him, and hates that which you applaud with all his heart. What! do you really think a son of the church of England can be in love with him that laughs at the primitive times, and makes a jest of the venerable council of Nice, and drolls upon the bishops assembled there as if they were a company of pitiful dunces, whose " understandings were sequestered," and knew not what to believe, but as they were every day instructed by their chaplains? p. 58. Call you this facetiousness? And is it candour too, when he tells us in his Rehearsal Transprosed, that " the highest pinnacle of ecclesiastical felicity" (for the clergy still have most of his kindness) is to " assuage their lust, and wrack their malice?" p. 10. and when in the conclusion of his last work we read that " the bishops have induced his majesty to more severity than all the reigns since the Conquest will contain if summed up together?" What, not queen Mary's reign excepted? No, nor the late reign of the Presbyterians

[z] [Laud's Works, vol. ii. p. viii.]

and Independents? Were the flames in Smithfield, and all the sequestrations (I am loath to mention all the rest of the dreadful sufferings) which our times have known, mere gentleness in comparison with the present rigours? when with so much lenity also as was never known in any reign such books as these were suffered to confute their own accusations?

Good God! how partial are the best sort of Christians grown, (if you may be believed,) who can swallow all this glibly and merrily, with a great deal of smuttiness to boot, (which I have observed in the Rehearsal Transprosed,) but kick at Dr. Hammond and the Whole Duty of Man, &c., which will by no means down with them! What an odd kind of conscience is this, which cries out *How long, O Lord, how long?* (p. 35, as if you wondered at his forbearance,) because some men speak of justifying faith in other terms than you would have them; and can not only suffer, but countenance him who directly strikes at a main principle of Christianity, viz. that our Saviour is the eternal Son of God, begotten before all worlds, of one substance with the Father! For he saith the council of Nice imposed a new article or creed upon the Christian world; when this was the very thing they stood upon, that they only declared the ancient belief, which had always been from the beginning, concerning the Son of God. What outcries would you have made, had any person of our church been guilty of such a fact! How profane, how impious would you have thought it, to call that explication which they made of the ancient faith a gibberish of their own imposing, a cant wherein they forced others to follow them! How oft would you have repeated your *facinus ante hoc inauditum!* p. 35, and reiterated your *heu!* in the next pages; whereas you can read this in him and be calm as a lamb; nay, entertain him with the friendly compliment of "the facetious and candid Marvel[a]."

[a] [Parker had published in the year 1672 "A Discourse in vindication of bishop John Bramhall and the clergy of the church of England from the fanatic charge of popery, together with some reflections on the present state of affairs," &c. intended as a preface to one of Bramhall's treatises. To this Andrew Marvel wrote a satirical reply under the title of "The Rehearsal Transprosed; or animadversions upon a late book intituled A Preface showing what grounds there are of fears and jealousies of Popery;" taking the title from a comedy called the Rehearsal, lately written by George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, and severely lashing Parker under the name of Mr. Bayes, one

Well, I see by this what the care is which some most zealously pretend to have lest there should be the smallest innovation in the doctrine of the church of England; which expressly declares in the 8th article, that the Nicene Creed (together with that of Athanasius and the Apostles') ought to be thoroughly received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture. And in the second article it asserts in plain words the Son to be the very eternal God, of one substance with the Father, &c. Such is the gibberish of the church of England, (as he, and you too, in effect call it,) for which if you were indeed as much concerned as you imagine, and did not deceive yourself with an unequal zeal, you would see reason upon this occasion (as you fancy you do upon another) to "beblur your paper with tears more than ink." For you cannot pretend that any of those whom you trouble yourself so much withal have affronted her doctrine in so audacious a manner as this writer hath done, whom you can read not only with dry eyes, but with a merry heart. There would have been no end of your complaints, could you have found any thing so black in our books; we should have had our ears filled with clamours from all parts of the kingdom, and nothing sounded in them but that Christianity was betrayed, the name of our Lord blasphemed, &c. by an impious innovator. You yourself, though now you be silent, would have joined with them, and said that he had outdone all others in scurrility, calumny, and profaneness; as you accuse others that deserve a better character. You would have sobbed and sighed, and sat down full of Marvel, (you must give me leave to fancy how you would have spoken,) and in deep astonishment that such a

of the characters in that play. Parker rejoined anonymously in turn during the same year with "A Reproof of the Rehearsal Transprosed, in a letter to the author;" and more than one pamphlet appeared on the same side: but he was again unsparingly assailed by his witty antagonist, in "The Second part of the Rehearsal Transprosed, occasioned by two letters, the first printed by a nameless author, intituled 'A Reproof.' &c. the second letter left for me at a friend's house, dated Nov. 3, 1673, subscribed J. G., and concluding with these words: 'If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against Doctor Parker, by the eternal God, I will cut thy throat.'" The superiority in this quarrel seems, by the general verdict of the public at the time, to have rested on the side of Marvel, Parker not having pushed the contest further.]

thing, such an *inauditum facinus*, should be committed in our Israel.

And truly I am so astonished at it, and at your partiality, that I am able to go no further, but must here break off abruptly; after I have told you that I am notwithstanding so charitable, (looking upon you in an ill fit when you writ this book,) that as you take me for an honest country gentleman, so I take you for no less. Which of us is mistaken let the world judge, without giving it any further trouble by either of our scribblings about this business. It had not been troubled with mine, I assure you, but that I thought it was necessary you should see your zeal cannot be so great for one way, but there are men in the church of England who will equal it, and are as much concerned and can say as much for the other way. And now that this is done, let us betake ourselves to our prayers, which is the best employment, that God would enlighten all our eyes, to see the way of truth and righteousness. Amen.

October 20, 1676.

A

DISCOURSE

ABOUT

TRADITION;

SHOWING WHAT IS MEANT BY IT,

AND

WHAT TRADITION IS TO BE RECEIVED,

AND

WHAT TRADITION IS TO BE REJECTED.

A DISCOURSE

ABOUT TRADITION.

An obligation being laid upon us at our baptism to believe and to do the whole will of God revealed unto us by Christ Jesus, it concerns every one that would be saved to inquire where that whole entire will of God is to be found; where he may so certainly meet with it, and be so informed about it, that he may rest satisfied he hath it all.

And there would be no difficulty in this matter, had not the worldly interests of some men raised controversies about it, and made that intricate and perplexed which in itself is easy and plain. For the rehearsal of the Apostles' Creed at baptism, and of that alone, as a summary of that faith, whose sincere profession entitles us to the grace there conferred, warrants the doctrine of the church of England in its VIth Article, that "the Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

But this strikes off so many of the doctrines of the present Roman church, which are not to be found in the Scripture, nor have any countenance there, that they are forced to say, *the faith once delivered to the saints* (mentioned by St. Jude) is not entirely delivered in the Scripture, but we must seek for the rest in the traditions of the church. Which traditions, say they, are to be received as a part of the rule of faith, with the same religious reverence that we do the Holy Scripture.

Now, though this is not really the bottom of their hearts, (as will appear before I have done,) but they finally rest for their satisfaction in matters of faith somewhere else; yet this being plausibly pretended by them in their own justification,

that they follow tradition, and in their accusations of us, that we forsake tradition; I shall briefly let all our people see, who are not willing to be deceived, what they are to judge and say in this business of tradition: about which a great noise is made, as if we durst not stand to it, and as if they of the Roman church steadfastly kept it without any variation; neither of which is true, I shall plainly show in this short discourse.

The meaning of the word.

Which for clearness sake shall begin with the meaning of the word TRADITION, which in English is no more than 'delivering' unto another, and by a figure signifies 'the matter which is delivered;' and among Christians, 'the doctrine of our religion delivered to us.' And there being two ways of delivering doctrines to us, either by writing or by word of mouth, it signifies either of them indifferently: the Scriptures, as you shall see presently, being traditions. But custom hath determined this word to the last of these ways, and distinguished Tradition from Scriptures or writings, at least from the holy writings, and made it signify that which is not delivered in the Holy Scriptures or writings. For though the Scripture be tradition also, and the very first tradition, and the fountain of all true and legitimate antiquity, yet in common language traditions now are such ancient doctrines as are conveyed to us some other way: whether by word of mouth, as some will have it, from one generation to another; or by human writings, which are not of the same authority with the Holy Scriptures.

How to judge of them.

Now there is no better way to judge aright of such traditions than by considering these four things:

First, the authors of them, whence they come.

Secondly, the matter of them.

Thirdly, the authority.

Fourthly, the means by which we come to know they derive themselves from such authors as they pretend unto, and consequently have any authority to demand admission into our belief.

1. For the first of these, everybody knows and confesses that all traditions suppose some author from whom they origi-

nally come, and who is the deliverer of those doctrines to Christian people; who being told by the present church, or any person in it, that such and such doctrines are to be received, though not contained in the Holy Scriptures, because they are traditions, ought in conscience to inquire from whom those traditions come, or who first delivered them: by which means they will be able to judge what credit is to be given to them, when it is once cleared to them from what authors they really come. Now whatsoever is delivered to us in Christianity comes either from Christ, or from his apostles, or from the church, (either in general, or in part,) or from private doctors in the church. There is nothing now called a tradition in the Christian world but proceeds from one or from all of these four originals.

2. And the matter which they deliver to us (which is next to be considered) is either concerning that faith and godly life which is necessary to salvation, or concerning opinions, rites, ceremonies, customs, and things belonging to order. Both which, as I said, may be conveyed either by writing or without writing, by the divine writings or by human writings; though these two ways are not alike certain.

3. Now it is evident to every understanding, that things of both sorts which are delivered to us have their authority from the credit of the author from whence they first come. If that be divine, their authority is divine; if it be only human, their authority can be no more. And among human authors, if their credit be great, the authority of what they deliver is great; if it be little, its authority is little; and accordingly must be accepted with greater or lesser reverence.

Upon which score whatsoever can be made to appear to come from Christ, it hath the highest authority, and ought to be received with absolute submission to it, because he is the Son of God. And likewise whatsoever appears to have been delivered by the apostles in his name hath the same authority; they being his ministers, sent by him, as he was by God the Father; and endued with a divine power, which attested unto them. In like manner, whatsoever is delivered by the church hath the same authority which the church hath; which though it be not equal to the foregoing, (the church having no such divine power nor infallible judgment as the apostles had,) yet

is of such weight and moment that it ought to be reverenced next to theirs. I mean, the sense of the whole church, which must be acknowledged also to be of greater or lesser authority, as it was nearer or further off from the times of the apostles. What was delivered by their immediate followers ought to weigh so much with us as to have the greatest human authority, and to be looked upon as little less than divine. The universal consent of the next generation is an authority approaching as near to the former as the ages do one to another. But what is delivered in later times hath less human authority, though pretending to come, but without proof, from more early days; and hath no authority at all, if it contradict the sense of the church, when it was capable to be better acquainted with the mind of Christ and of his apostles.

As for particular churches, their authority ought to be reverenced by every member of them, when they profess to deliver sincerely the sense of the church universal; and when they determine, as they have power to do, controversies of faith, or decree rites and ceremonies, (not contrary to God's word,) in which every one ought to acquiesce.

But we cannot say the same of that which comes from any private doctor in the church, modern or ancient; which can have no greater authority than he himself was of, but is more or less credible, according as he was more or less diligent, knowing, and strictly religious.

4. But to all this it is necessary that it do sufficiently appear, that such doctrines do really come from those authors whose traditions they pretend to be. This is the great and the only thing about which there is any question among sober and judicious persons; how to be sufficiently assured that any thing which is not delivered unto us in the Scriptures doth certainly come, for instance, from Christ or his holy apostles. For in this all Christians are agreed, that whatsoever was delivered by Christ from God the Father, or by the apostles from Christ, is to be embraced and firmly retained: whether it be written or not written, that makes no difference at all, if we can be certain it came from him or them. For what is contained in the Holy Scripture hath not its authority because it is written, but because it came from God. If Christ said a thing, it is enough, we ought to submit unto it; but we must first know

that he said it: and let the means of knowing it be what they will, if we can certainly know he said it, we yield to it.

But how we can be certain (at this distance of time from his being in the world) that any thing now pretending to it was said by Christ, which is not recorded in the holy Scriptures, there is the business. And it is a matter of such importance, that it cannot be expected any man should be satisfied without very good evidence of it; but he may very reasonably question whether many things be not falsely ascribed unto him and unto his apostles, which never came from them. Nay, whether those things which are affirmed to be the doctrines of the primitive church, and of the whole church, be not of some later original, and of some particular church, or private doctors in the church; unto whose authority that reverence is not due, which ought to be paid, and which we willingly give, unto the former.

Now according to this state of the matter, any good Christian among us (who is desirous to know the truth, and to preserve himself from error) may easily discern what traditions ought to be received and held fast, and what we are not bound unto without any alteration; and what are not to be received at all, but to be rejected; and how far those things are from being credible which the Roman church now would obtrude upon us under the name of apostolical, or ancient traditions, without any authority from the holy Scriptures, or (in truth) any authority but their own, and some private doctors, whose opinions cannot challenge an absolute submission to them.

But to give every one that would be rightly informed fuller satisfaction in this business, I shall not content myself with this general discourse: but shall particularly and distinctly show what traditions we own, and heartily receive; and then what traditions we cannot own, but with good reason refuse. These shall be the two parts of this short treatise: wherein I shall endeavour that our people may be instructed not merely to reject errors, but also to affirm the truth.

PART I.

What traditions we receive.

1. And in the first place, we acknowledge that what is now holy Scripture was once only *tradition*, properly so called; that is, doctrine by word of mouth. In this we all agree, I say, that the whole gospel or doctrine of Christ, which is now upon record in those books we call the Scriptures, was once unwritten, when it was first preached by our blessed Saviour and his apostles.

Which must be noted, to remove that small objection with which they of the Roman church are wont to trouble some people's minds, merely from the name of traditions: which St. Paul in his Epistles requires those to whom he writes carefully to observe. Particularly in that famous place, 2 Thess. ii. 15, where we find this exhortation; *Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.*

Behold, say they, here are things not written, but delivered by word of mouth, which the Thessalonians are commanded to hold. Very true, (should the people of our church say to those that insist upon this,) but behold also, we beseech you, what the traditions are of which the apostle here writes, and mark also when it was that they were partly unwritten.

For the first of these, it is manifest that he means by *traditions* the doctrines which we now read in the holy Scriptures. For the very first word, *therefore*, is an indication that this verse is an inference from what he had said in the foregoing. Now the things he before treated of are the grand doctrines of the gospel, or the way of salvation revealed unto us by Christ Jesus from God the Father: who *hath from the beginning* (saith he, ver. 13, 14.) *chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth, whereunto he hath called you*, &c. This is the sum of the gospel: and whatsoever he had delivered unto them about these matters, of

their *sanctification,* or of their *faith,* or of their *salvation* by *obtaining the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ,* (to which they were chosen, and called through their sanctification and faith,) this he exhorts them to *hold fast,* whether it was contained in this Epistle, or in his former preaching: for he had not occasion now to write all that he had formerly delivered by word of mouth.

Which afterward was put in writing: for mark (which is the second thing) the time when some things remained unwritten, which was, when this Epistle was sent to the Thessalonians. Then some things concerning their salvation were not contained in this letter, but, as yet, delivered only by word of mouth unto this church. I say 'to this church;' for it doth not follow that all churches whatsoever were, at the time of the writing of this Epistle, without the doctrine of the gospel completely written, because among the Thessalonians some traditions or doctrines were as yet unwritten. Which can in reason be extended no further than to themselves, and to this Epistle; which did not contain all the evangelical doctrine, though other writings, which it is possible were then extant in some other churches, did.

And I say, 'as yet unwritten' in that church; because the Thessalonians, no doubt, had afterward more communicated to them in writing besides this Epistle, or the former either, viz. all the Gospels, and the Acts of Apostles, and other apostolical epistles which we now enjoy. Which writings, we may be confident, contain the traditions which the apostle had delivered to the Thessalonians by word, concerning the incarnation, birth, life, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of our blessed Saviour, and concerning the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the mission of the apostles; and all the rest which is there recorded for our everlasting instruction.

And therefore it is in vain to argue from this place, that there are still, at this day, some unwritten traditions which we are to follow, unless the apostle had said, "Hold the traditions which ye have been taught by word, which shall never be written." And it is in vain for us to inquire after any such traditions, or to rely upon them when they are offered unto us, unless we were sure that there was something necessary to our salvation delivered in their sermons, which was never to be

delivered in writing, and unless we knew where to find it, as certainly as we do that which they have committed to writing.

And it is to no more purpose to show us the word *tradition* in other places of St. Paul's writings, particularly in the third chapter of the same Epistle, verse 6, where, by *tradition*, St. Chrysostom understands the apostle's example, which he had given them[a]; and so it follows, ver. 7, *for yourselves know how you ought to follow us*, &c.; or it may refer to the *commandment* he had given them in his former Epistle, iv. 11, (which the reader may be pleased to compare with this,) but cannot with any colour be expounded to signify any doctrine of faith, about which the Roman church now contends with us. For it is plain it hath respect to their good manners and orderly living: for the information of which we need go no whither but to the holy Scriptures; wherein we are taught fully enough how we ought to walk and please God in all things.

The same may be said of that place, 1 Cor. xi. 2, *Now I praise you, brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the traditions* (or *ordinances*, as we render it, or *precepts*, as the Vulgar Latin itself hath it) *as I delivered them unto you.* For we are so observant of what he hath delivered, that we are confident, if St. Paul were now alive, and in this church, he would praise us (as he doth the Corinthians) for keeping the traditions as he delivered them; and, on the contrary, reprove and condemn the Roman church for not keeping them as they were first delivered. And we have good ground for this confidence: there being an instance in that very chapter which demonstrates our fidelity in preserving the very first traditions, and their unfaithfulness in letting them go. For he tells us, ver. 23, that he had *delivered to them what he had received of the Lord:* and that which he received and delivered was about the whole communion (as you may read there and in the following verses, 24, 25) in both kinds; the cup as well as the bread. Thus, he saith, the Lord appointed it, and thus he delivered it: and this tradition we keep entire, as he received it of the Lord, and delivered it to his church in this Epistle, which is a part of the holy Scripture: whereas

[b] [Hom. v. tom. xi. p. 538.]

they do not keep it, but have broken this divine tradition, and give the communion of Christ's body and blood otherwise than St. Paul delivered, keeping the cup from the people.

By which I desire all that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity to judge which church keeps closest to the apostolical tradition, (for so St. Paul calls this doctrine of the communion in both kinds, that which he *delivered*, or left as a *tradition* with them,) they that stick to what is unquestionably the apostolical doctrine, or they that leave it, to follow those doctrines (or presumptions rather) which at the best are very dubious and uncertain.

And further, I desire all that read this paper to consider, whether it be reasonable to think that those rites which have no authority in the holy Scripture (but were instituted perhaps by the apostles) have been kept pure and uncorrupted, according to their first intention; when those sacred rites (for instance, the holy eucharist) are not preserved entire, which are manifestly ordained in the holy writings.

And so much may serve for the first thing: for it would be too long to explain all the rest of the places of holy Scripture, which they are wont to allege (though the word tradition be not mentioned in them) to give a colour to their present pretences: how pertinently, may be judged by these places now considered.

II. Secondly then, that word of God which was once unwritten being now written, we acknowledge ourselves to be much indebted to the church of God in all foregoing ages, which hath preserved the Scriptures, and delivered them down to us as his word: which we ought to do unto those that shall succeed us, as our church teacheth us in its twentieth Article, where the church is affirmed to be "a witness and a keeper of holy writ."

This tradition we own, it being universal, continued, uninterrupted, and undenied. Though, in truth, this is tradition in another sense of the word; not signifying the doctrine delivered unto us, but the manner and means of its delivery.

And therefore, if any member of our church be pressed by those of the Romish persuasion with this argument for their present traditions, that Scripture itself is come to us by tradition, let them answer thus; Very right, it is so, and we thank

God for it; therefore let this be no part of our dispute, it being a thing presupposed in all discourses about religion, a thing agreed among all Christian people, that we read the word of God when we read the holy Scriptures. Which being delivered to us, and accepted by us as his word, we see no necessity of any other tradition or doctrine which is not to be found there or cannot be proved from thence: for they tell us, they are able to make even the men of God *wise unto salvation.*

And if they press you again and say, How do you know that some books are canonical and others not? is it not by a constant tradition? Answer them again in this manner: Yes, this is true also, and would to God you would stand to this universal tradition, and receive no other books but what have been so delivered. But know withal, that this universal tradition of the books of Scripture (unto which you have added several apocryphal writings, which have not been constantly delivered as those we receive) is no part of the *tradition* or doctrine delivered. That is, no doctrine distinct from the Scriptures, but only the instrument or means of conveying that doctrine unto us.

In short, it is the fidelity of the church with whom the canon of Scripture was deposed: but is no more a doctrine not written in the Scripture, than the tradition or delivery of the code or book of the civil law is any opinion or law not written in that code.

And we are more assured of the fidelity of the church herein, than the civilians can be assured of the faithfulness of their predecessors in preserving and delivering the books of their law to them: because these holy books were always kept with a greater care than any other books whatsoever, and in the acceptance of them also we find there was great caution used that they might not be deceived; all Christians looking upon them to be of such importance, that all religion they thought was concerned in them.

Of which this is an argument, that they who sought to destroy the Christian religion in the primitive times, sought nothing more than to destroy the Bible. Which they were wont to demand of those who were suspected to be Christians to be delivered up to them, that they might burn it. And according

as men behaved themselves in this trial, so they were reputed to be Christians or not Christians. And the traditors, as they were called, that is, they who delivered the holy Scriptures into the hands of the pagans, were looked upon by Christians as men that were content to part with their religion. For which there could be no reason, but that they thought Christian religion to be therein contained, and to be betrayed by those who delivered them to be burnt.

By which I have proved more than I intended in this part of my discourse; that in the holy Scriptures, the whole will of God concerning our salvation is contained. Which is the true question between us and the church of Rome: not whether the Scripture be delivered to us as the word of God or no, (in this our people ought to tell them we are all agreed,) but whether they have been delivered as the whole will of God. And from that argument now mentioned and many more, we conclude that universal tradition having directed us unto these books and no other, they direct us sufficiently, without any other doctrines, unto God and to our everlasting rest.

And if they urge you further, and say, that the very credit of the Scripture depends upon tradition; tell them that it is a speech not to be endured, if they mean thereby that it gives the Scripture its authority, (and if they mean less, we are agreed, as hath been already said,) for it is to say that man gives authority to God's word. Whereas in truth, the holy Scriptures are not therefore of divine authority, because the church hath delivered them so to be: but the church hath delivered them so to be, because it knew them to be of such authority. And if the church should have conceived or taught otherwise of these writings than as of the undoubted oracles of God, she would have erred damnably in such a tradition.

I shall sum up what hath been said in this second particular in a few words. Christ and his apostles at first taught the church by word of mouth; but afterward that which they preached was by the commandment of God committed to writing, and delivered unto the church to be the ground of our faith. Which is no more than Irenæus hath said in express words, (l. iii. c. 1[d],) speaking of them by whom the gospel

[d] [Tom. i. p. 173.]

came into all nations: "which they then preached, but afterward by the will of God delivered unto us in the Scriptures, to be in time to come the foundation and pillar of our faith."

III. And further, we likewise acknowledge that the sum and substance of the Christian religion, contained in the Scriptures, hath been delivered down to us even from the apostles' days, in other ways or forms besides the Scriptures. For instance, in the baptismal vow, in the Creed, in the prayers and hymns of the church. Which we may call traditions, if we please; but they bring down to us no new doctrine, but only deliver in an abridgment the same Christianity which we find in the Scriptures.

Upon this there is no need that I should enlarge: but I proceed further to affirm,

IV. That we reverently receive also the unanimous tradition or doctrine of the church in all ages, which determines the meaning of the holy Scripture, and makes it more clear and unquestionable in any point of faith wherein we can find it hath declared its sense. For we look upon this tradition as nothing else but the Scripture unfolded: not a new thing which is not in the Scripture, but the Scripture explained and made more evident.

And thus some part of the Nicene Creed may be called a tradition, as it hath expressly delivered unto us the sense of the church of God concerning that great article of our faith, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. Which they teach us was always thus understood; tho Son of God, "begotten of his Father before all worlds, and of the same substance with the Father."

But this tradition supposes the Scripture for its ground, and delivers nothing but what the fathers assembled at Nice believed to be contained there, and was first fetched from thence. For we find in Theodoret (l. i. c. 6), that the famous emperor Constantine admonished those fathers in all their questions and debates to consult only with these heavenly inspired writings; "because the evangelical and apostolical books, and the oracles of the old prophets, do evidently instruct us what to think in divine matters." This is so clear a testimony, that in those days they made this the complete rule of their faith whereby they ended controversies, (which was the

reason that in several other synods we find they were wont to lay the Bible before them,) and that there is nothing in the Nicene Creed but what is to be found in the Bible; that Cardinal Bellarmine hath nothing to reply to it but this: "Constantine was indeed a great emperor, but no great doctor[e]." Which is rather a scoff than an answer; and casts a scorn not only upon him, but upon that great council, who, as the same Theodoret witnesseth, assented unto that speech of Constantine. So it there follows in these words, "the most of the synod were obedient to what he had discoursed, and embraced both mutual concord and sound doctrine."

And accordingly St. Hilary a little after extols his son Constantius for this, that he adhered to the Scriptures; and blames him only for not attending to the true catholic sense of them. His words are these, (in his little book which he delivered to Constantius[f],) "I truly admire thee, O lord Constantius the emperor, who desirest a faith according to what is written." They pretended to no other in those days, but (as he speaks a little after) looked upon him that refused this as antichrist. It was only required that they should receive their faith out of God's books, not merely according to the words of them, but according to their true meaning, (because many spake Scripture without Scripture, and pretended to faith without faith, as his words are;) and herein catholic and constant tradition was to guide them. For whatsoever was contrary to what the whole church had received and held from the beginning could not in reason be thought to be the meaning of that Scripture which was alleged to prove it. And, on the other side, the church pretended to no more than to be a witness of the received sense of the Scriptures, which were the bottom upon which they built this faith.

Thus I observe Hegesippus saith, (in Eusebius's History, l. iv. c. 22,) that when he was at Rome he met with a great many bishops, and that "he received the very same doctrine from them all." And then a little after tells us what that was, and whence they derived it, saying, that "in every succession

[e] [De verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. cap. 11. tom. i. col. 202 B.]

[f] [Ad Constant. August. lib. ii. col. 1229 D.]

of bishops and in every city so they held, as the law preached, and as the prophets, and as the Lord." That is, according to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament.

I shall conclude this particular with a pregnant passage, which I remember in a famous divine of our church, (Dr. Jackson, in his Treatise of the Catholic Church, chap. xxii[g],) who writes to this effect:

"That tradition which was of so much use in the primitive church was not unwritten traditions or customs, commended or ratified by the supposed infallibility of any visible church; but did especially consist in the confessions or registers of particular churches. And the unanimous consent of so many several churches, as exhibited their confessions to the Nicene council, out of such forms as had been framed and taught before this controversy arose about the divinity of Christ; and that voluntarily and freely, (these churches being not dependent one upon another, nor overswayed by any authority over them; nor misled by faction to frame their confessions of faith by imitation, or according to some pattern set them,) was a pregnant argument, that this faith wherein they all agreed had been delivered to them by the apostles and their followers, and was the true meaning of the holy writings in this great article; and evidently proved that Arius did obtrude such interpretations of Scripture as had not been heard of before, or were but the sense of some private persons in the church, and not of the generality of believers.

In short, the unanimous consent of so many distinct visible churches, as exhibited their several confessions, catechisms, or testimonies of their own or forefathers' faith unto the council of Nice, was an argument of the same force and efficacy against Arius and his partakers, as the general consent and practice of all nations in worshipping a divine power in all ages is against atheists. Nothing but the ingrafted notion of a Deity could have induced so many several nations, so much different in natural disposition, in civil discipline and education, to affect or practise the duty of adoration. And nothing but the evidence of the *ingrafted word*, (as St. James calls the gospel,) delivered by Christ and his apostles in the holy Scriptures, could have kept

[g] [Comment. on the Creed, book xii. chap. 22. § 3. vol. xii. p. 169.]

so many several churches, as communicated their confessions unto that council, in the unity of the same faith.

The like may be said of the rest of the four first general councils, whose decrees are a great confirmation of our belief; because they deliver to us the consent of the churches of Christ in those great truths which they assert out of the holy Scriptures.

And could there any traditive interpretation of the whole Scripture be produced upon the authority of such original tradition as that now named, we would most thankfully and joyfully receive it. But there never was any such pretended; no, not by the Roman church; whose doctors differ among themselves about the meaning of hundreds of places in the Bible. Which they would not do, sure, nor spend their time unprofitably in making the best conjectures they are able, if they knew of any exposition of those places in which all Christian doctors had agreed from the beginning.

V. But more than this, we allow that tradition gives us a considerable assistance in such points as are not in so many letters and syllables contained in the Scriptures, but may be gathered from thence by good and manifest reasoning. Or, in plainer words, perhaps, whatsoever tradition justifies any doctrine that may be proved by the Scriptures, though not found in express terms there, we acknowledge to be of great use, and readily receive and follow it; as serving very much to establish us more firmly in that truth, when we see all Christians have adhered to it.

This may be called a 'confirming tradition:' of which we have an instance in the doctrine of Infant Baptism, which some ancient fathers call an apostolical tradition. Not that it cannot be proved by any place of Scripture, no such matter; for though we do not find it written in so many words that infants are to be baptized, or that the apostles baptized infants, yet it may be proved out of the Scriptures: and the fathers themselves, who call it an apostolical tradition, do allege testimonies of the Scriptures to make it good. And therefore we may be sure they comprehend the Scriptures within the name of apostolical tradition; and believed that this doctrine was gathered out of the Scriptures, though not expressly treated of there.

In like manner, we in this church assert the authority of bishops above presbyters by a divine right: as appears by the book of Consecration of Bishops; where the person to be ordained to this office expresses his belief that "he is truly called to this ministration according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ." Now this, we are persuaded, may be plainly enough proved to any man that is ingenuous, and will fairly consider things, out of the holy Scriptures, without the help of tradition: but we also take in the assistance of this for the conviction of gainsayers; and by the perpetual practice and tradition of the church from the beginning confirm our Scripture proofs so strongly, that he seems to us very obstinate, or extremely prejudiced, that yields not to them. And therefore, to make our doctrine in this point the more authentic, our church hath put both these proofs together in the preface to the form of giving orders; which begins in these words, "It is evident unto all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the apostles' time there have been three orders of ministers in Christ's church, bishops, priests, and deacons."

I hope nobody among us is so weak as to imagine, when he reads this, that by admitting tradition to be of such use and force as I have mentioned, we yield too much to the popish cause; which supports itself by this pretence. But if any one shall suggest this to any of our people, let them reply that it is but the pretence, and only by the name of tradition that the Romish church supports itself: for true tradition is as great a proof against popery as it is for episcopacy. The very foundation of the pope's empire (which is his succession in St. Peter's supremacy) is utterly subverted by this; the constant tradition of the church being evidently against it. And therefore let us not lose this advantage we have against them by ignorantly refusing to receive true and constant tradition; which will be so far from leading us into their church, that it will never suffer us to think of being of it, while it remains so opposite to that which is truly apostolical.

I conclude this with the direction which our church gives to preachers in the book of Canons, 1571, (in the title *Concionatores*[h],) that "no man shall teach the people any thing to be

[h] [Wilkins, Concilia, tom. iv. p. 267. Sparrow's Collection, p. 238. Cardwell's Synodalia, vol. i. p. 126.]

held and believed by them religiously, but what is consentaneous to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament; and what the catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered out of that very doctrine." This is our rule whereby we are to guide ourselves: which was set us on purpose to preserve our preachers from broaching any idle, novel, or popish doctrines, as appears by the conclusion of that injunction; "Vain and old wives' opinions, and heresies, and popish errors, abhorring from the doctrine and faith of Christ, they shall not teach, nor any thing at all whereby the unskilful multitude may be inflamed either to the study of novelty or to contention."

VI. But though nothing may be taught as a piece of religion which hath not the forenamed original, yet I must add that those things which have been universally believed, and not contrary to Scripture, though not written at all there, nor to be proved from thence, we do receive as pious opinions. For instance, the perpetual virginity of the mother of God our Saviour; which is so likely a thing, and so universally received, that I do not see why we should not look upon it as a genuine apostolical tradition.

VII. I have but one thing more to add, which is, that we allow also the traditions of the church about matters of order, rites, and ceremonies. Only we do not take them to be parts of God's worship, and if they be not appointed in the holy Scriptures, we believe they may be altered by the same or the like authority with that which ordained them. So our church hath excellently and fully resolved us concerning such matters in the XXXIVth Article of religion: where there are three things asserted concerning such traditions as these.

First, "it is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies (they are the very first words of the article) be in all places one or utterly alike; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word." But then, to prevent all disorders and confusions that men might make in the church by following their own private fancies and humours, the next thing which is decreed is this:

Secondly, that "whosoever through his own private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions

and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren."

Lastly, it is there declared that " every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."

This is sufficient to show what we believe concerning traditions about matters of order and decency.

VIII. As for what is delivered in matters of doctrine or order by any private doctor in the church, or by any particular church, it appears by what hath been said that it cannot be taken to be more than the private opinion of that man, or the particular decree of that church, and can have no more authority than they have; that is, cannot oblige all Christians, unless it be contained in the holy Scripture.

Now such are the traditions which the Roman church would impose upon us, and impose upon us after a strange fashion, as you shall see in the second part of this discourse; unto which I shall proceed presently, when I have left with you this brief reflexion on what hath been said in this first part.

Our people may hereby be admonished not to suffer themselves to be deceived and abused by words and empty names, without their sense and meaning. Nothing is more common than this, especially in the business of traditions. About which a great stir is raised, and it is commonly given out that we refuse all traditions. Than which nothing is more false: for we refuse none truly so called; that is, doctrines delivered by Christ or his apostles. No, we refuse nothing at all because it is unwritten; but merely because we are not sure it is delivered by that authority to which we ought to submit.

Whatsoever is delivered to us by our Lord and his apostles we receive as the very word of God: which we think is sufficiently declared in the holy Scriptures. But if any can certainly prove by any authority equal to that which brings the Scriptures to us, that there is any thing else delivered by them,

we receive that also. The controversy will soon be at an end, for we are ready to embrace it when any such thing can be produced.

Nay, we have that reverence for those who succeeded the apostles, that what they have unanimously delivered to us as the sense of any doubtful place, we receive it, and seek no further. There is no dispute whether or no we should entertain it.

To the decrees of the church also we submit in matters of decency and order, yea, and acquiesce in its authority when it determines doubtful opinions.

But we cannot receive that as a doctrine of Christ which we know is but the tradition of man; nor keep the ordinances of the ancient church in matters of decency so unalterably as never to vary from them, because they themselves did not intend them to be of everlasting obligation; as appears by the changes that have been made in several times and places, even in some things which are mentioned in the holy Scriptures, being but customs suited to those ages and countries.

In short, traditions we do receive, but not all that are called by that name; those which have sufficient authority, but not those which are imposed upon us by the sole authority of one particular church assuming a power over all the rest. And so I come to the second part.

PART II.

What traditions we do not receive.

1. And in the first place, we do not believe that there is any tradition which contains another word of God, which is not in the Scripture, or cannot be proved from thence. In this consists the main difference between us and them of the Romish persuasion, who affirm that divine truth, which we are all bound to receive, to be partly written, partly delivered by word of mouth without writing. Which is not only the affirmation of the council of Trent, but delivered in more express terms in the Preface to the Roman Catechism, drawn up by their order; where we find these words, (towards the conclusion of it,) "The whole doctrine to be delivered to the faithful is contained in the word of God; which (word of God) is distributed into Scripture and tradition.

This is a full and plain declaration of their mind, with which we can by no means agree, for divers unanswerable reasons.

1. Not only because the Scriptures testify to their own perfection, which they affirm to be so great, as to be able to complete the divinest men in the church of Christ in all points of heavenly wisdom, 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17, but

Secondly, because the constant tradition of the church (even of the Roman church anciently) is, that in the Scriptures we may find all that is necessary to be known and believed to salvation. I must not fill up this paper with authorities to this purpose; but we avow this unto the people of our church for a certain truth, which hath been demonstrated by many of our writers, who have shown that the ancient doctrines universally speak the language of St. Paul, 1 Cor. iv. 7, *not to think above that which is written.* I will mention only these memorable words of Tertullian, who is as earnest an advocate as any for ritual traditions, but having to deal with Hermogenes in a question of faith, whether all things in the beginning were made of nothing, urges him in this manner: "I have nowhere yet read that all things were made out of a subject matter. If it

be written, let those of Hermogenes's shop show it; if it be not written, let them fear that woe which is allotted to such as add or take away[a]." The very same answer should our people make to those that would have them receive any thing as an article of faith which is not delivered to them by this truly apostolical church wherein we live. If it be written, let us see it; if it be not, take heed how you add to the undoubted word of God. We receive the holy Scriptures as *able to make us wise to salvation.* So they themselves tell us, and so runs the true tradition of the church, which you of the Romish persuasion have forsaken, but we adhere unto.

3. And we have this further reason so to do, because if part of God's word had been written, and part unwritten, we cannot but believe there would have been some care taken in the written word, not only to let us know so much, but also inform us whither we should resort to find it, and how we should know it, if it be absolutely necessary for us to be acquainted with it. But there is no such notice, nor any such directions left us, nor can any man give us any certain rule to follow in this matter, but only this, to examine all traditions by the Scripture, as the supreme rule of faith, and to admit only such as are conformable thereunto.

4. For which we have still this further reason, that no sooner were they that first delivered and received the holy Scriptures gone out of the world, but we find men began to add their own fancies unto the catholic truth, which made it absolutely necessary to keep to the tradition in the holy Scriptures, all other growing uncertain. This is observed by Hegesippus himself, (in Eusebius, l. iii. c. 32,) that the church remained a chaste virgin, and the spouse of Christ, till the sacred quire of the apostles, and the next generation of them who had had the honour to be their auditors, were extinct; and then there began a plain conspiracy of impious, atheistical error, by the fraud of teachers who delivered other doctrine." Which was a thing St. Paul feared even in his own lifetime about the church of Corinth, (2 Cor. xi. 3,) lest the devil, like a wily serpent, should beguile them and corrupt their minds from the

[a] ["Scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non est scriptum, timeat Væ illud adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum."—Tertull. Contr. Hermog. cap. 22. p. 241 D.]

original simplicity of the Christian doctrine wherein they were first instructed. And if it were attempted then, it was less difficult, and therefore more endeavoured, afterward, as shall appear anon by plain history, which tells how several persons pretended they received this and that from an apostle. Some of which traditions were presently rejected, others received, and afterwards found to be impostures. Which shows there was so much false dealing in the case, that it was hard for men to know what was truly apostolical in those days if it came to them this way only, and therefore impossible to be discerned by us now, at this great distance of time from the apostles, who we know delivered the true faith; but we have no reason to rely upon mere tradition without Scripture for any part of that faith, when we see what cheats were put upon men by that means, even then when they had better helps to detect them than we have.

It is true the fathers sometime urge tradition as a proof of what they say. But we must know that the Scriptures were not presently communicated among some barbarous nations, and there were some heretics also who either denied the Scriptures, or some part of them; and in these cases it was necessary to appeal to the tradition that was in the church, and to convince them by the doctrine taught every where by all the bishops. But that (mark this, I pray you) of which they convinced them by this argument was nothing but what is taught in the Scripture.

5. With which we cannot suffer any thing to be equalled in authority, unless we would see it confirmed by the same or equal testimony. This is the great reason of all why we cannot admit any unwritten traditions to be a part of the word of God, which we are bound to believe; because we cannot find any truths so delivered to us as those in the holy Scriptures. They come to us with as full a testimony as can be desired of their divine original; but so do none of those things which are now obtruded on us by the Romish church under the name of traditions, or unwritten word of God.

For the primitive church had the very first copies and authentic writings of those books, called the New Testament, delivered by the apostles' own hands to them. And those books confirm the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and they were

both delivered to posterity by that primitive church, witnessing from whom they received them, who carefully kept them as the most precious treasure; so that this written word hath had the general approbation and testimony of the whole church of Christ in every age until this day, witnessing that it is divine. And it hath been the constant business of the doctors of the church to expound this word of God to the people; and their books are full of citations out of the Scripture, all agreeing in substance with what we now read in them. Nay, the very enemies of Christianity, such as Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, never questioned but these are the writings of which the apostles were the authors, and which they delivered: besides the marks they have in themselves of a divine Spirit which indited them, they all tending to breed and preserve in men a sense of God, and to make them truly virtuous.

Not one word of which can be said for any of those unwritten traditions which the Roman church pretend to be a part of God's word, for we have no testimony of them in the holy Scriptures; nor doth the primitive church affirm she received them from the apostles, as she did the written word; nor have they the perpetual consent and general approbation of the whole church ever since; nor are they frequently quoted as the words of Scripture are upon all occasions by the doctors of the church; nor do we find them to be the doctrine which was constantly taught the people; nor is there any notice taken of them by the enemies of our faith, whose assaults are all against the Scriptures. In short, they are so far from having any true authority, that counterfeit testimonies and forged writings have been their great supporters. Besides the plain drift of them, which is not to make all men better, but to make some richer, and the manifest danger men are in by many of them to be drawn away from God, to put their trust and confidence in creatures. As might be shown, if this paper would contain it, in their doctrines of papal supremacy, purgatory, invocation of saints, image-worship, and divers others.

Concerning which we say as St. Cyprian doth to Pompeius about another matter; "If it be commanded in the Gospels or in the Epistles of the apostles, or in their Acts, that they should not be baptized who return from any heresy, but only be received by imposition of hands, let this divine and holy tradi-

tion be observed [b]." The same say we; if there be any thing in the Gospels, in the Epistles, in the Acts, concerning invocations of saints, concerning the praying souls out of purgatory, &c. let that divine, that holy tradition be observed. But if it be not there, "what obstinacy is this, (as it follows a little after in that Epist. 74[c],) what presumption, to prefer human tradition before the divine disposition or ordinance!"

A great deal more there is in that place, and in others of that holy martyr, to bring all to the source, the root, the original of the divine tradition; for then human error ceases: which original tradition he affirms to be what is delivered in the holy Scriptures; which delivering to us the whole will of God concerning us, we look after no other tradition but what explains and confirms and is consonant to this. For we believe that what is delivered to us by the Scriptures, and what is delivered by true tradition, are but two several ways of bringing us acquainted with the same Christian truth, not with different parts of that truth.

And so I have done with the first thing, the sum of which is this: we do not receive any tradition or doctrine to supply the defect of the Scripture in some necessary article of faith; which doctrines they of Rome pretend to have one and the same author with the Scripture, viz. God, and therefore to be received with the same pious affection and reverence; but cannot tell us where we may find them, how we shall discern true from false, nor give us any assurance of their truth, but we must take them purely upon their word.

Now how little reason we have to trust to that, will appear in the second thing I have to add: which is this,

II. That we dare not receive any thing whatsoever merely upon the credit of the Roman church; no, not that divine, that holy tradition before spoken of, viz. the Scripture. Which we do not believe only upon their testimony, both because they are but a part of the church, and therefore not the sole keepers of divine truth; and they are a corrupted part, who have not approved themselves faithful in the keeping what was committed to them.

Let our people diligently mark this, that traditions never were, nor are now, only in the keeping of the Roman church:

[b] [P. 211.] [c] [P. 212.]

and that these things are widely different, the tradition of the whole church, or of the greatest and best part of it; and the tradition of one part of the church, and the least part of it, and the worst part also and most depraved.

What is warranted by the authority of the whole church, I have shown before, we reverently receive; but we cannot take that for current tradition which is warranted only by a small part of the church, and we give very little credit to what is warranted only by that part of it which is Roman. Because,

1. First, this church hath not preserved, so carefully as other churches have done, the first and original tradition which is in the Scriptures; but suffered them to be shamefully corrupted. Every one knows that there is a Latin vulgar edition of the Bible, (which they of that church prefer before the original,) none of which they preserved heretofore from manifest depravations, nor have been able, since they were told of the faults, to purge away; so as to canonize any edition without permitting great numbers in their newest and most approved Bibles. Isidore Clarius, in his preface to his edition, complains that he found these holy writings defaced with innumerable errors, eight thousand of which, that he thought most material, he saith he amended; and yet left he knew not how many lesser ones untouched: after which (the council of Trent having vouched this vulgar Latin edition for the only authentic) pope Sixtus the Fifth published, out of the several copies that were abroad, one which he straitly charged to be received as the only true vulgar, from which none should dare to vary in a tittle. And yet two years were scarce passed before Clemens the Eighth found many defects and corruptions still remaining in that edition; and therefore published another, with the very same charge, that none else should be received.

Which evidently shows they have suffered the holy books to be so foully abused, that they know not how to amend the errors that are crept into them, nor can tell which is the true Bible. For these two Bibles, thus equally authorized as the only authentic ones, abound not only with manifest diversities, but with contradictions or contrarieties one to the other. Whereby all Romanists are reduced to this miserable necessity, either to make use of no Bible at all, or to fall under the curse of Sixtus if he make use of that of Clement; or the curse of

Clement if he use the Bible of Sixtus. For they are both of them enjoined with the exclusion of all other editions, and with the penalty of a curse upon them who disobey the one or the other: and it is impossible to obey both.

This might be sufficient to demonstrate how unfaithful that church hath been in the weightiest concerns. Whereby all the members of it are plunged beyond all power of redemption into a dismal necessity, either of laying aside the Scriptures, or of offending against the sacred decrees (as they account them) of one or other of the heads of their church, (which some take to be infallible,) and being accursed of them.

2. But for every one's fuller satisfaction, it may be fit further to represent how negligent they have been in preserving other traditions, which were certainly once in the church, but now utterly lost. There is no question to be made, but the apostles taught the first Christians the meaning of those hard places which we find in their and other holy writings. But who can tell us where to find certainly so much as one of them? and therefore, where is the fidelity of this church which boasts so much to be the keeper of sacred traditions? For nothing is more desirable than those apostolical interpretations of Scripture, nothing could be more useful, and yet we have no hope to meet with them either there or indeed any where else. Which is no reproach to other churches who do not pretend to more than is written, but reflects much upon them, and discredits them who challenge the power of the whole church entirely, and would pass not only for the sole keepers and witnesses of divine truth, but for careful preservers of it. For of what should they have been more careful than of these useful things, whereof they can tell us nothing? when of unprofitable ceremonies they have most devoutly kept, if we could believe them, a very great number.

3. They tell us indeed of some doctrinal traditions also which they have religiously preserved; but mark, I beseech you, with what sincerity. For to justify these they have forged great numbers of writings and books, under the name of such authors as it is evident had no hand in them: which is another reason why we cannot give credit to their reports, if we have no other authority. There are very few persons now that are ignorant how many decretal epistles of the ancient

bishops of Rome have been devised to establish the papal empire; and how shamefully a donation of Constantine hath been pretended, wherein he gave away the Roman empire and all its rights to the pope. Which puts me in mind (as a notorious proof of this) of the forgeries that are in the Breviary itself: where we read of Constantine's leprosy, and the cure of it by Sylvester's baptizing him, (which are egregious fables;) and of the decrees of the second Roman synod under that pope Sylvester, wherein the Breviary affirms Photinus was condemned; when all the world knows that Photinus's heresy did not spring up till divers years after the death of Sylvester. And there are so many other arguments which prove the decrees of that synod to be a vile forgery, that we may see, by the way, what reason they have to keep their Liturgy in an unknown language; lest the people, perceiving what untruths they are taught instead of God's word, should abhor that divine service as justly they might, which is stuffed with so many fables.

It would be endless to show how many passages they have foisted into ancient writers to countenance their traditions, particularly about the papal supremacy; by which so great a man as Thomas Aquinas was deceived: who frequently quotes authorities which are mere forgeries, though not invented by him, I verily think, but imposed upon him by the fraud which had been long practised in that church. For we find that the canons of so famous and universally known a council as that of the first at Nice have been falsely alleged even by popes themselves. Boniface for instance, and Zosimus alleged a counterfeit Nicene canon to the African bishops in the sixth council of Carthage: who, to convince the false dealing of these popes, sought out with great labour and diligence the ancient and authentic copies of the Nicene canons; and having obtained them both from Alexandria and from Constantinople, they found them for number and for sense to be the very same which themselves already had, but not one word in them of what the popes pretended. The same I might say of pope Innocent and others, whom I purposely omit, because I study brevity.

4. And have this further to add, that as they have pretended tradition where there is none, so where there is they have left

that tradition; and therefore have no reason to expect that we should be governed by them in this matter, who take the liberty to neglect as they please better tradition than they would impose upon us. None are to be charged with this, if it be a guilt, more than themselves. For instance, the three immersions, i. e. dipping the persons three times in baptism, was certainly an ancient practice, and said by many authors to be an apostolical tradition, and to be ordained in signification of the blessed Trinity, into whose name they were baptized. And yet there is no such thing now in use in their church, no more than in ours; who justify ourselves, as I showed above, by a true opinion that rites and ceremonies are not unalterable: which it is impossible for them to do, unless they will cease to press the necessity of other traditions upon us, which never were so generally received as this which is now abolished. To which may be added the custom of giving the eucharist to infants, which prevailed for several ages, and is called by St. Austin an apostolical tradition; the custom of administering baptism only at Easter and Whitsuntide; with a great heap more, which it would be too long to enumerate. Nor is it necessary I should trouble the reader with them, these being sufficient to show the partiality of that church in this matter; and that we have no reason to be tied to that merely upon their authority, which they will not observe, though having a far greater. Nay, all discreet persons may easily see what a wide difference there is between them, who have abrogated such traditions as had long gone even in their church under the name of apostolical; and us, who therefore do not follow pretended traditions now, because we believe them not to be apostolical, but merely Roman. He is strangely blind who doth not see how much more sincere this church is than that in this regard.

5. Besides this, we can demonstrate, that as in these things they have forsaken traditions, so in other cases they have perverted and abused them, turning them into quite another thing. As appears to all that understand any thing of ancient learning, in the business of purgatory, which none of the most ancient writers so much as dreamt to be such a place as they have now devised, but only asserted a purgatory fire, through which all, both good and bad, even the blessed Virgin herself,

must pass at the great and dreadful day of judgment. This was the old tradition, as we may call it, which was among Christians; which they have changed into such a tradition as was among the pagans.

6. But it is time to have done with this; else I should have insisted upon this a while, which I touched before, and is of great moment: that the tradition which now runs in that church is contrary to the certain tradition of the apostles and the universal church, particularly in the canon of Scripture. In which no more books have been numbered by the catholic church in all ages, since the apostles' time, than are in the Sixth Article of Religion in this Church of England: till the late council of Trent took the boldness to thrust the apocryphal books into the holy canon, as nothing inferior to the acknowledged divine writings. This hath been so evidently demonstrated by a late reverend prelate of our church, in his Scholastical History of the Canon of the Scriptures[a], out of undoubted records, that no fair answer can be made to it.

But I must leave a little room for other things that ought to be noted.

III. And the next is a consequence from what hath been now said; that, there being so little credit to be given to the Roman church only, we cannot receive those doctrines for truth which that church now presses upon our belief upon the account of tradition. For instance, that the church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all other churches; that the pope of Rome is the monarch or head of the universal visible church; that all Scriptures must be expounded according to the sense of this church; that there are truly and properly seven sacraments, neither more nor less, instituted by our blessed Lord himself in the New Testament; that there is a proper and propitiatory sacrifice offered in the mass for the quick and dead, the same that Christ offered on the cross; in short, the half communion, and all the rest of the articles of their new faith, in the Creed published by pope Pius IV.; which are traditions of the Roman church alone, not of the universal, and rely solely upon their own authority. And therefore we refuse

[a] [By John Cosin, D.D. bishop of Durham; first published in the year 1657, reprinted in 1672, in which year the bishop died, in 1683, and in vol. iii. of the recent edition of his collected works.]

them; and in our disputes about traditions, we mean these things which we reject because they have no foundation, either in the holy Scripture, or in universal tradition; but depend, as I said, upon the sole authority of that church, which witnesses in its own behalf.

For whatsoever is pretended to make the better show, all resolves at last into that, as I intimated in the beginning of this discourse. Scripture and tradition can do nothing at all for them, without their church's definition. Though their whole infallible rule of faith seem to be made up of those three, yet in truth the last of these alone, the church's definition, is the whole rule, and the very bottom upon which their faith stands. For what is tradition is no more apparent than what is Scripture, according to their principles, without the authority of their church, which pretends to an unlimited power to supply the defect even of tradition itself.

In short, as tradition among them is taken in to supply the defect of Scripture, so the authority of their church is taken in to supply the defect of tradition: but this authority undermines them both; because neither Scripture nor tradition signify any thing without their church's authority. Which therefore is the rule of their faith; that is, they believe themselves.

To which absurdity they are driven; because it is made evident by us that there have been great diversities of traditions, and many changes and alterations made, even in things called apostolical, &c.; and therefore they have no other way, but to fly to the judgment of the present Roman church to determine what are traditions apostolical, and what are not: by which judgment all mankind must be governed, that is, we must believe them, and they believe themselves; which they would have done well to have said in one word, without putting us to the trouble of seeking for traditions in books and in other churches. But they would willingly colour their pretences by as many fair words as is possible, and so make mention of Scripture, tradition, antiquity; which when we have examined, they will not stand to them, but take sanctuary in their own authority, saying they are the sole judges what is Scripture, and what tradition, and what antiquity; nay, have a power to declare any new point of faith which the church never heard of before. This is the doctrine of Salmeron and others of his

fellows; that "the doctrine of faith admits of additions in essential things. For all things were not taught by the apostles, but such as were then necessary and fit for the salvation of believers."

By which means we can never know when the Christian religion will be perfected; but their church may bring in traditions by its sole authority without end.

Nay, some among them have been contented to resolve all their faith into the sole authority of the present Roman bishop, according to that famous saying of Cornelius Mussus (promoted by Paul III to a bishopric) upon the xivth chapter to the Romans[d]; "To confess the truth ingenuously, I would give greater credit to one pope, in those things which touch the mysteries of faith, than to a thousand Hieromes, Austins, Gregorys; to say nothing of Richards, Scotuses, &c.: for I believe and know that the pope cannot err in matters of faith." Which contemptuous speech he would never have uttered, to the discredit of those great men whom they pretend to reverence, if he had not known more certainly that the tradition which runs among the ancient fathers is against them, than he could know the pope to be infallible.

There is no tradition, I am sure, for that; nor for abundance of other things, which rest merely upon their own credit, as is fairly acknowledged in two great articles of their present creed by our countryman bishop Fisher, with whose words I conclude this particular: "Many perhaps have the less confidence in indulgences, because their use seems to have been newer in the church, and very lately found among Christians. To whom I answer, that it doth not appear certainly by whom they began to be first delivered. For the ancients make no mention, or very rare, of purgatory; and the Greeks to this very day do not believe it: nor was the belief either of purgatory or of indulgences so necessary in the primitive church as it is now... And as long as there was no care about purgatory, nobody sought for indulgences; for all their esteem depends upon that. If you take away purgatory, to what purpose are indulgences? Since therefore purgatory was so lately known and received in the catholic church, who can wonder that there was no use of indulgences in the beginning of our religion[e]?"

[d] [P. 606.] [e] [Confut. assert. Luther. art. xviii. col. 496.]

Which is a full confession what kind of traditions that church commends unto us; things lately invented, their own private opinions, of which the ancient Christians knew nothing. In one word, their tradition is no tradition, in that sense wherein the church always understood it.

IV. And what hath been said of them must be applied to other particular churches, though some have been more sincere than they. None of them hath any authority to commend any thing as an article of faith unto posterity, which hath not been commended to them by all foregoing ages, derived from the apostles. For Vincentius's rule is to guide us all in this, "that is catholic (and consequently to be received) which hath been held by all, and in all churches, and at all times[f]."

V. Which puts me in mind of another thing to be briefly touched; that the ecclesiastical tradition, contained in the confessions or registers of particular churches in these days wherein we live, is not received by us, nor allowed to have the same authority which such tradition had at the time of the Nicene Council for the conviction of heresy. The joint consent, I mean, of so many bishops as were there assembled, and the unanimous confessions of so many several churches of several provinces as were there delivered, hath not now such a force to induce belief as it had then. The reason of which is given by the same Vincentius, who so highly commends that way which was then taken of reproving heresy; but adds this most wise caution, (in the last chapter but one of the first part of his *Commonitorium*[g],) "but you must not think that all heresies, and always, are thus to be opposed; but only new and fresh heresies, when they first rise up, that is, before they have falsified the rules of the ancient faith, &c. As for inveterate heresies, which have spread themselves, they are in nowise to be assaulted this way; because in a long tract of time many opportunities may have presented themselves to heretics of stealing truth out of ancient records, and of corrupting the volumes of our ancestors."

Which if it be applied to the present state of things, it is

[f] ["In ipsa item catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est."—Commonit. cap. iii. Max. Biblioth. vet. Patr. tom. vii. p. 250 E.]

[g] [Cap. 39. p. 261 C.]

evident the Roman church hath had such opportunities of falsifying antiquity ever since the first acknowledgment of the papal supremacy, that we cannot rely merely upon any written testimonies or unwritten traditions, which never so great a number of their bishops met together shall produce, which amount not to so much as one legal testimony; but they are to be looked upon or suspected as a multitude of false witnesses conspiring together in their own cause.

How then, may some say, can heresies of long standing be confuted? The same Vincentius resolves us in this in the very next words, "We may convince them, if need be, by the sole authority of the Scriptures; or eschew them as already convicted and condemned in ancient times by the general councils of catholic priests."

The tradition which is found there must direct all future councils, not the opinions of their own present churches.

VI. I will add but one thing more, which is, that the tradition called oral, because it comes by word of mouth from one age to another without any written record, is the more uncertain, and can be least relied upon, of all other. This hath been demonstrated so fully by the writers of our church, and there are such pregnant instances of the errors into which men have been led by it, that it needs no long discourse.

Two instances of it are very common, and I shall add a third.

1. The first is that which Papias, who lived presently after the apostles' times, and conversed with those who had seen them, set on foot. His way was, as Eusebius relates out of his works, not so much to read as to inquire of the elders what St. Andrew or St. Peter said, what was the saying of St. Thomas, St. James, and the rest of the disciples of our Lord. And he pretended that some of them told him, among other things, that after the resurrection of our bodies we shall reign a thousand years here upon earth; which he gathered, saith Eusebius, from some saying of the apostles' wrong understood. But this fancy was embraced very greedily, and was taught for two whole ages as an apostolical tradition, nobody opposing it; and yet having nothing to say for it but only the antiquity of the man (as Eusebius's words are, l. iii. cap. ult.) who delivered it to them: yet this tradition hath been generally since taken

for an imposture, and teaches us no more than this: that if one man could set agoing such a doctrine, and make it pass so current for so long a time, upon no other pretence than that an apostle said so in private discourse, we have great reason to think that other traditions have had no better beginning, or not so good; especially since they never so universally prevailed as that did.

2. A second instance is that famous contention about the observation of Easter, which miserably afflicted the church in the days of Victor bishop of Rome, by dividing the eastern Christians from the western; one pretending tradition from St. John and St. Philip, the other from St. Peter and St. Paul. Concerning which I will not say, as Rigaltius doth, (in his sharp note upon the words of Firmilian, who pretended tradition for the rebaptizing of heretics,) that under the names and persons of great men there were sottish and sophistical things delivered for apostolical traditions by fools and sophisters. But this I affirm, that there are many more instances of men's forwardness, and they neither fools nor sophisters, but only wedded to the opinions of their own churches, to obtrude things as apostolical for which they had no proof at all. For when they knew not how to defend themselves, presently they flew to tradition apostolical.

3. A third instance of whose uncertainty we have in Irenæus, (l. ii. c. 39,) concerning the age of our blessed Saviour when he died: which he confidently affirms to have been forty, if not fifty years; and saith the elders which knew St. John and were his scholars received this relation from him[g]. And yet all agree that he, beginning to preach at thirty years of age, was crucified about three years and a half after.

The like relation Clemens makes of his preaching but one year; which he calls "a secret tradition from the apostles[h]," but hath no more truth in it than the other.

Now, if in the first ages, when they were so near the fountain and beginning of tradition, men were deceived, nay, such great men as these were deceived, and led others into errors in these matters, we cannot with any safety trust to traditions that have passed, men pretend, from one to another until now; but we can find no mention of in any writer till some ages after

[g] [Al. cap. 22. tom. i. p. 148.] [h] [Strom. lib. i. cap. 21. p. 407.]

the apostles; and then were by somebody or other who had authority in those days called apostolical traditions, merely to gain them the more credit. Thus Andreas Cæsariensis in his Commentaries upon the book of Revelation[i] saith, that the coming of Enoch and Elias before the second coming of Christ (though it be not found in Scripture) was a constant report, received by tradition without any variation from the teachers of the church.

Which is sufficient to show how ready they were to father their own private opinions upon ancient, universal tradition: and how little reason we have to trust to that which was so uncertain, even in the first ages, and therefore must needs be more dubious now.

Thus I have endeavoured to lay before the eyes of those who will be pleased to look over this short treatise, what they are to think and speak about tradition. It is a calumny to affirm that the church of England rejects all tradition; and I hope none of her true children are so ignorant as when they hear that word to imagine they must rise up and oppose it. No, the Scripture itself is a tradition, and we admit all other traditions which are subordinate and agreeable unto that; together with all those things which can be proved to be apostolical by the general testimony of the church in all ages; nay, if any thing not contained in Scripture which the Roman church now pretends to be a part of God's word were delivered to us by as universal uncontrolled tradition as the Scripture is, we should receive it as we do the Scripture.

But it appears plainly that such things were at first but private opinions, which now are become the doctrines of that particular church; who would impose her decrees upon us under the venerable name of apostolical universal tradition, which I have shown you hath been an ancient cheat, and that we ought not to be so easy as to be deceived by it: but to be very wary, and afraid of trusting the traditions of such a church as hath not only perverted some, abolished others, and pretended them where there hath been none; but been a very unfaithful preserver of them, and that in matters of great moment, where there were some; and lastly, warrants those which it pretends to have kept by nothing but its own infallibility. For which there

[i] [Λόγος δὲ φέρεται ἐκ παραδόσεως φοιτῶν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαρατρεπτῶς.—p. 743. ad calc. Œcumenii.]

is no tradition, but much against it, even in the original tradition, the holy Scriptures: which plainly suppose the Roman church may not only err, but utterly fail and be cut off from the body of Christ: as they that please may read, who will consult the eleventh chapter to the Romans, v. 20, 21, 22. Of which they are in the greater danger, because they proudly claim so high a prerogative as that now mentioned, directly contrary to the apostolical admonition in that place: *Be not high minded, but fear.*

CONCLUSION.

I SHALL end this discourse with a brief admonition relating to our Christian practice.

And what is there more proper and more seasonable than this? While we reject all spurious traditions, let us be sure to keep close to the genuine and true. Let us hold them fast, and not let them go.

Let us not dispute ourselves out of all religion while we condemn that which is false; nor break all Christian discipline and order because we cannot submit to all human impositions.

In plain words, let us not throw off episcopacy together with the papal tyranny.

We ought to be the more careful in observing the divine tradition delivered to us in the Scripture, and according to the Scripture, because we are not bound to other.

While we contend against the half-communion, let us make a conscience to receive the whole frequently. It looks like faction rather than religion, to be earnest for that which we mean not to use.

In like manner, while we look upon additions to the Scripture as vain, let us not neglect to read and ponder those holy writings.

When we reject purgatory as a fable, let us really dread hell fire.

And while we do not tie ourselves to all usages that have been in the church, let us be careful to observe, first, all the substantial duties of righteousness, charity, sobriety, and godliness, which are unquestionably delivered to us by our Lord himself

and his holy apostles; and secondly, all the ordinances of the church wherein we live, which are not contrary to the word of God. For so hath the same divine authority delivered, that the people should obey those that are their guides and governors, submitting themselves to their authority, and avoiding all contention with them, as most undecent in itself, and pernicious to religion; which suffers extremely when neither ecclesiastical authority nor ecclesiastical custom can end disputes about rites and ceremonies.

Read 1 Thess. v. 12, Heb. xiii. 17, 2 Cor. xi. 16; and read such places, as you ought to do all the other Scriptures, till your hearts be deeply affected with them.

For be admonished, in the last place, of this, which is of general use, and must never be forgotten, because we shall lose the benefit of that celestial doctrine which is delivered unto us, if we do not strictly observe it; that as this evangelical doctrine is delivered down to us, so we must be delivered up to it. Thus St. Paul teaches us to speak in Rom. vi. 17, where he thanks God that they who formerly had been servants of sin did now *obey from the heart that form of doctrine unto which they were delivered.* So the words run in the Greek, (as the margin of our Bibles informs you,) εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε.

This is the tradition which we must be sure to retain and hold fast above all other, as that without which all our belief will be ineffectual.

This is the very end for which all divine truth is delivered unto us, that we may be delivered and make a surrender of ourselves unto it.

Observe the force of the apostle's words; which tell us first, that there was a certain form of Christian doctrine which the apostles taught, compared here to a mould, (so the word τύπος, 'form,' may be translated,) into which metal or such like matter is cast, that it may receive the figure and shape of that mould.

2. Now he compares the Roman Christians to such ductile, pliable matter: they being so delivered or cast into this form or mould of Christian doctrine, that they were entirely framed and fashioned according to it; and had all the lineaments, as I may say, of it expressed upon their souls.

3. And having so received it they were obedient to it; for

without this, all the impressions which by knowledge or faith were made upon their souls were but an imperfect draught of what was intended in the Christian tradition.

4. And it was hearty obedience, sincere compliance with the divine will; such obedience as became those who understood their religion to be a great deliverance and liberty from the slavery of sin (before spoken of) into the happy freedom of the service of God.

5. All which, lastly, he ascribes to the grace of God, which had both delivered to them that doctrine, and drawn them to deliver up themselves to it; made their hearts soft and ductile to be cast into that mould, and quickened them to Christian obedience; and given them a willing mind to obey cheerfully. All this was from God's grace and not their merits, and therefore the thanks was to be ascribed to him who succeeds and blesses all pious endeavours.

Now according to this pattern let us frame ourselves; who, blessed be God, have a form of doctrine delivered to us in this church exactly agreeable to the holy Scriptures: which lie open before us, and we are exhorted not only to look into them, but we feel that grace which hath brought them to us, clearly demonstrating that we ought to be formed according to the holy doctrine therein delivered, by the delivery of ourselves unto it. By the delivery of our mind, that is, to think of God and ourselves, and of our duty in every point, just as this instructs us. And by the delivery of our wills and affections to be governed and regulated according to its directions. And when we have consented to this, we find the divine grace representing to us the necessity of an hearty obedience to what we know and believe and have embraced as the very truth of God. To this we are continually drawn and mightily moved; and if we would show our thankfulness for it, let us follow these godly motions, and conform ourselves in all things to the heavenly prescriptions of this book; being confident that if we do, we need not trouble ourselves about any other model of religion which we find not here delivered.

For if you desire to know what form of doctrine it is to which the apostle would have us delivered, it is certain it is a doctrine directly opposite to all vice and wickedness. For herein the grace of God was manifested, he tells the Romans,

in that it had brought them, from being slaves of sin, heartily to obey the Christian doctrine; which taught, that is, virtue and piety.

Now to this the present Romanists can pretend to add nothing. All the parts of a godly life are sufficiently taught us in the holy Scriptures. And if we would seriously practise and follow this doctrine from the very heart, we should easily see there is no other but what is there delivered. For whatsoever is pretended to be necessary besides is not *a doctrine according unto godliness*, (as the apostle calls Christianity,) but the very design of it is to open an easier way to heaven than that laid before us in the holy Scriptures; by masses for the dead, by indulgences, by satisfactions, and the merits of the saints, and several other such like inventions: which have no foundation in the Scriptures, nor in true antiquity.

That is a word indeed which is very much pretended. Antiquity they say is on their side, but it is nothing different from what hath been said about tradition. And if we will run up to the true antiquity, there is nothing so ancient as the holy Scriptures. They are the oldest records of religion, and by them if we frame our lives, we are sure it is according to the most authentic and ancient directions of piety delivered in the holy oracles of God. So both sides confess them to be: and if the old rule be safe, "that is true which is first," we are safe enough: for there is nothing before this to be our guide, and there can be nothing after this but must be tried by it. According to another rule, as old as reason itself, the first in every kind is the measure of all the rest. And, as sure as that there is a gospel of God's grace, *they that walk after this rule*, (this divine canon,) *peace shall be upon them, and mercy;* they being the true *Israel*, or church *of God*.

SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES.

A TREATISE

SHOWING

THAT ALL CHRISTIANS OUGHT TO READ THE HOLY BOOKS;

WITH

DIRECTIONS TO THEM THEREIN.

IN THREE PARTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE holy Scriptures, as the first homily of our church teaches all its children in the very beginning of it, are such a fountain and well of truth, that as many as be desirous to enter into the right and perfect way unto God must apply their minds to be acquainted with them, without which they can neither sufficiently know God and his will, nor their own office and duty. "For in holy Scripture is fully contained what we ought to do, and what to eschew; what to believe, what to love, and what to look for at God's hands at length. And therefore these books ought to be much in our hands, in our eyes, in our ears, in our mouths, but most of all in our hearts."

Unto which sort of discourse, which is grounded upon the sixth Article of our religion, they of the church of Rome are wont to make double exception.

One is, that there are some things necessary to be believed and practised which are not to be found there, but must be received from ancient traditions.

The other is, that those truths which are delivered in the holy Scriptures are not so clear and perspicuous that common people should be entrusted with the reading of them.

Now to the first of these there hath been some time ago a plain answer made in a Discourse about Traditions: therefore this treatise is intended only as an answer to the second exception. For the maintaining of which they are wont to allege, among other places, those remarkable words of St. Peter in his second Epistle, the third chapter and sixteenth verse: where having made mention of St. Paul's Epistles, which treated of the same matter that he had just before explained, he says, *In which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction.*

Behold, say they, how dangerous it is for common people to meddle with the holy Scriptures: which, being compared by St. Paul himself to a two-edged sword, ought not to be put into their hands, for fear they destroy themselves therewith.

It is true indeed the same St. Paul teaches us, that *whatsoever*

things were written aforetime were written for our learning[a], and *are profitable* as he writes elsewhere, *for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness*[b].

But this notwithstanding, there are, say they, such difficulties and obscurities in the holy Scriptures, as we learn from this great apostle St. Peter, that they ought not to be thought profitable for all people, but rather hurtful to them that are ignorant; who therefore ought not to read them.

By which single instance the reader may learn, if he mark it well, what sort of interpretations of Scripture we are like to have, if we trust to them alone, and do not see with our own eyes: when these very words of St. Peter do plainly teach us the quite contrary doctrine to that which they would establish by them.

I. For they are so far from containing a reason why the people should not read them, that, first, they evidently suppose the common people, even the unlearned among them, did in those days read the Scriptures; else they could not have wrested them, as the apostle says they did, and complains of that, but not of their reading them. And

II. Secondly, these words do not affirm the whole Scripture to be hard to be understood, but only some part of it. St. Paul's Epistles at the most, or rather the things of which St. Peter had been treating; and not all of them neither, but only some things; *δυσνόητά τινα*, some few things which would require pains and diligent attention of mind to comprehend the meaning of them. And

III. Thirdly, the apostle doth not say that all who read those difficult passages are in danger to wrest them, but only the unlearned and unstable, who abuse the plainest truths to their own ruin. As for others, they may read even the hardest places in St. Paul's Epistles safely enough, nay, receive great profit from thence, as well as from other Scriptures; and they who wrest them are not to leave reading them, but to grow in true Christian knowledge, and in stability of mind.

These are the three parts of the ensuing discourse.

In treating and reading of which, "let us pray to God (as the second Homily concludes,) that we may speak, think, believe, live, and depart hence, according to the wholesome doctrine and verities of these holy books. And by that means, in this world, have God's defence, favour and grace, with the unspeakable solace of peace and quietness of conscience; and after this miserable life, enjoy the endless bliss and glory of heaven."

[a] Rom. xv. 4. [b] 2 Tim. iii. 16.

PART I.

That the right of God's people to read the holy Scriptures is not at all prejudiced by these words of St. Peter, appears from hence, that the *wresting of the Scriptures by the unlearned and unstable* doth suppose that even such persons did then read them; which overthrows the conclusion which they of the Roman church endeavour to draw from this place.

For there had been no possibility of perverting their sense, if they had not been in their hands at that time, as they are in ours now. And yet the apostle doth not reprehend their meddling with them; but their ignorance and their heedlessness, which was the cause they misunderstood them, and might have been prevented by a little diligence and care, without throwing them quite away.

For the fault was not there, but in themselves; who came to the perusal of holy things with unprepared minds.

Now for the establishing of this truth, that the people were not then, and therefore ought not now to be, debarred the liberty of reading the holy books, (which God our Saviour hath left unto his church as a common inheritance,) you may be pleased to weigh these things following; which will fully settle your minds in this persuasion.

I. First, that the ancient people of God, the Jews, were not only permitted, but required by God himself to be so conversant in the law of Moses, and so well acquainted with it, as to be able to teach their children God's commandments: and for that end, to *talk of them when they sat in their houses, or walked by the way, when they lay down, and when they rose up; nay, to write them upon the doors of their houses, and on their gates;* that whensoever they went out or came in, they might have them before their eyes, and be put in mind of them [a].

This the lawgiver thought a matter of so great importance, that a little after, in the very same book, he enjoins it over

[a] Deut. vi. 6, 7, 8.

again, for fear they should neglect it[b]. For the very root and foundation (as their masters speak) upon which all the precepts depend, is this precept of learning the law: which no man can imagine how they should do to such perfection as Moses requires, unless they had the benefit of looking into the book of the law as often as they pleased.

Of which that they might be put in mind, he took care also that the law should be read to them publicly every sabbath day: whereby likewise they that could not read (if there were any such among them) might be assisted to inform their children, by hearing God's word read unto them in their own language.

For this is certain, that in the synagogues where they met, not for the ceremonial worship of God, (which was performed only at the temple,) but for his moral service, *Moses had those that preached him* (or pronounced his law with a loud voice) ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων, *from ancient ages or generations, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day*[c]. They are the words of St. James in the first Christian council. Where Grotius[d] observes, that it is believed Moses himself was the author of this practice, which the apostle affirms had been from old times, i. e. from the time of the giving of the law. And so Josephus expressly writes in his second book against Apion[e]: where he shows how Moses propounded to the Jews "the most excellent and the most necessary of all other learning, viz. the Law: not by letting them hear it once, or twice, or thrice; but every seventh day, laying aside their other works, he commanded them to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and to learn it thoroughly and exactly.

For which end his five books were anciently divided into so many sections as there are weeks in the year; that the whole, by reading one section every week, might be read over once in a year, ending at the feast of tabernacles. At which feast, in the solemnity of the year of release, (which was correspondent to the sabbath, because it was the seventh of years, as that was of days,) Moses required that there should be a more general assembly of all Israel called to appear before the Lord their

[b] Deut. xi. 18–20.
[c] Acts xv. 21.
[d] [Inter Critic. Sacr. ad loc. col. 283.]
[e] [§ 17. p. 1378.]

God; that the law might be read to men, women, and children, and they might *hear and learn, and fear the Lord their God, and observe to do all the words of this law,* as he speaks Deut. xxxi. 10–12.

Where Moses declaring what God had commanded him about this matter, the Hebrew doctors understand those words, ver. 11, *Thou shalt read this law before all Israel, in their hearing,* to be the command of God to Moses himself, requiring him, as he did the elders and priests under him, to read the law at this great solemnity, as the ordinary Levites did every sabbath day. And thence they consequently enough conclude, that Joshua after his time, and the judges, and the kings of Israel in succeeding ages, were bound to read publicly in this great assembly to as many as the largest court of the temple would hold, the principal things in the book of Deuteronomy; that the people might be moved to have an higher esteem of their law, and more reverently attend unto it. For it was of mighty force to excite the people to religion, when the chief authority in the nation not only owned it, but commended it unto them.

And because all Israel could not be contained in that court of the temple, therefore while the king was thus reading there, the Levites, who were specially appointed for this work, did the same in the city of Jerusalem, after notice had been given of their intention by a solemn sound of trumpets.

Thus care was taken, that what he had enjoined, chap. vi. ver. 7, should not be neglected. For if they did forget to *whet* the law (as the word there signifies) upon their children's minds, they themselves were excited and whetted to their duty by the sound of the trumpets, by this solemn convocation, by the royal majesty appearing to awaken their attention, and by his authority pressing the laws of God upon their consciences.

This was the constant work also, it might be shown, of the prophets; out of whose books there were lessons also added in aftertimes, to be read together with those out of the law of Moses.

How ancient this was we do not certainly know: for some derive it from the times of Ezra, others think it began after the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes. Who forbidding the reading of the law in their synagogues, they chose some por-

tion out of the prophetical books (as near to the sense of that section which should have been read out of the law as could be found) to be read in its stead: which when that persecution was over they thought not fit to lay aside, but continued the reading of them both. But however that be, this is a known truth, that when our Lord himself came, *and, as his custom was, went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up to read*[f], he took a lesson out of the prophets for the subject of his first sermon at Nazareth: and that it was *after the reading of the law and of the prophets,* that St. Paul *stood up* and preached to the Jews at Antioch[g].

From which examples the custom of reading two lessons, one out of the Old Testament and another out of the New, was very early taken up by Christians in their holy assemblies, and continued so long in the church, it appears by Isidore and Gratian, that it was most worthily restored by our learned and pious reformers, whose study it was to form such an order of divine service as was most agreeable to the primitive patterns.

Which public reading was not intended to hinder their private, but to stir them up unto it. Insomuch that it is a maxim among the Hebrews, that although a man had heard the law read in the public assemblies on the sabbath, yet he was bound also to read himself the *parascha* or section appointed for that week. For this is the character which David gives of that blessed man, who walks not in the way of the ungodly; *His delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night*[h]. That is, saith the Commentary under the name of St. Hierom, "reads the Scripture perpetually, that he may do the things contained therein." And thus Isaiah calls upon them in after-ages, saying, *Seek ye out the book of the Lord, and read; no one of these shall fail,* &c. That is, when you shall hereafter see some of these things fulfilled, get a copy of the prophetical books, if you want one, seek it diligently (as the word denotes) till you find it, and read, and you shall see that there is not one word of what I have said that is not come to pass; but events shall exactly answer to these predictions.

And it is well known that Moses himself, in the very begin-

[f] Luke iv. 16, 17. [g] Acts xiii. 15. [h] Psalm i. 2.

ning, took particular care that the king should be furnished with a copy of the law, and keep it by him, that he might *read therein all the days of his life, and learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law, and these statutes, to do them*[i]. Nay, the more to imprint the words of this book upon his mind, the law enjoins this as a duty belonging to the king himself, saying, *He shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests the Levites.* Which though some are pleased to think a privilege indulged only to the king, the Jews (who are willing enough to excuse themselves from such laborious things) constantly affirm, that every private man was bound to do the same: and that though the king had done it before, (as others were obliged to do,) yet being exalted to the throne, he was bound to do it over again, out of the most authentic records; that it might be the more imprinted on his mind, and work in him a greater reverence thereof.

This Maimonides grounds upon those words[k] which concern them all, *Now therefore write ye this song for you;* as if he had said, Write the law for yourselves, of which this song is a part; for they were not wont to write the law by parcels.

Wherein perhaps they go too far; but there is little doubt to be made that pious kings took care the people should be acquainted with the law as well as themselves; imitating that pious prince Josiah, who after a long forgetfulness of the holy Scriptures, having a copy of the law brought to him, which was found in the temple, not only caused it to be read in the ears of the people, but (as the Jews with great reason affirm) commanded the priests and scribes to write copies of it, and deliver them to the people. For how should they be able to perform the words of the covenant written in that book, unto which Josiah engaged them, unless they knew them[l]? And how should they know them more than they had done formerly, if they did once barely hear them? Which might give them some present sense of their duty, but could not be remembered unless they had the words they were to perform constantly before their eyes.

There might much more be added on this subject, but this is sufficient to introduce what follows.

[i] Deut. xvii. 18, 19. [k] Deut. xxxi. 19. [l] 2 Kings xxiii. 2, 3.

II. That what was thus enjoined by Moses and practised by the people of the Jews, our Saviour confirmed by his command, or at least by his approbation, saying, *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me*[m]. Some indeed translate the words thus, *Ye search the Scriptures, for in them*, &c., and so they are a plain acknowledgment of what was then in use; nay, an approbation, if not commendation, of their diligence in turning over the holy books, wherein they hoped to find so great a treasure as eternal life. But if they be rendered as we and as many of the Romanists themselves translate them, *Search the Scriptures*, then they are a command, wherein our blessed Saviour requires what Moses had formerly done, and charges them not to neglect this duty of making a diligent inquiry into the meaning of the holy writings; for there they would find plain testimonies concerning the Messiah, and be satisfied that he was the Christ whom they expected.

And I cannot see how this precept may be safely disobeyed. But as our Lord, in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, brings in Abraham sending the rich man's brethren unto *Moses and the prophets*[n] (i. e. to their writings, for they themselves were dead and gone) for their instruction, from whom they might learn enough to keep them from coming into that place of torment; so we, in like manner, ought to tell men, if they will know how to be saved, they must repair to Christ and his apostles, and out of the gospel and apostolical instructions learn the way to heaven, and how to escape eternal damnation.

For there can be no good reason alleged why the Jews should be permitted, nay, commanded to read Moses and the Prophets, and we not be allowed, but forbidden to read the words of Christ and his apostles. For we are as much concerned, or rather more, in these, as they were in them; and they are not harder to be understood by us than the old Scriptures were by them: we have the same means, the same helps that they had, if not far better, to profit by them, and to *grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

And therefore it is no fault in our preachers now, but an honest discharge of their duty, to say to their people, as Origen

[m] John v. 39. [n] Luke xvi. 29.

doth to his in his second Homily upon Isaiah[o], "Would to God we did all practise that which is written, *Search the Scriptures.*" And as St. Basil, (in his Second Book of Baptism[p], Quæst. 4.) "Let us obey our Lord, who saith, *Search the Scriptures:* and let us imitate the apostles, who inquired of the Lord himself the interpretation of his own words, learning the truth and wholesomeness of what he saith in one place by what he speaks in another."

So far were these great and holy men from discountenancing the reading of the holy Scriptures, that they most earnestly press every body to it, as I shall show more fully before I have done.

III. Let us now further consider that the apostles of our Lord were concerned, that what they wrote concerning the Christian doctrine should be read not only by the elders of the church to whom their writings were directed, but be communicated to all the members thereof, who were under their instruction.

This appears from St. Paul's most solemn charge in his first Epistle to the Thessalonians, that it should be *read to all the holy brethren*[q]. Who should read it to them but the bishops and pastors of the church? Who, no doubt, first received it, but were not to keep it to themselves, but impart it to the whole community. And if they read it to the whole society, we cannot think they refused to give copies of it to them, if any desired it, that they might read it themselves. Or rather, they took care to disperse this letter of their own accord among their flock, as they did also send it to other churches, whereby it became common to the whole Christian world.

And it was a matter of such great importance that all the people should be acquainted with his sense, that his charge is in the form of an adjuration; "that if they neglected him, the command should be obeyed for the adjuration sake. For adjurations were dreadful to the ancient Christians, though now, alas, (woe be to us!) they are little regarded."

They are the words of Theophylact[r]. And to the same effect Theodoret[s] glosses: "He adds an adjuration, contriving

[o] [Tom. iii. p. 109 B.] [p] [Tom. ii. p. 656 E.] [q] 1 Thess. v. 27.
[r] [Tom. ii. p. 528.] [s] [Tom. iii. p. 526.]

that all might have the profit of the reading this epistle: for perhaps otherways they that first received it might not have given it unto all." As much as to say, he was afraid lest the epistle should be suppressed and read but by few, and therefore he requires them for the love of God, and as they hoped for mercy from our Lord, that it should be read unto all. Which teaches us that the word of God ought not to be concealed from the poorest members of the church, who are concerned in it as much as the greatest: and that if the apostle were now alive, and should write to the churches, we may be confident he would be more earnest, if it be possible, in this matter; *graviore contestatione adjurans*, &c., (as Musculus[t] writes,) adding greater weight to his adjuration; and beseeching, nay, charging the governors of the churches (who now with all their might oppose the people's reading of his Epistles,) that as they expected the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was the witness of what he said, and would be their judge, they would take care that all his words should be diligently communicated to the faithful.

It may not be amiss to take notice, that to the same purpose St. Paul writes also in his Epistle to the Colossians iv. 16, where he commands, that this epistle being read among them in that church, they should take care to have it read in that of Laodicea, (by sending, that is, a copy of it to them,) and the Colossians on the other side should read the epistle of the Laodiceans: that is, the epistle which he had sent to that church, as some (Theophylact observes[u]) anciently understood it; or the first Epistle to Timothy, which was written by him (as others, he saith, observe) from Laodicea.

These are plain demonstrations that the writings of the New Testament were intended to be the common portion of all God's people, as those of the Old had always been.

IV. And thus I shall now proceed to show they understood it; by representing that reading of the Scriptures was looked upon as a duty, and carefully practised by pious people, according to the forenamed injunction of our blessed Lord, and the solemn obtestation of the apostle. For the same apostle tells us that his son Timothy from his infancy had known the holy

[t] [In loc. p. 283.]

[u] [Tom ii. p. 500.]

Scriptures, which will not now be allowed in the Roman church to grown Christians without a special license; no, not to regulars, as they call them, whose whole business it is to be religious, but may not have any part of the Bible in their own language without a faculty from their superiors.

Read 2 Tim. iii. 15, and comparing it with the fifth verse of the first chapter, you will find that he received this early knowledge he had of the Scriptures from his grandmother and mother, (for his father was not a Jew, but a Greek,) and therefore they were not ignorant in the Scriptures; but had made it their business to understand them so well, that they were able, according to the law of Moses, to teach them their children.

Which they began to do, saith the apostle, ἀπὸ βρέφους, 'from their cradles,' as we speak in our language; that is, as Josephus[x] admirably explains it, ἀπὸ πρώτης εὐθὺς αἰσθήσεως, 'immediately upon the first indication' that they have any perception of other things. For so he writes in the book before named; "If any man ask any one of our nation concerning the laws, he will tell him all things more readily than his own name: for learning them straightway, as soon as we come to have any knowledge of things, we retain them deeply engraven upon our minds."

Thus the Talmudists also discourse. "At five years old they put their children to the Bible: whereby they arrive at such a proficiency, that in these latter ages they have been able to tell any thing that is there." So Ribera, a famous Jesuit, relates in his Commentaries upon Micah v. 2[y]: "I knew a Jew, saith he, at Salamanca, who was sufficiently unlearned, of whom when I inquired (in the Spanish language, because he understood no Latin) about several things, both in the historical and in the prophetical books, he stopped me immediately upon the first mention of them from proceeding further; and repeated them all himself, without book, in the Hebrew tongue. Which I relating to another Jew who was become Christian, he told me it was no wonder, for they committed all these things to memory from their childhood."

Which may very well put those Christians to the blush, who are as careful and vigilant to keep not only their children and

[x] [Contr. Apion. § 18. p. 1378.]

[y] [P. 439.]

youth, but elder people also, from reading the holy Scriptures, as the Jews are to bring them into acquaintance with them.

And it is the more shameful, because even the proselytes, that is, they of other nations who embraced the Jewish religion, were allowed this liberty, no less than the natural Jews themselves. Which is apparent in the history of the eunuch belonging to the queen of Ethiopia; whom St. Philip found reading the prophet Isaiah, as he was in his journey homeward from Jerusalem[z]: agreeable to the precept of the law before mentioned, that the divine writings should be their companions when they walked on the way, as well as when they were within doors.

This eunuch was a man of a strange country, bred up in the court of Ethiopia, which was the softest, they say, and most effeminate of all nations: yet, being converted to the Jewish religion, he had so much care of his soul as to read the prophetical books, the hardest of all the old Scriptures. The sense of which he confessed to Philip he did not understand; but that did not hinder his reading them. And because he read them with a pious mind, God sent him an interpreter; who improved his knowledge, and advanced him from a Jew to be a Christian: clothing the blackamoor, as Erasmus expresseth it, with the snow-like fleece of the immaculate Lamb.

Which that great man justly alleges as an argument why every one should read the Scriptures, though they do not understand every thing that they read. If they do it honestly and piously, how do we know, saith he, but that they may fare as well as the eunuch did, who felt his heart touched in the reading by the Spirit of God?

V. Certain it is, you may further observe, that this was not only practised in the first and best times of Christianity, but it was accounted a noble quality in those who were seriously conversant in the holy Scriptures. As they of the city of Berœa may teach us; who hearing St. Paul preach that Jesus was the Christ, which he confirmed no doubt out of the Scriptures, did not presently reject what he said because it crossed their opinion, as a neighbouring city had done, but *were more noble*, (saith the text,) or better bred *than those of Thessalonica;*

[z] Acts viii. 28.

searching the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so[a]. Which is so far from being censured as a piece of presumption, that God blessed these pious endeavours, and gave them a right understanding as a reward of their search into the Scriptures: according as it there follows, *therefore many of them believed.*

And thus St. Peter also in this very epistle commends his countrymen, who attentively read and considered the prophetical writings; *We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts*[b].

The plainest meaning of which words to me seems to be this, that it was a laudable and praiseworthy thing in those Jewish converts to whom he writes (who as yet were but weak in the faith) that they did *give heed* to the writings of the ancient prophets, which they took to be the surest ground of their faith; for in them they would find the Lord Jesus plainly described, if they compared what the apostles preached with that which they foretold, as the Bereans did. Those writings indeed of the prophets did but obscurely treat of Christ, in comparison with the discoveries of him in the gospel, and the apostolical writings, (which he compares to the *day star*, and the old prophets but to a *candle shining in a dark place;*) yet the one would lead them to the other, and by taking attentive heed to the prophetical writings they would in time find the *day dawn*, and the *day star arise in their hearts:* that is, arrive by degrees at clearer demonstrations, and a fuller and brighter knowledge of Christian truths, delivered by our Saviour and his apostles: who being the *light of the world* gave light even to the ancient prophecies.

To conclude this particular, they were so far from discouraging any Christians in their reading the holy Scriptures, that they commend those who read even the hardest books among them. Those words are very remarkable: *Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things that are written there*[c].

Which comfortable encouragement I do not see why we may

[a] Acts xvii. 11. [b] 2 Pet. i. 19. [c] Rev. i. 3.

not with the greatest satisfaction apply to ourselves now, as they did then, to quicken us to read and hear the things contained therein. For though we do not certainly understand every one of those prophecies, yet there are abundance of most excellent instructions and admonitions, encouragements and consolations, interspersed throughout that book; which make it fit to be read by Christian people for their direction and support. And we may likewise from hence take the confidence to argue in this manner: If a blessedness be pronounced to those that *read or hear that prophecy, and keep those things that are written therein,* then they cannot be accursed who for the same end read other holy books where such instructions and comforts are more plentifully, and plainly, and on purpose delivered: nor can they expect God's blessing who prohibit the reading even of those easy and more familiar Scriptures which are accommodated by the Divine wisdom and goodness to the most vulgar capacity.

Every one ought to drink of these fountains: "nor would I forbid (saith Erasmus piously) those that thirst after Christian knowledge to read even those books which are not so open, but like a fountain sealed up. Because they will reap this fruit at least, they will come more fit to the hearing of sermons which touch upon or allude to those more obscure passages. They will hear also those things more willingly of which they have already some knowledge; and understand those things more easily of which they have a small taste."

VI. And there is the greater reason for it, because the holy Scriptures are a considerable part of our complete spiritual armour; without which we shall lie so open to the assaults of our enemies, that it will very much hazard our salvation. And why should we be exposed to any danger, when we may defend ourselves by the use of those weapons which God himself hath provided for us? Or how can they be friends to our souls, who would expose us by taking those weapons out of our hands?

Read Ephesians vi. 11, &c.: where the apostle exhorting them to *put on the whole armour* (or complete armour) *of God, that they might be able to stand against all the wiles of the devil,* in the following verses enumerates the several parts of this armour; and the last piece of it but one is *the sword of*

the Spirit, which is the word of God[d]. This shows that, as while we have enemies to fight withal, and very powerful, subtle enemies, we have need of all sorts of weapons that God hath furnished us withal for our defence; so we are not completely appointed for our defence without this weapon, *the word of God*, no more than a soldier is without his sword. And therefore they who go about to deprive us of this leave us, in great part, naked to our spiritual enemies, by wresting that weapon out of our hands whereby we should beat them off.

There is not one of the devil's temptations, ye may observe[e], but our Saviour vanquished it by this weapon; telling him it is so and so written: and the tempter had no more to say, nor knew what to oppose thereunto. And therefore our safety lies in the same divine armoury of the holy Scriptures: unto which we ought to have resort upon all occasions, and there furnish ourselves with such holy precepts, examples, promises, and threatenings, as we may have ready at hand to oppose to every temptation.

It is usually said, as I noted in the beginning, that men may wound themselves with a sword as soon as their enemies; and therefore it is not safe to let everybody take this weapon into his hand.

But was not the apostle as much aware of this as we? Were not the holy Scriptures as liable to be perverted then as now? And we by this reason shall leave neither sun in heaven, nor any good creature here upon earth, (as a great man of our own somewhere speaks,) for they have been all wretchedly abused to very ill purposes by evil men.

And besides this, it is not true that men may as soon hurt themselves as their enemies with this sword. For who but madmen or desperate persons run that weapon into their own bodies, wherewith they should defend their lives? And who but they that are distracted themselves will suppose the generality of Christians to be such a frantic sort of people, that they are not to be trusted with the means of their preservation, but must have even the bread of life taken from them for fear they surfeit of it?

[d] Verse 17.

[e] Matt. iv.

But this will be more fully answered hereafter; and that which I have next to represent to your consideration will give great satisfaction to it, which is this:

VII. That the greatest doctors in the church have most earnestly exhorted the people, with all the rhetoric they could invent, to give themselves leisure for this holy employment of reading the holy Scriptures.

St. Chrysostom, for instance, in a number of places maintains these three propositions, with an extraordinary zeal and passionate concern to have them believed and practised:

First, That all men, of whatsoever rank and condition they be, ought to read the Bible; not only at church, but at home.

Secondly, That it is more necessary for a mere layman, as we speak, to read it, than it is for a monk, or those that are wholly sequestered from the world.

Thirdly, That neither the obscurity of the Scriptures, nor indeed any thing else, ought to be thought a sufficient reason why men should not read them.

I. For the first of these, "that all men, of whatsoever rank and condition they be, should read the Scriptures," his words are very remarkable upon that place of St. Paul; *Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another*[f], &c.: where he cries out with great vehemence[g], Ἀκούσατε, ὅσοι ἐστὲ κοσμικοὶ, &c.: "Hearken to this, as many of you as are men of the world, and have wives and children under your care, how he commands, even you especially, to read the Scriptures; and that not simply, nor by the bye, but with a great deal of diligence." Which he presses by comparing the heavenly treasure here contained with all other riches, and then returns to his exhortation again, saying, Ἀκούσατε, παρακαλῶ, πάντες οἱ βιωτικοὶ, &c.[h]: "Hearken, I beseech you, all ye that are secular men: provide yourselves with Bibles, the medicines of your souls. If not with the whole, yet at least the New Testament; the Apostles, the Acts, the Gospels, your perpetual instructors. If any sadness befall thee, look into these as into a repository or shop of spiritual remedies. Hence fetch consolation in all doleful cases, whether it be any damage in thy goods, or it be death, or the loss of ser-

[f] Coloss. iii. 16. [g] [Tom. xi. p. 390 C.] [h] [P. 391 C.]

vants. Or rather, do not look into them, but take them all to thyself, carry them about with thee in thy mind. This is the cause of all evils, not to know the Scriptures. We go to war without our armour, without weapons; how can we be safe? It is easy to overcome with these, but not without them. Do not throw all upon our shoulders. Ye are sheep, but not irrational ones, but reasonable; and many things the apostle lays upon you: who ought to learn of us, and then your wives and your children ought to learn of you. But you would leave all to us, which gives us no small trouble[i]."

To the same purpose he discourses in other places of his works, and maintains it by such arguments as these:

First, that every man hath need of such instruments as belong to his art. A blacksmith (saith he in his third sermon upon Lazarus[k]) or goldsmith cannot work without their anvil, their hammer, and their tongs, and such like tools, which they will by no means part withal, though they suffer hunger and thirst; because then they give up their trade, and all means of their subsistence is gone: and even just so ought we to be disposed, who can no more go to work without the apostolical and prophetical writings and other divinely inspired Scriptures, than they without those tools. For as by those instruments they form and fashion all the vessels they take in hand; so we, by these, hammer, as I may say, our own souls; amending and reforming all that is amiss, renewing what is decayed, nay, making ourselves quite other men. For here is the difference between us and them: they show their art only in the outward figure of a thing, (for they cannot alter the matter of it, by turning silver, for instance, into gold,) but we, by these divine instruments, may do a great deal more; turn an earthen vessel into a golden; *a vessel unto honour*, as the apostle speaks, *sanctified and meet for the Master's use, and prepared unto every good work.* Let us not neglect therefore the getting of Bibles, nor let us dig for gold, but rather treasure up these spiritual books. For the more gold we have, the more hurt it may do us: but Bibles if we get, they will do those that have them a great deal of good."

Secondly, he presses this by this further consideration, that as

[i] [P. 392 B.]

[k] [Tom. i. p. 738 B.]

St. Paul would have us *let the word of Christ dwell in us richly* and abundantly; so St. Peter requires us to *be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us*[x]. "Now what say our idle people, more lazy than drones, to this? They comfort themselves with those words in the Proverbs, *Blessed is the simple soul*[y]. For this is the cause of all our evils, that many do not understand how to produce the testimonies of the Scriptures to the purpose. For the wise man by the *simple* doth not there mean an ignorant man, that understands nothing, but a harmless man, that works no evil, but hath skill only to do good." Thus he discourses in his seventeenth Homily upon St. John's Gospel[z]: where he shows it is an unpardonable neglect not to be able out of the holy Scriptures to repel the assaults of Gentile philosophers. "For it is a most absurd thing, that every physician should be able to give an exact account of his art; nay, a currier or weaver, or any other artist, can do the same; only he that is called a Christian cannot give an account of his own faith[a]."

Thirdly, as every man is bound to give a reason of his faith, so he is bound to take care of his soul's proficiency in virtue and goodness; which he cannot do, unless he be conversant in the holy writings. "For what sensible food is to the increase of bodily strength, that the reading of the Scriptures is to the soul. It is a spiritual nourishment; and renders the soul stronger, more constant, and more philosophical: not suffering it to be carried away with absurd imaginations, but making it pure and lightsome, gives it wings to carry it up to heaven[b]."

Much more to the same purpose he speaks in his XXIXth Homily upon Genesis: and begins the XXXVth in this manner[c]:—"Great is the good, my beloved, of skill in the divine writings. For this makes a philosophical soul, (that is, instructs

[x] 1 Pet. iii. 15.

[y] [Chrysostom quotes from the LXX. Ψυχὴ εὐλογουμένη πᾶσα ἁπλῆ. Prov. xi. 25. The Hebrew text has נֶפֶשׁ בְּרָכָה תְדֻשָּׁן: The Latin Vulgate, Anima quæ benedicit impinguabitur. The Chaldee Paraphrase, Anima benedicta impinguabitur; Walton. Bibl. Polyglott. The Arabic, Omnis anima benedicta simplex est. (ibid.) The authorized version, "The liberal soul shall be made fat."]

[z] [Tom. viii. p. 102 D.]

[a] [P. 101 B.]

[b] [In Gen. ix. Hom. xxix. tom. iv. p. 281 B.

[c] [P. 349 C.]

it in all manner of virtue;) this forms a man to be acceptable: this makes him mind none of these things present, but to have his mind always in the other life: that, looking at the recompense our Lord will give us, we may do all that he would have us, and undertake the labours of virtue with great cheerfulness. For from thence we may exactly learn the providence of God's speedy succour and help; the fortitude of the righteous, the goodness of our Lord, the greatness of his rewards. From thence we may be excited to a zealous imitation of the Christian virtue of brave men: that we may not flag in the combats of virtue, but be confident and assured in the divine promises before they come to pass. Therefore let us, I beseech you, with great diligence apply ourselves to the reading of holy writings: for thereby we shall be furnished with divine knowledge, if we frequently make them our study; it being impossible that he should be neglected by God, who with earnest diligence and fervent desire employs himself in these divine things; but if no man can be found to teach us, the Lord himself will come from above into our hearts, and enlighten our minds, and shine into our understandings, and reveal those things that are hidden, and instruct us in those things wherein we are ignorant; provided we will contribute all that lies in us to the business."

Fourthly, this he illustrates by the example of the eunuch in the viiith of the Acts: whom he magnifies in several places of his works (as I shall have occasion to observe) upon several accounts belonging to this matter: particularly here, for not neglecting to read the prophet Isaiah, though he himself was a barbarian, and ignorant what the prophet said[d]: but "because he did what he could, and with all the diligence he was able he obtained a guide from God. Consider here, I beseech you, how beneficial it was to this man that he did not omit reading; no, though he was in a journey, on the highway. Let those hearken to this who will not do so much at home; but look upon this as a by-business, because they cohabit with a wife, or are listed soldiers, and have the care of children, and must look after their servants, and have a great deal of business in the world; which they imagine sufficiently excuses them from

[d] [P. 350 B.]

troubling themselves with reading the holy Scriptures." For see here all this confuted in this barbarian, a man of business, and in his journey, &c., who was so studious and intent upon his reading, that nothing could divert him from it, as he proceeds to show in that homily with a great deal of eloquence; which will be more pertinently alleged under some of the other general heads. I only observe one thing more under this.

Fifthly, that he urges this obligation they had upon them to read the holy Scriptures from this argument, that otherwise they would not be able to instruct their children and families: as he tells them they were bound to do, from the forenamed precept of St. Paul, *Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms*, &c. "Observe," saith he[e], "how the apostle declines all that might deter them from this business. Because there is great pains to be taken in the reading some Scriptures, and it is a laborious business to understand them, therefore he commends the Psalms, that he might at once delight their minds, and make the labour easy to them. Now your children are acquainted with Satanical songs and dances, like to those who keep victualling houses, and dancing-masters; but none of them knows so much as one psalm. Hence all our mischiefs: for like to the soil in which the plant is set will be the fruit. Teach thy children therefore to chant the psalms, those that are full of philosophy. For example, those straightway that teach temperance: or rather, before all, those about avoiding ill company, with which the book begins. For upon this score the prophet enters upon his work with this admonition: *Blessed is the man that walketh not in the way of the ungodly*, &c.: and again, *I have not sat with vain persons*[f]: and again, *in whose eyes a vile person is contemned, but he honoureth them that fear the Lord*[g]. Like to these thou wilt find many more, concerning bridling the appetite of meat and drink, and all the pleasures of the belly; concerning keeping the hands from theft, against covetousness, and that riches are nothing, nor glory neither, nor all the rest of like nature. If from a child thou accustom him to these notions, by little and little thou

[e] [Ὅρα καὶ τὸ ἀνεπαχθὲς τοῦ Παύλου, κ. τ. λ.—Hom. ix. in Col. tom. xi. p. 392 B.] [f] Psalm xxvi. 4. [g] xv. 4.

wilt advance him to sublimer apprehensions. For then he will understand the hymns, which have nothing human in them, but are things more divine. For the heavenly powers sing hymns, not psalms," &c.

By which repeated exhortations, it appears, these were not hasty thoughts, which on a sudden sprung up in him, when he was in the heat of his discourse, but the deliberate, constant and settled sense of his mind; which was highly concerned to bring all the people committed unto his charge to a more familiar acquaintance with the holy Scriptures.

This will still more fully appear in the second proposition which he maintains: and that is such as may perfectly put to shame the doctrine of the present Roman church. For it is this,

II. That it is more necessary for a layman to read the Scriptures than for a monk, or those that are sequestered from the world. To this purpose he discourses in his second sermon upon St. Matthew[h]: "This is the plague that now infests us, and corrupts all; that you imagine the reading of the Scriptures belongs to monks only, and not to you that have wives and children, and worldly business: whereas it is more necessary for you than for them. For they that live in the world, being most exposed to the danger of being wounded, have most need of medicines;" to preserve them, that is, or to cure them.

Thus likewise in the third sermon upon Lazarus before mentioned he discourses to this effect[i]: "Let no man tell me, I am engaged in pleading causes, the public business lies upon me, I have a trade, I must live by my handywork, I have a wife and family; in short, I am a man of the world, and it is not for me to read the Scriptures, but for those who have bid an adieu to it. What dost thou say, man? Is it not thy business to turn over the Scriptures because thou art distracted with worldly cares? For that very reason it is more thy business than theirs, for they have less need of the defence of the Scriptures than we have, who are tossed in the midst of the waves of business. They are as it were in the haven, they are secure and enjoy perfect tranquillity; it is we who fluctuate in the midst of the

[h] [Tom. vii. p. 30 A.]

[i] [Tom. i. p. 737 B.]

sea, who are obnoxious whether we will or no to innumerable sins, and therefore have perpetual need of the comfort and the assistance of the holy Scriptures."

What can more effectually represent the sense of the ancient doctors than this? unless it be what follows out of the twenty-first Homily upon Genesis, upon these words, *Noah begat three sons*[k]. "Let us not bring forth these frigid words, I am a worldly man, I have a wife, the care of children lies upon me: as the manner of many is to excuse themselves when we bid them labour to be good and apply their study to read the holy Scriptures. That doth not belong to me, say they. Have I renounced the world? Am I a monk? What dost thou say, man? Doth this belong to monks only, to study in all things to please God, who would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth?

"Let us not deceive ourselves, but the more we are entangled in such kind of cares, let us so much the more carefully search for a remedy in the reading of the holy Scriptures. Was not Noah and such like good men of the same nature of which we are, and yet had not the benefit of those helps and assistances that we enjoy? How can we then be excused who enjoy such a doctrine, who have obtained such grace, who have helps from above, and have received the promises of ineffable good things, if we do not come to the measure of that virtue at which those patriarchs arrived? I beseech you therefore again, that you would not only simply look into those things which are contained in the holy Scriptures, but that you would read them with attention; that by the profit we receive from them, we may at last, though we have been a long time about it, come to that degree of virtue which God will approve."

The same he urges again, in the thirty-fifth Homily upon the same book[l], from the example of the eunuch reading the Scriptures in his chariot, which he thus concludes. "I have laid this history before you that we may not be ashamed to imitate this eunuch, nor neglect reading, no, not in a journey. For this barbarian alone may suffice for a master to us all, both to those that lead a private country life, and to those who are listed to serve in the army, and to those that live in the

[k] [Tom. iv. p. 189 E.] [l] [P. 351 E.]

court; and in general, to all men, and to women too, and to those that live in monasteries also, that no time should be thought unfit to the reading of the holy oracles. For it is possible not only within doors, but to those who go to market, that are in journeys, that fall into a great deal of company, that are entangled in business, to be conversant in them: that doing what we can, we may meet with one to guide us. And what if we do not understand what we read? Let us go it over again. For frequent meditation imprints things on the memory, and ofttimes what we could not understand to-day, we may find out presently when we read it again to-morrow, the most gracious God invisibly illuminating our understanding."

Which leads me to the last proposition which he maintains in answer to all objections that can be made against this doctrine.

III. That as none ought to neglect reading because they are men of business, so they ought not to excuse themselves because they want Bibles, or because the Scriptures are so obscure that they do not understand them.

Concerning business, you have heard already what he was wont to say.

And concerning want of Bibles, he tells them the rich cannot pretend this; and as for the poor, "I would ask them," saith he, "this question, whether they have not all the tools belonging to their trade. And since they can furnish themselves with such necessary implements, why they should not judge it most absurd to be wholly unprovided of the holy Scriptures, which are as necessary for their spiritual as the other for their bodily subsistence.

But to the greatest objection of all, the obscurity of the holy Scriptures, and that it is impossible to understand them, he answers very largely in several places of his works, particularly in that Homily forenamed upon Genesis xxxv, speaking of the eunuch of the queen of Ethiopia[m]. "Who did not say, as many do now, I understand nothing of what I read, I cannot dive into the depth of these Scriptures; to what purpose should I take all this pains and tire myself in vain by reading, when I have none to lead me into the meaning? No such thought was entertained by him, who was a barbarian in his language, but a

[m] [P. 350 D.]

philosopher in his mind; and rather concluded he should not be despised, but receive help from above, if, doing all that lay in his power, he continued reading the holy Scriptures. And therefore the most gracious Lord of all, seeing his ardent desire, did not overlook him, nor left him unprovided, but straightway sent him a master to inform him.

"See here the wisdom of God, how he expected till he first did what he could, and then he manifested his own powerful aid. Because he prepared himself the best he was able, an angel of the Lord was sent to Philip that he might do the rest," &c.

But this argument he prosecutes most largely in his third sermon upon Lazarus[n]; where, first of all, he says, "A man cannot look into the holy Scriptures but he must be made better, God conversing with him there in those writings; so that though he do not understand what he reads, yet his mind will be much purified by reading;" by a holy sense of God, he means, upon whom his mind is fixed, as speaking to him.

But immediately he further adds, that what is objected is not true of all Scriptures, some being so plain that it is impossible to be without understanding of all things whatsoever that we read there. For the grace of the Holy Spirit on purpose ordered these books to be composed by publicans, by fishermen, by tentmakers, by shepherds, and suchlike mean and unlearned men, that none of the common people might flee to this pretence; but the things that are there written might be intelligible to all: that the handicraftsmen, and the servants, and the poor old women, and the most illiterate of all mankind might be gainers, and profit by the hearing of them."

And what they designed they effected[o]; "For to whom are not all things in the gospel manifest and clear? Who is there that reads these words, *Blessed are the meek, blessed are the merciful, blessed are the pure in heart*, and the like, that needs any other teacher to instruct him what it is that is said? And are not all things that relate to signs and wonders, and the history of Christ, clear and easy to be understood of all? These objections are but a cover and pretext under which men hide their sloth and idleness."

[n] [Tom. i. p. 739 B.]

[o] [P. 740 B.]

Which further appears from the temper of those men, that from the beginning were counted worthy of the grace of the Spirit[p]: "who composed all things, not as they without the pale of the church, for ostentation and their own vainglory's sake, but for the salvation of those that heard them.

"The heathen philosophers indeed, and orators, and other writers, not seeking the common good of all, but aiming at the making themselves admired when they said any profitable thing, made it difficult to be understood, and wrapt it up in some obscurity: but the apostles and prophets did all quite contrary, making all plain and clear, as the common teachers of the whole world, that every one might be able of himself to learn, by the bare reading only, such necessary things as those now mentioned. Which the prophet foreshowed when he said, *They shall all be taught of God.* And *every man shall not say to his neighbour, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me from the least to the greatest.* And so St. Paul, *I came not to you in the excellency of speech, or of wisdom, showing you the mysteries of God.* And again, *My speech and my preaching was not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power.* And again, *We speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to naught,* &c.

And lastly, he proves this from the intention for which they wrote these books; which was, that all might find a remedy here of whatsoever troubled them. This he admirably prosecutes in these words[q], "Because thou art engaged in family affairs and a world of business, therefore thou hast the greater need of more medicines." "For not only thy wife provokes thee, but thy child makes thee sad, and thy servant angers thee, and thy enemy deviseth mischief against thee, and thy friend envies thee, and thy neighbour does thee damage, and thy fellow-soldier supplants thee; nay, perhaps he that sits in judgment threatens thee, and poverty makes thee sorrowful, and the running away of thy servants fetches tears from thy eyes: in short, either prosperity puffs thee up, or adversity pinches thee sore, and makes thee shrink. There are many

[p] [P. 739 C.] [q] [P. 737 D.]

occasions of anger, many of thoughtfulness, many of sadness and sorrow; and many also of vainglory and senseless pride: straits and difficulties encompass us on every side, and a thousand darts from all sides come flying at us. And therefore we have perpetual need of that panoply (complete armour) which is to be fetched out of the Scriptures."

A great deal more there follows, which I shall not transcribe, to show what a necessity there is of these divine remedies to heal the wounds we receive, or rather to keep off the blow that gives them, and to beat back the fiery darts of the devil by a frequent reading of the holy Scriptures; and concludes thus[r], Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τινὰ σωθῆναι, &c., "for it cannot be, it is impossible that any man should be saved that enjoys not continually the benefit of spiritual reading."

But after he hath thus answered the objection about the obscurity of the Scriptures by denying it to be altogether true; he proceeds further to show, that granting it to be true, they are not therefore to be laid aside and not to be read by us.

First, because by often reading, that which is obscure may become plain. So he discourses in the often-named sermon upon Lazarus[s]. "Dost thou not understand what is in these books? No, how shouldst thou understand, when thou wilt not so much as look into them? Take the Bible into thy hand, read the whole history; and retaining what is plain and intelligible, read what is obscure and uncertain over and over again."

Secondly, "suppose thou canst not with frequent reading find out the sense, then go to one that is wiser than thyself; come to the Teacher and Instructor, as a scholar to his master; communicate with him concerning the things that are spoken; demonstrate a great diligence and desire to learn; and if God see this forwardness and readiness of mind in thee, he will not overlook thy watchfulness and solicitous care, but if no man can be found to teach thee, he will reveal his mind himself to thee."

This he explains by the example often already named, saying, "Remember the eunuch of the queen of Ethiopia, who being a barbarian and engaged in a thousand cares, and surrounded with abundance of business, and did not understand

[r] [P. 738 A.] [s] [P. 740 B.]

what he read, yet notwithstanding continued reading as he sat in his chariot. If he showed such diligence upon the highway, consider what kind of man he was at home: if he would not suffer the time of his travel to pass away without reading, how much more diligent may we well think he was when he sat in his house! If when he understood not what he read he would not omit reading, how much more did he use it after he had learnt something! For that he did not understand what he read, his answer to Philip shows, when he asked him, *Understandest thou what thou readest?* He did not blush nor was ashamed to confess his ignorance, but said, *How can I, unless I had somebody to guide me?* Because therefore he thus employed his time in reading when he had none to guide him, therefore straightway one was sent to conduct and lead him; God saw his forwardness and accepted his diligence, and presently sent him a teacher.

"But Philip is not here present with me, to instruct me when I read. True, but the Spirit which moved Philip is present. Let us not, my beloved, despise our own salvation. All these things were written for our instruction, upon whom the ends of the world are come.

"The reading of the Scripture is a great security against sin; and ignorance of them is a great precipice, a deep pit, or rather bottomless gulf: a manifest betraying of salvation, to know nothing out of the divine laws. This hath both brought forth heresies, and led to corruption of manners. This hath turned all things topsy-turvy: for it is impossible, utterly impossible, for any man to go away from reading the holy Scriptures without some fruit, if he read them with care."

I should tire my reader, if I should set down all that this great and holy man hath said upon this subject. Which he presses, you see, with such vehemence, as if he thought it impossible for his people to be saved unless they read the holy Scriptures. So contrary was the doctrine then to what is now current in the Roman church; who teach, that people will rather endanger their salvation by the reading of them.

And one thing I cannot pass by without a particular remark before I have done with this. That he gives that very reason (in the words just now quoted) why the people should read the Scriptures, which the Romanists give why they should not read

them, viz. the danger of running into errors and heresies. Therefore, say they, the people ought not to read the Scriptures: no such matter, saith he, but quite contrary, they will run into them if they do not read them.

"From hence spring up myriads of evils, even from ignorance of the Scriptures; from hence pernicious heresies, negligent life, and corruption of manners. For as they who are destitute of light cannot make straight paths; so such as do not take along with them the light of God's word, in many things necessarily offend and stumble, as walking in utter darkness."

They are his words in his thirty-second sermon upon St. John[t]. And in his eighth sermon upon the Hebrews[u] he makes a sad complaint about the growth of one particular heresy, that of the Manichees; and tells his people it was because they neglected the Scripture. "For if we attended to them, we should not only preserve ourselves from the deceit, but deliver others also that are deceived, and draw them out of the danger."

But it is time to make an end of this, and therefore I shall only add these few memorable words of his, out of his second sermon upon St. Matthew[x] (that you may see how faithfully they follow the fathers who pretend to be wholly guided by them,) "If there be a greater sin than that of not reading the Scriptures, it is this, to be persuaded that we need not read them: *ταῦτα γὰρ σατανικῆς μελέτης τὰ ῥήματα*· 'for these are words of a Satanical suggestion;' the studied invention of the devil."

I have been the longer upon this head, because some are more moved by a great authority than by bare reason. And I have alleged this father's authority alone, not for want of other, (which are ready at hand in great abundance,) but because it is deservedly very weighty: and as he is full and express in his judgment about this matter, so he intermixes his discourse upon it with many excellent instructions.

But if we had neither his testimony nor any other to produce, there is one piece of history remaining which is sufficient to satisfy any man in this matter. Which is, that it was the very mark and character of a Christian to have a Bible; and

[t] [Vid. hom. lii. al. liii. in Joann. tom. viii. p. 313.]

[u] [Tom. xii. p. 89 C.]

[x] [Tom. vii. p. 30 A.]

of an apostate, to deliver his Bible to be burnt; when the inquisitors came to search for it in times of persecution.

As they did particularly in the reign of Maxentius and of Dioclesian; when they sought to destroy all Bibles as the foundation of Christian religion, which they thought would fall when these books were gone. And that laymen generally had Bibles as well as priests, and were guilty of this foul crime of delivering them up to the persecutors, appears by Optatus in his first book against Parmenio.

Quid commemorem laicos[y], &c. "What need I stand to mention the lay people, who then had no dignities in the church, or many ministers (he means inferior officers), or deacons in the third order, or presbyters in the second priesthood; when the very supreme, some bishops, in those times impiously delivered up the instruments of the divine law."

He names several, and among the rest Donatus. And the same we find in St. Austin, Epist. xlviii.[z] and clxxi.[a] and other places: where he relates "how some delivered up the holy books to the persecutors; and others who did not communicated with them that did: mixing with the church *traditorum plebem congregatam*, 'a whole congregation of people that were traditors.'"

Which shows that Bibles were then as common as they are now: and that St. Chrysostom's complaints were very just against those who were grown so cold and negligent in providing themselves these holy books, as if they still had been under persecution, and it were not safe to have them now that they lived under Christian emperors.

VIII. But now let us hear what common reason saith, (as well as the Scriptures, and the best interpreters of them, such great lights as he now named;) and that teaches us, that since the holy Scriptures were written for the use and benefit of all, all should have liberty to read them.

They were written for all, it is plain; for that which they teach is the duty of all; that which they promise is the portion of all. And if any one say, it doth not therefore follow they should be read by all, because the people may be taught by

[y] [Contr. Parmen. lib. i. cap. 13. p. 13.]

[z] [Al. xciii. cap. 10. tom. ii. col. 248.]

[a] [Al. lxxvi. col. 180.]

others, without looking into the Scriptures themselves; they render themselves suspected that they intend not to teach the people sincerely what is written, but to establish their own authority instead of that of the divine writings. For otherwise, why should they not rather, when they pretend to teach others, bid them look into their Bibles, and there satisfy themselves that they do not abuse them; assuring them it is a faithful translation of God's book which they have in their hands, whose meaning it is their business to help them to understand?

That is, why do they not imitate God himself? who commanding his prophet to proclaim him to be the only God among the Babylonians, and that the gods which made not the heavens and the earth should perish from the earth, and from under these heavens, ordered him to do it in their own language, that they might read and understand it[b]. Where, when all the rest of the book is Hebrew, this message is delivered in the Chaldee tongue. Which we may justly look upon as a *præludium* to the publishing of the name of God among the Gentiles in their own language in the days of Christ. When, as Theodoret witnesseth, the words of the apostles and prophets were turned into the language of the Romans, Egyptians, Persians, Indians, Armenians, Scythians, and Sauromatans, and all the languages that any other nation used. And therefore why should not we now have them in English? And having them, why should not all read, that they may learn the way to be happy here and eternally; and that they may be sure they are not led into a wrong way, and abused by pretended authority from God, who, perhaps, saith the quite contrary to what is delivered in his name?

This is the people's right; and it is their duty to use it, as that great man St. Chrysostom (whose words let me set down once more) teaches his church upon 2 Cor. vii., in the conclusion of his 13th sermon[c]. "For how can we think it not to be absurd, that, having to deal in money matters, men will not trust to others, but the counters are brought out, and they cast up the sum; but in the business of their souls, are barely led and drawn aside by the opinions of other men? And this, even when they have an exact scale (wherein to weigh all things), an

[b] Jer. x. 11. [c] [Tom. x. p. 536 E.]

exact rule or square, (whereby to measure them,) the dictate of the divine laws. Therefore I beseech and entreat you all, that not minding what such or such a man saith about these things, you would consult the holy Scriptures concerning them all," &c.

And if you consider what kind of auditors Christ had, you may soon come to a conclusion in this matter, and learn from thence what his intention is.

Were they not the promiscuous multitude? people of all sorts and conditions? And will he take it ill to be read of those by whom he would be heard?

Some will say, there is danger in reading; the words may be mistaken or perverted: and may they not be so in hearing? Can any preacher in the Roman church so frame his discourse, that he can warrant not a word he saith shall be misunderstood, or misinterpreted, and turned to another sense than he meant it?

By this reason the poor people shall be taught nothing at all; if we must do them no good, because some may possibly abuse it and turn it to their hurt.

Nay, if God himself may not be heard by the people, speaking to them in the vulgar tongue, I see far less reason why men should, who can say nothing but what may be wrested and misconstrued.

Further yet, the wisest and most learned may pervert and wrest the Scriptures: and therefore, if this be a reason why they should not be read, they must be wholly laid aside, and none permitted to read them.

The scribes and Pharisees, I am sure, did so, far more than the most simple people: and yet none will say they ought not to have read the Scriptures, it being the profession of the scribes.

None more obstinately resisted Christ than they who had these holy books perpetually in their hands; in which he was promised and foreshadowed. They were his most bitter enemies, who were the allowed expounders of the law and the prophets; making use of all they read to oppose him. And therefore either none, no, not the most learned, no more than the simple, must read the Scriptures, for fear of doing themselves and others harm by them; or this is not a good reason

against the common people's reading them; nor is it the reading them that doth hurt, but the reading them with a bad mind and with naughty affections.

The learned may abuse them as well as the unlearned, if they be ill disposed: and the unlearned may get good by them, as well as the learned, if they be well affected.

There are some things clearer than that any can doubt of them, or stand in need of an interpreter; the simplest may easily apprehend them, and be instructed by them, if they come with honest and good hearts to learn their duty: and yet the wisest will not apprehend them, or not receive them, though never so plain, if their hearts be otherwise bent, and ill-disposed in their affections. They that have devoted themselves to this world will be offended with them, even because they are so plain, and directly cross their intentions and designs.

For what were the things that made our Saviour so troublesome to the scribes and Pharisees? His life was perfectly innocent, his conversation free and friendly with all sorts of people; his heart was open to give them an easy access into his presence and into his affections; his power was beneficial, his doctrine was most heavenly; his precepts just and good, his promises exceeding great and precious above all earthly treasure. The business therefore was, they were possessed of a kingdom, in which they were honoured as the most learned, adored as saints, enriched with great treasures, esteemed worthy of greater: this they thought the happiest condition, this state of things they wished might always be continued; but feared our Saviour would draw the hearts of the people from them, and that their authority would be diminished by admitting his: and therefore they set themselves against him, and could not endure the light of his gospel; which showed them how little they must be content to be in this world, and only promised to make them great men in the kingdom of heaven, whereof they made no account.

And it is to be feared, that for the very same reason some men in the Christian world are against the reading of the holy Scriptures, for which they were against the receiving of Jesus Christ himself. Their authority, they fear, will thereby be impaired: they shall not be able to lead the people whither they please with an implicit belief: their eyes will be opened,

and seeing how they have been abused, they will grow less credulous; and not so easily entertain those doctrines, which are very gainful to the teachers, when they see they are altogether unprofitable to them that receive them.

I am sure such evil affections will never let men understand the Scriptures aright, but incline the wisest and most discerning men (if so ill disposed) to bend them, sooner than any meaner persons, to their own crooked interests.

Thus I have finished the first part of this work, when I have made a few reflections upon what hath been discoursed.

I. And first of all, this demonstrates how unreasonable, unjust, and uncharitable, (to say no worse,) the decrees of the present Roman church are, which deny to Christian people that liberty which God and his church have always allowed them. This prohibition to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue is a manifest innovation. There is an evident change in the church of Rome itself since St. Hierome's days, who bestowed several epistles upon divers women to press them to read them, and to teach them to their little children; which made Espencæus, a Romish bishop, honestly say, that he could not but "wonder how that should now be counted so pestilent and capital, which the ancients frequently commend as most wholesome."

II. Secondly, this discourse should serve for a caution to us, not to entrust our souls with such guides as err thus palpably, and I doubt wilfully, in so plain a business as this. For how easily will they mistake or mislead their followers in other cases! especially where there may be some difficulty, or some seeming authority for it.

III. Thirdly, and this should incline every one of us to adhere most firmly and faithfully to this church, which is so sincerely honest, that it fears not to be tried by this touchstone, the holy Scripture; so well constituted, that Christians cannot in reason desire more free and plentiful means of their instruction than they have in all things necessary to their salvation.

Lastly, which therefore let us take care we do not abuse, and thereby help to confirm and harden the church of Rome in their errors.

We ought not, I have demonstrated, to lay aside the holy Scriptures out of our hands, (God forbid we should consent to that,) but they themselves require us to *lay aside all filthiness*

and superfluity of naughtiness, that (coming thus with prepared minds) *with meekness* we may *receive the ingrafted word, which is able to save our souls*[d].

That is the end for which we must read these holy books, (as laying aside all naughty affections is the method,) to know what we must do to be saved. Not to learn how to discourse, to dispute and argue, much less to cavil; but how to live according to the will of God in our several places, which is the way to everlasting salvation.

And whatsoever belongs either to a godly life, or the necessary articles of Christian faith, is so plainly delivered there, that when we meet with any thing that is doubtful or hard to be understood, we are told plainly enough what to do in that case. They themselves direct us not to *be wise in our own conceits,* not to *lean to our own understanding,* but to go and advise with those whom God hath appointed to expound them to us. Who will either satisfy us what is the meaning of such places, or that it is not of such moment that we need to trouble ourselves about it.

For these books are so far from giving us the least encouragement to be bold and presumptuous, to slight our instructors, and much less to despise our governors, whether civil or spiritual, that there is nothing they teach us more plainly than to be humble and modest; and that, as we ought to *fear God,* so likewise to *honour the king* and his ministers, and *to obey those that watch over our souls,* nay, *to esteem them very highly in love for their work sake.* Which will dispose us most certainly (if we be not carried away with pride, or any other vicious affection) to be ruled by them in dubious things, and, as it there follows in the apostle, *to be at peace among ourselves*[e]. I must beseech therefore every member of this church both for the honour of our religion and for the safety of their own souls, to be as careful in this matter as I would have them to be in reading the holy Scriptures.

Take your guides along with you; do not think yourselves safe without their conduct; be not only willing, but desirous to learn of them; reverence their instructions; do not easily dissent from them; be afraid to oppose them; especially when you

[d] James i. 21. [e] 1 Thess. v. 13.

have reason to think them to be serious, studious, knowing, and conscientious men, who take care to inform themselves aright, that they may not misinform you.

For such men look upon themselves to be bound (as hath been shown in the treatise of Tradition, page 24,) to guide themselves in their direction of others by "what the catholic fathers and ancient bishops have taught out of the doctrine of the Old and New Testament[f];" and thereby preserve their flocks in the truth of God's holy word. And having a great regard also to the sense of that church wherein they live, which by their subscriptions they own to "have authority in controversies of faith[g]," they will no less preserve them in unity and in peace.

To conclude; it is impossible but everybody must reap great fruit by the reading of the Scriptures, if they read them for no other end, but that they may go away better from the reading of them than they came to it; and that they may not accommodate them to their own affections, but correct all their affections and desires, and the whole course of their life, by this exact rule of righteousness. According to which if we square ourselves, we shall presently learn in difficult things to be wise unto sobriety, and in plain things to be wise unto salvation; that is, so wise as to do what we certainly know to be our duty, which is the only wisdom that the Scriptures magnify. Which will be the surest way, both to know more and to know it better; that is, to feel the comfort of what we know, in a blessed and assured hope of everlasting life, which God, who cannot lie, hath promised to us, in Christ Jesus our Lord.

[f] [Compare p. 488, above.] [g] [Art. xx.]

The end of the first part.

PART II.

HAVING shown in the foregoing discourse that those words of St. Peter[a], which are wont to be alleged against the reading of holy Scriptures, do plainly suppose that the people did then read them; I proceed now in the next place to show that the apostle doth not deter men from reading them, by representing the difficulties that are in them and the danger of wresting them. For he doth not affirm that *all things* are hard to be understood, (and consequently liable to be wrested,) but only that *some things* are of that nature:

In treating of which, three things offer themselves to be considered.

I. First, that most things in the holy Scriptures are so far from being hard to be understood, that they are easy: nay, all things absolutely necessary for us are very easy.

II. Secondly, that those things which are not so easy may be understood, though there be some difficulty in it. That is, they will require some pains to understand them, which should not deter us from reading, but only make us laborious to find out the sense of what we read.

III. Thirdly, when we do thoroughly understand and heartily believe the things that are easy, it will abate much of that difficulty, and make other things more easy.

I. I begin with the first of these. The apostle only saith, *some things are hard to be understood;* which supposes that most are not, but rather easy: as all those things especially are, which are absolutely necessary to be known and believed, and done for the obtaining salvation.

That which makes things easy to be understood is the plain and perspicuous delivery of them, in the words wherein they are written or spoken. Now nothing can be plainer or clearer than the words wherein all the great Christian truths are revealed and delivered to us; which are so far from being

[a] 2 Pet. iii. 16.

obscure, that it is not easier to see the light than it is to apprehend and understand the true meaning of them.

I will instance in some particulars, and have an eye all the way upon St. Paul's Epistles, (to which St. Peter is commonly thought to have respect,) wherein, though some things be difficult, yet these are most clearly discovered.

First, that there is but *one God, the Father, of whom are all things,* as he expressly writes[b].

Secondly, that he alone is to be worshipped, (as our blessed Saviour remembers us out of Moses[c],) was the great thing pressed in his very entrance into any place where he preached[d].

Thirdly, as our Lord teaches us that we are engaged by our baptism to worship one God in three persons[e], so St. Paul affirms the same plainly enough in that solemn prayer for the Corinthians[f]: *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.* Especially if it be compared with those places wherein he affirms our Saviour *to be over all, God blessed for ever*[g]; and the Spirit to *search even the deep things of God;* that is, to know his mind exactly: for so it follows, that as *none can know the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him; so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God*[h]. Which plainly tells us, if we mind it, that the Spirit of God is *in God,* as the spirit of man is *in man:* that is, the Spirit is God himself, and therefore fully acquainted with him in all things.

There is some little labour indeed in making this deduction; but it is very easy, if we consider all these places together.

Fourthly, and the nature of God none can possibly be ignorant of, who doth but look into the holy books. Where he will immediately see him represented to be almighty, most wise, most gracious, faithful to his word, and the living God who endures for ever. Which are truths written there in such great letters, that every one who runs (as the prophet speaks), and doth but cast a transient eye upon them, may easily read them.

[b] 1 Cor. viii. 6. [c] Matt. iv. 10. [d] 1 Thess. i. 9, 10, Acts xvii. 23, 24. [e] Matt. xxviii. 19. [f] 2 Cor. xiii. ult. [g] Rom. ix. 5. [h] 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.

Fifthly, particularly his infinite love and kindness towards us the children of men lies before us so fairly, and shines so brightly in our eyes, that if we do not wilfully shut them, we cannot but read it to our infinite satisfaction. *For so God loved the world,* saith our Lord himself, *that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved*[i]. And so St. Paul writes, *But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ Jesus, (by grace ye are saved;) and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus: that in the ages to come he might show the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness towards us through Christ Jesus*[k].

Who can doubt at all of the favour of God, his exceeding great and rich favour towards us, who doth but cast his eyes on such words as these, and believes the truth of the gospel of Christ? Which were written for this very end, that in all future ages of the world, after the apostles were gone, men might discern how abundant the grace of God is in his kindness manifested towards us in our blessed Lord. And therefore we in this age of the world, as well as all that were before us, may conclude without any scruple, that *God is love,* (as St. John speaks,) and that he will be good to us for Christ's sake, though we have greatly offended his majesty.

Sixthly, for that is the next thing, the kindness of God towards sinful men, and his readiness to pardon them and receive them into his favour and love again, is here also so perspicuously revealed, that there need be no question made of it. *In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins*[l].

And in the same manner writes St. Paul, *After the kindness and love,* or pity, *of God our Saviour towards man appeared,*

[i] John iii. 16, 17. [k] Eph. ii. 4, 5, 6. [l] 1 John iv. 9, 10.

not by works of righteousness that we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. That being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life[m].

Nay, for this very end, he saith, God showed mercy to him, though a very great sinner, a blasphemer of Christ, a persecutor of his disciples, that men might be encouraged to hope in God, if they would repent and turn to him as he did[n]. Read the place, and you will see that all the wit of man cannot devise plainer and clearer words to express the exceeding grace of God towards all men: which is declared so fully, as well as familiarly, that his words need no commentary to explain them, and make them more easy to be understood.

Seventhly, with the same evidence the gospel speaks of the way and means whereby this forgiveness was procured for us: and that is, by the death and by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus. *Who was delivered,* saith the apostle, *for our offences, and rose again for our justification*[o]. *In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace*[p]. *It is God that justifies; who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ*[q]*?* &c.

It would be endless to recite all that the Scriptures speak on this subject, in terms as plain and clear as these: so that we cannot reasonably doubt, if we believe these books, that *by one offering of himself he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified,* as the author to the Hebrews speaks. *This man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down at the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever*[r], &c.

They that would make any other satisfaction necessary by the merits of saints, or any other oblation of Christ necessary but that one which he himself offered, directly contradict the

[m] Titus iii. 4, 5.
[n] 1 Tim. i. 14, 15, 16, &c.
[o] Rom. iv. ult. [p] Ephes. i. 7.
[q] Rom. viii. 34, 35, &c.
[r] Hebrews x. 12, 13, 14.

express words of this book; which are as easy to be understood as any that the most studied invention can indite.

Eighthly, and so is the way and means whereby these blessings, thus purchased, are communicated to us; viz. the mediation and intercession of Christ Jesus on our behalf, whereby *he can save us to the utmost, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us*[s]. Nor is there any other that can perform this office for us but he, for as *there is one God*, so *one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus*[t], as St. Paul teaches us in so many words. Whereby we cannot but in reason think he means there is no more than one Mediator; as it is certain there is no more than one God; who communicates his mind to us by this alone Mediator, as we must address ourselves to him by no other.

Which St. Paul declares more fully in 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6. Where he saith, *though there be many that are called gods, (as there are gods many, and lords many,) yet to us* (Christians) *there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in* (or *for*, or *to*) *him: and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.* That is, as there is but one sole fountain of all good, unto whom we are to direct our prayers and all we do, (for the first Cause must be our last end,) so he derives all unto us by his Son Jesus Christ alone, by whom therefore, and by him alone, we are to go to God the Father for what we are desirous to receive from him. None else in heaven or earth is capable of this honour but this great Lord alone, (whom *the Father loveth, and hath given all things into his hands*[u],) as any one that reads this place seriously may easily discern.

And therefore, they who betake themselves unto any other patron to recommend them to the heavenly grace, are concerned to hide this book from the people's eyes; and to discourage them from reading it, by telling them it is obscure and hard to be understood. For they who do read it see this truth so fully and expressly asserted there, that, if their minds be not prejudiced, they cannot think it safe to implore the assistance of any other in the heavenly court; which apparently derogates from the honour of our Lord, and is highly offensive

[s] Heb. vii. 25. [t] 1 Tim. ii. 4. [u] John iii. 35.

upon many accounts to Almighty God. Who hath appointed him to take care of our affairs, who loves us better than any saint or angel can do, because he died for us; and therefore is more inclined to have compassion upon us, because he hath that feeling of our infirmities which no angel was ever touched withal, nor any saint in such a degree as he was: who can also do more for us than all the angels in heaven put together; being the Lord of glory.

Ninthly, which is another thing here clearly revealed, the power and glory of the Lord Jesus at the right hand of God. *We all with open face* (without any veil drawn before our eyes) *behold as in a glass the glory of the Lord,* as St. Paul speaks [x]. The gospel, that is, which he preached, and which we read, represents his transcendent majesty so evidently, that our own face doth not appear more clearly to us in a glass than Christ is set before us there, as advanced *far above all principality and power,* (to use his words in another place [y],) *and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come:* God having *put all things under his feet, and given him to be head over all things to the church.*

What may we not expect from so great a Prince, who hath all things at his command, and that for the good of his church, if we faithfully address ourselves to God by him alone?

Tenthly, I might say the like of the rest of the articles of the Christian faith, which are here plainly taught. But I shall only add that, as the way and means whereby Christ procured and doth dispense the Divine grace to us is evidently declared in the holy Scriptures; so is the means whereby we may hope to obtain the benefit of his sacrifice, satisfaction, and intercession with God for us. *Repent, and be converted, and your sins shall be blotted out* [z], are words plain enough to be understood. And so are these, *Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls* [a]. And these, *In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith working by love; a new creature;* or *keep-*

[x] 2 Cor. iii. ult. [y] Eph. i. 21. [z] Acts iii. 19. [a] Matt. xi. 28, 29.

ing the commandments of God. For in all these terms, for the greater clearness sake, and that no man may be mistaken, is this matter declared by St. Paul[b].

And therefore, that *the grace of the gospel teaches us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world*[c], is as clear as the sun.

Nor are the particular duties which belong to every one's place and state less clear and conspicuous than these general lines of our duty, which the apostle hath drawn in those comprehensive words. For when the same apostle St. Paul directs his speech (as he doth commonly in the latter part of his epistles) unto masters of families and servants, unto husbands and wives, fathers and children; his rules are as plain and easy to be understood by us now as they were to those persons who first received them.

So plain and easy they are unto all ages, so familiar, especially to men of meaner rank, that "I much doubt (saith a great champion of our church in his comments on the Creed[d]) whether the pope himself, and the whole conclave of cardinals, would be able in this present age to speak so plainly unto the capacity or so familiarly to the experience of men of their quality unto whom the apostle wrote. For, setting aside the absolute truth and infallibility of his doctrines, the manner of delivering them is so familiar, so lowly, so heartily humble, so natural, and so well befitting such men's dispositions in their sober thoughts, as were impossible for the pope to attain unto, or imitate; unless he would lay aside his court state, and for seven years addict himself unto familiarity with such men in a pastoral charge."

The same may be said concerning his way of speaking, when he sets down any other Christian duties, whether private or public. No man could ever pretend any difficulty in this part of the holy writings, which treat of a holy life. All the difficulty is in men's wills, to be persuaded to consent to be governed by these laws, which they cannot choose but well enough understand.

[b] 1 Cor. vii. 19. Gal. v. 6. vi. 15. [c] 2 Tit. ii. 12.
[d] Dr. Jackson, lib. 2. cap. 12. [Works, vol. i. p. 430.]

And that they may be persuaded, Christ hath left us exceeding great and precious promises, which contain the greatest part of the gospel grace; the very end of which is to move us to live soberly, righteously, and godly. *Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God*[e].

What words can be more perspicuous than these? And with the same clearness these books pronounce the indispensable necessity of a holy life; without which the riches of God's grace cannot save us. *Follow peace and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord*[f]. *Know ye not, that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterers, &c., nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God*[g]. *Now the works of the flesh are manifest,* (mark that word,) *adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulation, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of which I have told you before in times past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law. And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts. If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit*[h].

What shall I say more? All the promises of God which put us in *hope*, and all his threatenings which are designed to put us in *fear*, (upon which two hinges all religion turns,) are, you see already, declared so expressly and clearly that there can be no dispute about them. For *this is the promise which he hath promised, even eternal life*[i], and *the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness*[k]; for he *will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for honour, glory,*

[e] 2 Cor. vii. 1.
[f] Heb. xii. 14.
[g] 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.
[h] Gal. v. 19—25.
[i] 1 John ii. 25.
[k] Rom. i. 18.

and immortality, eternal life: but to them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God[l].

If these words be not intelligible, there can be no such thing as plain speaking in the world. And it is as plainly and intelligibly written, that *God hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousness*[m], when he will make good all his promises and threatenings; and that our Lord Christ is that great person by whom he will judge it. All our labour, all our art, can never make a proposition to be understood, if all these things which I have mentioned (which are the substance of religion) be not obvious and clear to all who will take the pains to read the holy Scriptures, and consider them.

And therefore they do a great injury to the grace of God, and to the care and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, the head of the church, who endeavour to persuade us the holy Scriptures are so obscure that it is not fit the people should look into them, for fear of mistaking and running themselves into dangerous errors and heresies. They may do so, though they do not read the Scriptures, by following their own vain imaginations, and by dreaming upon that which they hear out of the Scriptures, or which starts up in their own fancy: but if they look into the Scriptures to know how to be saved, and have no other end, nor neglect humbly to implore the Divine guidance, they cannot mistake, but may be easily and fully satisfied. For God hath told us all that *Jesus is the Saviour*, and that he is the author of eternal salvation *to them that obey him and his commandments*, wherein we are to obey him. As they are not *grievous*, so they are *obvious*, and may be met withal every where, if we have a mind to learn them; and he hath set *pastors and teachers* in his church, *for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we come in the unity of the faith, and of the*

[l] Rom. ii. 6—11. [m] Acts xvii. 31.

knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, &c.[n] So that no man having such directors can miss the way that leads to eternal life, unless both he and they will wilfully shut their eyes, and on purpose turn aside from the path which the holy Scripture shows unto them. And if the words of the Spirit of God (which are as bright as a lamp to give light unto our feet) may be mistaken or abused, then no man, no company of men, no interpreter, no council, can draw up any words but they may be perverted by those who have no mind to be directed by them, but are concerned to put another sense than they intended upon them.

And indeed it is no slight argument that the holy Scriptures are easy to be understood in all things necessary for our instruction, because God would have all, even the meanest capacity, to read them, as I have proved in the foregoing part of this work beyond any reasonable contradiction. It would have been in vain to require men to *search the Scriptures*, as not only God, but his church in ancient times did, if they could not readily there meet with satisfaction.

The doctors of the church of Rome, I know, argue the quite contrary way; therefore you should not read them because they are obscure. But which will you choose to believe? God, who bids you read them, from whence you may conclude they are not obscure; or men, who bid you not read them because they are obscure? You may most safely conclude they are not obscure, because God bids you read them; for this is a right conclusion from divine premises: whereas the other conclusion that you should not read them is drawn from a false supposition, directly contradictory to what follows from the command of God to be conversant in them; which is, that they are not so obscure, but in things necessary we may easily understand them. Otherwise, our blessed Lord, the wisdom of the Father, would not have bidden men search them, nor would his apostles have ceased to employ their pains till they had made such things plainer, if they had not thought they had set them down so plainly in their writings that no man who would read could be ignorant of them.

That is another thing worthy observation, that the very end

[n] Ephes. iv. 11, 12, 13.

for which the Gospel was written by the apostles reproves this pretence of obscurity. St. John tells us it was that we might believe[o]. *These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name.*

By whose authority did St. John write, or by whose assistance did he perform this work? Was it not by our Saviour's, and by the guidance of the Holy Ghost?

And to what purpose was he inspired, but to work faith in those men's souls who read his writings? And what faith was this? Only the belief of some few things which are clear enough, but not sufficient to make us wise unto salvation? No such matter; he wrote that we might have so much faith as should give us eternal life through Christ Jesus.

Now who can believe that he who wrote by that Spirit which perfectly knew the several tempers and capacities of every age, and with an intention to breed saving faith in their souls, should yet write so obscurely, that he could not be understood of them for whose good and benefit he wrote?

Nothing but interest, that is, nothing but that very wicked temper which blinded the Jews, and made them deny our Saviour and crucify him, can induce a man to be of this opinion.

It will be replied, I know, by some, that however here is a confession that some things are hard to be understood; and therefore it is best to keep the Scriptures from the people, because they may do themselves hurt by those things.

Unto which I have answered already, that if they seek for nothing but salvation, and how to please God in order thereunto, they will not do themselves hurt by any thing they meet withal in the holy writings. But for further satisfaction, I shall proceed to give a brief account of the second thing I propounded to be considered, which is,

II. That the apostle doth not say some things *cannot* be understood, but that they are *hard* to be understood. There is some labour required to the understanding them; which if we will take, we may comprehend their meaning.

It would be a long work to examine what things in St. Paul's

[o] John xx. 31.

Epistles the apostle St. Peter may be thought to point at as difficult to be understood. But the inquiry might be very much shortened by one small observation, which may be sufficient to inform us, that if men take heed, the Scriptures are not so difficult to be understood, as laziness, and careless reading, and interest would make them.

It is only this, to what the word *which* relates, when the apostle saith, *In which are some things*, &c.; whether to St. Paul's Epistles, or to those things which St. Peter is treating of in this chapter, as St. Paul doth in some of his Epistles. And it is manifest to those who will be at so much pains as to ask any honest man that understands the original language, that it refers not to all St. Paul's Epistles, but to those things of which St. Peter had been discoursing. For the words are not ἐν αἷς, *in which Epistles*, but ἐν οἷς, *in which things*, or *among which things*, some are hard to be understood.

Now that which St. Peter had been speaking of is the coming of our Lord; concerning which he saith St. Paul also had written: and therefore it is most reasonable to determine that St. Peter here means, that in those things which St. Paul had written in his Epistles about Christ's coming, there were some things not so easy to be understood as the rest.

And what great matter is it if we be ignorant of some things relating to his coming? since we know and are certain, by undoubted words of the apostles, that he will come, and come to render unto all according to their works.

Let us believe this, and then we shall find no difficulty in the use which St. Peter makes of it in the eleventh verse: *What manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness?*

It would be very ill for us, if Christ should come now, and find us, instead of reforming our lives by practising the plain truths of the gospel, disputing against that gospel, and casting reflections upon it as an obscure book, which is more apt to breed heresies than to teach men the way to heaven. And whensoever he doth come, it will not be easy for some men to answer this charge, which will be brought against them, of aspersing his will and testament on this fashion; as if it were apt to make his children fall out, and not rather agree together in pious love and charity.

But let those who are concerned look to that; let us, who enjoy the liberty of reading his holy will, and are encouraged so to do, only endeavour, as St. Paul speaks, *to have our conversation as becomes the gospel.* And when we meet with any thing which we do not understand therein, let our next thought be, that there is enough which we do understand: and that if we will practise it, and will take pains, we may in time understand the rest, as far as concerns us in our state and condition of life.

For it is easy to show, that if we extend the meaning of St. Peter further, (as we are wont to do,) and look into all those parts of St. Paul's Epistles that are thought the hardest to be understood, we may, with some diligence and observation, comprehend the meaning of them well enough. And till we use that diligence, we ought not to accuse the Scriptures of obscurity, but ourselves of negligence.

All, it is true, cannot use that diligence which is necessary to understand him in all points, because their business will not permit it: but it is as true, that as it is not necessary they should understand him in all things, so, if they could use that diligence which is requisite, they might (for any thing that can be seen in St. Peter's words) understand him throughout. For he only saith there are difficult things in St. Paul: but difficulties are short of impossibilities, and we see very great difficulties in other matters overcome by men's industry and God's blessing. And therefore they may be overcome here by those who make it their business, and have capacity to comprehend his meaning.

And if they do not understand every particular expression or passage, yet his scope and drift in the whole discourse may with careful attention and observation be clearly discerned.

At least, there is nothing in St. Peter's words which contradicts this; and therefore they are vainly alleged to prove the obscurity and difficulty of the Scriptures, when they can extend but to some places of Scripture, i. e. St. Paul's Epistles, and but to some things in them; nay, but to some things, I have shown, in one particular discourse in them about the coming of Christ; which have no further obscurity in them neither, but what is only an exercise of our diligence, by which they may be understood.

But just thus other places are wrested to prove the obscurity of the Scriptures. I will instance in one or two. The Abridger of Controversies fears not to allege Acts viii. 30, 31, to this purpose: where St. Philip asks the eunuch if he understood what he read, and he confesses he did not; but asks him again, *How can I, except some man should guide me?* From whence he concludes they are not easy to be understood.

To which the reply is so easy, that he must have a film before his eyes who doth not see that this place is an argument against them that allege it. For it proves (as I showed in the first part) that men did then read the Scriptures, though they did not understand what they read. And it proves not that the eunuch understood nothing; but only that he did not understand that particular place which St. Philip found him reading. And that was a place in a prophecy, which hath some obscurity in it till it be accomplished, though not afterward. And it was but one thing he did not understand in that prophecy: for he knew what the prophet said, but could not tell of whom. *I pray thee tell me,* saith he to the evangelist, *of whom speaketh the prophet? of himself, or of some other?* That was all the inquiry; the difficulty lying in that one single point, and in that also only for a time: for by the help of an interpreter he soon understood the prophecy was fulfilled, and in whom it was fulfilled. So that this very place hath now no difficulty at all in it unto us when we read it, though it was at that time difficult to him.

What a number of insufficiencies are there in this allegation (as bishop Montague justly complains) to prove the Scriptures are hard to be understood! All that can be made of it is, that one place of Scripture was obscure in a particular case, and in one point only of that case, and at that time, and (I may further add) to a stranger, who was not of the Jewish nation, and so was not from the beginning acquainted with their books: who notwithstanding, with a little help, presently found it was no longer hard to be understood, but very easy, as it is now to us.

This is enough both to show how insufficient the proofs are which are brought to oppose our doctrine, and that the difficulties we at present find in some places may be overcome; and that one means to overcome them is by the help of a wise

interpreter; who may (in many cases at least) presently satisfy us, and take away the obscurity.

There is another instance of such weak proofs in the same author, who alleges Luke xxiv. 25 to prove the difficulty of understanding the Scriptures, and therefore the danger of reading them; because the disciples of Christ themselves, who had been taught by him, did not understand them, and therefore are reproached by our Saviour in these sharp terms, *O fools, and slow of heart to believe all the prophets have spoken*, &c.

Where it is manifest they were only some parts of Scripture which they did not understand; and those were the prophets, which had some obscurity, as I said, till their accomplishment; and prophecies only concerning one thing, viz. his death and passion, which he was to undergo before he could ascend to the throne of his glory; which were hard to them at that present, but are now easy by our Saviour's interpretation: and the question is, not what the Scriptures were in those days, (when notwithstanding they read them, or else they could not have been blamed for not understanding them,) but what they are now unto us, who have the writings of the apostles whom he illuminated: and lastly, his calling them fools for their slowness and dulness to believe, is an evident proof that even then there was not so much a disability in the two disciples to understand what the prophets said, as a non-attention of mind, heedlessness, and want of consideration to things which were not of themselves obscure and difficult.

However, our Lord had pity upon them all, and *opened their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures*[n], which the poorest members of the church do now, in those things wherein they were at that present ignorant; being fully persuaded *that it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day*, which were the things he then showed them were written of him.

I conclude this with a brief state of this case. Some places of holy Scripture are hard to be understood by some persons, and by some capacities, and in some ages and times, and some matters that are not of general concernment; but in that which

[n] Luke xxiv. 45.

concerns men of all ages, capacities, and conditions, and to every man in his order and vocation, according to the measure of God's gifts bestowed on him, we affirm, with the greatest reason, that the Scripture is plain and easy to be understood: provided men have a will to learn what they are to believe and do, though it be never so cross to their inclinations, interests, affections, and passions. If these be suffered to intermeddle, the gospel tells us beforehand, in plain words, that men will not see, even when they see: according to those words very often mentioned by our Lord and by his apostles, *Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive,* &c.: by reason, that is, of their pride and self-conceit, worldly-mindedness and ambition, and such like things: which blinded the eyes of those that *loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.* But *this was their condemnation,* (as our Saviour tells us in the same breath, John iii. 19;) which it could not have been, unless the mind and will of God had been clearly discovered unto them.

III. Which leads me now to the third thing proposed to consideration in this part of my discourse; that when we have thoroughly digested and do heartily believe the things that are easy and plain in the holy Scripture, that will abate much of the difficulty which is in other places, and prepare our minds for acquaintance with them. Which I might waive here in this place, because it will be sufficiently cleared in the last part of this little treatise, concerning those that wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction.

But since it is profitable to have things distinctly represented, I shall say something to it by itself.

There is a near alliance between all truths: and the more familiar any of them are to our minds, the better disposed we are to come to the knowledge of all the rest. But there are some of greater force than others to widen the capacity of our minds for the entertainment of divine truth, and to free them from all opposite qualities and impediments, that they may entertain it easily. And they are, a deep sense of, and an hearty affection unto, all those plain lessons which teach us our whole Christian duty: which if we thoroughly learn, we are certainly the friends of God, and the more likely to be illuminated by him to understand the highest mysteries, as far as

we are concerned in them, and our minds are able to reach them. For *the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him: and his covenant is to make them know it*[o].

And therefore it was no ill advice which cardinal Pool (if I mistake not) gave for the reading of St. Paul's Epistles, to begin always at the latter end of them. For were we well versed therein, by a serious study, that is, and sincere practice of those Christian duties which he there commends unto us, we should see the way more clearly, to come to the sense of the former part of them; which is commonly harder to be understood than the latter.

For our minds being truly humble and heavenly, and thereby sedate and quiet, free from ambition, covetousness, or any secular desire and design, they would be more serene and clear in themselves, and also fitter to receive irradiations from above. Whereby we might certainly discern thus much, (which is the main thing we are concerned to know,) what the general aim and scope of the apostle is in the former part of his epistles, though we did not understand the meaning and coherence of every particular verse.

In that, it must be confessed, there is sometimes no small difficulty; because, the apostle writing against the disputers of that age, we cannot, at this distance, certainly know every little conceit or subtilty of theirs, upon which he briefly reflects and confutes as he passes along. And yet notwithstanding, we may be abundantly satisfied in the main points of doctrine which he either asserts or opposes; which is the only thing of use to us, and enough to reward the painful inquiries of the most learned men among us. Who by all their studies cannot, perhaps, attain to the knowledge of every particular passage; nay, will not see those things that are most conspicuous to others, if they do not amend their lives by the clear light of the Scripture in other places.

For of this we may be certain, that it is the good pleasure of God, (as an excellent man speaks,) and his unalterable decree, that the holy Scriptures (at least in their drift and design) shall be plain and easy to such as faithfully practise their most plain and easy precepts; but hard, and difficult to be understood aright, of such as wilfully transgress them.

[o] Psalm xxv. 14.

There is nothing more perspicuously set down in holy Scripture than this; as would be easy to show (if it would not enlarge this book too much) from such words as those of St. Peter, *God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.* And therefore, should we admit of any authority equivalent to the holy Scriptures, the question would still remain, whether the infallibility of that authority could take away that blindness of heart which by God's just judgment falls upon all those who detain *the truth of God in unrighteousness.* If for their disobedience to evident and plain truths, God punish them with such spiritual darkness that they discern not his will revealed in his written word; no other infallible authority can enlighten them, and make those scales fall from their eyes, which hinder their sight in the means of their salvation. They will everlastingly go on in darkness, because, having light presented to them, they preferred darkness before it. Those naughty affections which have kept the light of the glorious gospel of Christ from shining into them will close their eyes so fast, that no other light will open them. But they must either receive and follow the plain directions of holy Scripture, and recover their sight by a sincere practice of known duties; or walk on still in darkness, and remain in the shadow of death to the end of their days.

Unto which plain direction if men would unfeignedly submit, if thereby they were not led to the understanding of harder Scriptures, they would however have this benefit, that they would be secured from misunderstanding them. My meaning is, that by understanding, believing, and keeping close to the practice as well as knowledge of the easy and evident truths of the gospel, we should be preserved from putting any dangerous interpretation upon those places which are hard and difficult. Ignorant of them we might continue, or perhaps mistake their meaning; but still innocently, so as not to do hurt to ourselves or others by them.

An illustrious example of which we have in St. Austin's book *De Fide et Operibus.* Where discoursing, (chap. xv.[p]) upon that place of St. Paul[q], (which he takes to be one of those which St. Peter saith are hard to be understood in his Epistles,)

[p] [Tom. vi. col. 178, 9.]

[q] 1 Cor. iii. 12, 13.

he tells us, that "some understood the *building gold, silver, precious stones, upon this foundation*, to be meant of adding good works to faith in Christ; and building *wood, hay, stubble* upon it, to be meant of those that held the same faith, but did evil. From whence they fancied, that by certain pains of fire such evil men might be purged, to obtain salvation by virtue of the foundation; that is, by a right faith only: because the apostle saith, ver. 15, they *should be saved, yet so as by fire.*"

"But if this be a true interpretation of this place," saith that excellent father, "then all those places of Scripture which have no obscurity, no ambiguity in them, must be taken to be false. As for example, that of St. Paul in the same Epistle, *Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing:* and that of St. James, *What doth it profit, brethren, if a man say he hath faith, but hath not works? Can faith save him?* And that place also will be false, *Be not deceived, neither fornicators, nor they that serve idols, nor adulterers,* &c. *shall inherit the kingdom of God.* And that also, *The works of the flesh are manifest, which are adultery, fornication, uncleanness,* &c. *of which I tell you again, as I have done formerly, that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* These are all false, if that interpretation be true. St. Paul contradicts himself, and in this obscure place clashes with his plain words; for according to this exposition, if men only believe and be baptized, they shall be saved by fire, though they persevere in such wicked courses as those now mentioned.

"And then I do not see to what purpose our Lord said, *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments;* telling him what belongs unto good manners. And how will that be true, which he tells us he will say to them on his left hand, *Go ye cursed, &c.*, whom he sends to hell-fire, not because they did not believe on him, but because they did not do good works?" Thus that father goes on, heaping up a great many other places, which evidently speak to the same purpose, and then concludes[r]: "If therefore these things, and innumerable others which may be found in the holy Scriptures without any ambiguity, be false; then that sense may be true concerning

[r] [Col. 180.]

the *wood, hay, and stubble,* viz. that they shall be saved by fire, who only holding faith in Christ, have neglected good works. *Si autem et vera et clara sunt,* &c., 'but if these things be both true, and also clear,' then, without doubt, another sense of the apostle's words is to be sought for. And they are to be put into the number of those which St. Peter saith are hard to be understood: which men ought not to pervert to their own destruction, by endeavouring from them (against the most evident testimonies of the Scripture) to make the most lewd people secure of obtaining salvation, though they pertinaciously continue in their wickedness, not at all changed by amendment or repentance."

As for the true sense of that Scripture, though he ventures at it, yet he saith in the next chapter, "he had rather be informed by those who are more learned and more understanding, who can so expound it as to let all those things above mentioned remain true and unshaken; in which the Scripture most openly avows that faith profits nothing, unless it be that which the apostle defines, that is, *faith which worketh by love;* but without works cannot save men, neither without fire, nor by fire."

Still he sticks to this rule, as most certain and unmovable, that whatsoever sense be given of an obscure Scripture, it contradicts not those Scriptures which are more plain; especially those which teach us to live well, and show the necessity of it; which none that love the truth as it is in Christ will ever prejudice by any interpretation of Scripture whatsoever.

It is out of my way to attempt the true meaning of the place now mentioned; having no other business in hand at present, but to show, that by adhering, as this holy man did, to the evident truths in the Scripture, they will never permit us to put any bad and pernicious sense upon those that are less evident. Let us stick, as he did, to this rule, and we shall either put an harmless sense upon them, or none at all.

But then we must, as I said, be heartily in love with these plain truths, and frame our lives according to them; for else we shall not use due care not to cross them in our doctrine, if we cross them in our deeds; but rather be content that by false glosses upon other places, where the fraud will be less discernible, the light of those glorious truths should be obscured, and

the power and force of them enervated and broken. For what will not men say and do to defend themselves in their sins, even against the clearest convictions of God's holy word? which their bad affections teach them to oppose, nay, make it their interest to resist.

And here it may be fit to take this occasion to give a few directions for the right understanding of the holy Scriptures; which if we observe in our reading them, we shall not only be preserved from dangerous mistakes, but reap great benefit by them. And I shall the rather do it, because it will be a good introduction to the third part of this discourse.

I. The first of them is a rule which is necessary in all sciences, or parts of knowledge; viz. to learn easy things first. We can have no sound understanding in the Scriptures unless we will follow their own method; which is, to learn first to *fear God and keep his commandments;* for therein lies *the beginning of wisdom,* as he often tells us.

It is against the very direction which the Scripture gives us, to be so confident as to venture presently into all the depths that are in it, and to lose our time in puzzling our minds to untie the knots of difficult places. For they are not to be solved but by those who are well acquainted with what the Scripture principally aims at, which it teaches us in plain and easy words, and therefore they must be first learnt, as our guides to those things which are of higher contemplation.

And he who is resolved upon this method will find plain truths enow to busy and employ an honest and pious mind a long time; by which he is to prepare and fit himself for more difficult inquiries, if it be needful for him to make them. Though the truth is, ordinary capacities may safely pass by those things that are hard and obscure, and content themselves with the knowledge of easy and perspicuous doctrines without any further search; consulting thereby best for their own ease and quiet, and for the peace of the church of God.

And as for those whose profession it is to devote themselves to the study of all holy writ, even they must be sure, for their own safety and others', to lay the foundation well here, by thoroughly digesting the doctrines which are after godliness, and deeply tincturing (as I may say) their minds therewith, before they meddle with other matters. For a sense of true

goodness will be as a light to guide us in the interpreting those things which seem dark, and need something to illustrate them. And what can we imagine that should be, but something contained in the same book; even the true light of life, the light which chases away all men's evil desires, and the deeds of darkness; which makes the soul pure, and without prejudice; which disposes it to know God, and to love him, and to love all men for his sake? This will instruct us how to interpret all the rest, and not suffer us to entertain any sense of them in our minds which is repugnant to the nature of God, and hinders the practice and increase of true godliness, or prejudices charity, and disturbs Christian society; but conform all our thoughts unto a happy agreement with those great and obvious truths.

Which therefore let us observe and mark as the very life and soul of religion; nay, let us imprint them on our minds, as the most necessary to be known and remembered, and carried constantly in mind, that we may never admit any thing to their prejudice. For unless we be thus disposed, we shall not only trouble ourselves to no purpose, but confound all things, and overturn the whole frame of religion. We shall be just like that fool whom Melancthon speaks of, whose work it was to carry fuel daily to the kitchen; and coming to a great pile of wood, where little pieces lay uppermost, and the greatest below, he would needs begin at the bottom; for which he gave this wise reason, that it was good to do the hardest work first, and then he should be better able to deal with that which was easy. I need not make the application to those who love to perplex themselves with some deep and, I may say, dangerous points (if not well understood) before they are well studied in the common doctrines of godliness, and have learnt what it is to be a Christian.

This is a preposterous course, contrary to the clear light and guidance of the holy books, which teach us in the first place to make this inquiry, *What shall we do to be saved?* And we are sure none can be saved but they who are obedient to the Lord Jesus, whose faith therefore teaches us to study his precepts before we meddle with other matters. And these precepts, as they are not grievous to those that obey them, so they are not hard to be learnt in order to that obedience.

But whatsoever concerns our duty to God and man, and the duty of every particular person in the relation wherein they stand, of parents and children, husbands and wives, masters and servants, princes and people, teachers and learners, are all, I have shown, delivered here with such plainness and simplicity, that no book in the world ever taught them in this manner. About these therefore, in all reason, together with the common principles of Christian faith, we must employ our most earnest care to settle them in our minds, and make them the rule of all the rest.

But it is not enough to bring these things into our minds; I must add another rule no less necessary than this: which is,

II. That to do what we know is the way to know more what we have to do.

This I have suggested already in the body of the foregoing discourse, and therefore shall only commend the serious practice of one particular duty, which is so frequently mentioned in the holy Scriptures, that from thence we ought to conclude it is of exceeding great moment. It is humility *not to think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think, nor to be wise in our own conceits;* but to *think soberly, and to be lowly in our own eyes.*

There is a number of precepts of the same import with these; the meaning of which he ought to study diligently, and then heartily obey, who would advance to a higher degree of knowledge; for *the meek* (i. e. the humble) *will he guide in judgment, and the meek will he teach his way.*

If a man begin at first to think wrong of himself, he is not like to hit right in other things; but the easier mistake in them, when he hath suffered such a cheat to be put upon him, as to have a vain opinion of himself, whom he hath better opportunities to be acquainted withal than any thing else.

And on the contrary, he that thinks right in the first things he inquires into hath great encouragement and security to proceed with hope of good success in all that follows.

It is true, when a man knows himself, he finds that he is a creature apt to mistake, prone to judge amiss, forward to follow little fancies rather than reason, or reason dipped in passion and interest, and to forsake that which is pure and unbiassed.

But this is so far from being a discouragement or hinderance to him in searching after God's holy truth, that it is the very thing which disposes him for it and will secure him in it. For if he keep this humble sense in his mind, how weak and frail a creature he is, it will do him great service, by preserving him from rashness in embracing any thing without great deliberation, and much more from hastiness in venting any singular conceit, and still much more from pertinacity in defending it if it be vented; and most of all from faction and siding, and uncharitable courses; and from that great danger of mistaking, and never reforming an erroneous understanding.

More particularly in this business of reading the Scriptures, this humble sense of his own weakness will first make him read them with greater care, attention and diligence, remembering how prone he is to mistake, even when he is very serious.

And therefore, secondly, it will make him distrust his own best endeavour without divine assistance, which he will pray and wait for with an humility as great as the sense of his unworthiness to receive it.

And thirdly, it will dispose him to listen unto and inquire after the sense and judgment of other men, (whom he hath reason to think abler than himself,) and to be willing to learn of them.

Fourthly, and more particularly, incline him to follow the guides of souls, not with a blind obedience, but with a due attention to their directions, and a great deference to their judgment, and (where any doubt is publicly determined) a quiet submission to their authority.

And lastly, (to name no more,) content himself with plain, and safe, and necessary things; at least, preserve him from being too forward, before he be well prepared to meddle with those things which are not within everybody's reach.

Now when we consider all these blessed effects of humility, we cannot but say it is a special means to attain the knowledge of divine things from God, who *gives grace to the humble.*

St. Austin was so sensible of this, that he advises Dioscurus[s] "not to think of any other way to attain the knowledge of the truth, but that alone which God himself, who knows how weak

[s] Epist. lvi. [al. cxviii. tom. ii. col. 337.]

we are, and how apt to slip, hath chalked out for us. *Ea est autem prima humilitas, secunda humilitas, tertia humilitas,* &c. And that way is first humility, secondly humility, thirdly humility; and shouldst thou ask me never so often about the way, I would give thee no other answer. Not that there are no other precepts to be learnt, but unless humility in all the good we do do first go before, and secondly accompany, and thirdly follow after; pride and vain conceit, while we are pleasing ourselves in our good deed, will wrest all the profit of it out of our hand, and make us lose our labour. *Vitia quippe cætera in peccatis, superbia vero etiam in recte factis timenda est,* &c. For though we need fear no other vice but when we do ill, yet this may steal upon us even when we do well; and great care must be used, lest by the desire of praise we spoil those actions which are really praiseworthy. Therefore, as the noblest orator, when he was asked what he thought was chiefly to be observed in the precepts of eloquence, is said to have answered Pronunciation, and being asked what next, still answered, Pronunciation, and the third time being asked the same question, again replied Nothing but pronunciation; so, as oft as thou shouldst ask me of the precepts of Christian religion, I would not think fit to answer any thing but Humility."

This wholesome humility then, which that our Lord might teach us he humbled himself, let us carefully learn: yea, let us be *clothed with humility,* as St. Peter speaks; and always carry in mind that of St. Paul, *Knowledge puffeth up.* There is danger in reading and getting knowledge, unless humility usher it in, and attend upon it, and perpetually go along with it: for it will not minister to the nourishing of goodness, but to the feeding our ambition, and fomenting contention, and inflaming of indiscreet zeal, and thereby troubling the state of God's church. But humility is the mother of meekness and peaceableness of spirit, which is both most capable of wisdom, and also most fit to communicate it unto others with advantage, and make it appear as lovely to them as it is in its own nature.

We have the authority of the royal prophet for it in the place before mentioned[t], and of his great son Solomon, whose

[t] Psalm xxv. 9.

maxim this was, *With the lowly is wisdom*[u]; and, which is more than all, of our blessed Lord and Saviour, who thanks his heavenly Father, *Because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent*, that is, from the self-conceited Pharisees, *and revealed them unto babes*, single-hearted and humble persons; *even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight*[x]. This is most agreeable and pleasing to the divine wisdom, to communicate itself, not to those who think themselves wise, but to those who are truly desirous and studious so to be.

And so I proceed to a third rule, which is a general one too, and arises from the former.

III. Which supposing that doing God's will is the main thing at which a Christian ought to aim, it is evident from thence, that we ought to propound no other end to ourselves in reading the holy books, but that we may thereby grow more holy, and be *made perfect in every good work*.

For this is certain, that if this be not always our end, we and these holy books do not design the same thing, and so we are never like to meet. Their design, it is visible, is to *make us wise unto salvation*, to *purify us even as our Lord is pure*, to help us to *perfect holiness in the fear of God*. If we aim not therefore at this, they have nothing to say to us. If we lay aside these thoughts, and divert to something else in the study of the Scriptures, we shall wander in vain and unprofitable speculations; and perhaps trouble the world as well as ourselves with unnecessary doctrines; which engender strife, and destroy charity, and disturb peace, and turn men quite away from the practice of piety.

If we would be truly knowing and thoroughly wise with the Scripture-wisdom, we must ever draw all we know and meet with there unto this end; and not think we know it well, till we see how we may be made better thereby.

I cannot express this in fewer or more proper words than Erasmus hath done long ago in more places of his works than one; particularly in his Dedication of his Paraphrase on St. Matthew to the emperor Charles the Vth[y]. "Since the evangelists wrote the Gospel to everybody, I do not see why everybody should not read it. And I have so handled it, that the

[u] Prov. xi. 2. [x] Matt. xi. 25. [y] [Opp. tom. vii. init.]

most illiterate may understand it. Now it will be read with the greatest profit, if, when any man takes it in his hand, it be with this mind, *ut seipso reddatur melior*, &c. 'that he may be rendered better than himself:' and do not accommodate the gospel to his own affections, but correct his own life and all his desires by the rule of the gospel."

I conclude this with that saying of Seneca; "In the same plat of ground the ox seeks for grass, the hound seeks for a hare, and the stork for a snake:" and just so it is with those that read the same Scripture, wherein one seeks himself, and another seeks the world; one studies, that is, to please himself with the history of ancient times, another to furnish himself with the knowledge that belongs to his profession; but he alone reads it as he ought who therein seeks for God, and desires to be *filled with the knowledge of his will, that he may walk before him in all well-pleasing, being fruitful in every good work*[y].

IV. And whosoever he is that designs this great end, and comes to learn to be good with an honest mind and heart, let him be careful to observe one rule more; which is, to study and well digest the first elements of Christ's religion. For as he will never read nor write exactly that doth not learn to spell truly, and he must understand syllables before he understands words and sentences; so he will never find the saving power of the gospel thoroughly working on his spirit, that keeps not the first truths always in his mind, and deeply rooted in his heart.

The prime principle of our faith is, that *Jesus is the Son of God;* that he speaks from heaven to us the unerring will of our Creator. The gospel will not have any efficacy upon us, unless we carry this along in our thoughts, when we apply ourselves to study it, that this is the voice of God, this is the mind and will of him that made us. How shall we escape, if we turn away from him that speaks from heaven to us?

This if we carry in mind while we read the Scriptures, they will overawe us, and make us have grace *to serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear.* We shall not dare to read them as we do some human history, wherein we are not

[y] Coloss. i. 9, 10.

all concerned, but with attention, with seriousness, and with diligence: tracing the Lord Jesus, as pious disciples of his, in every step, observing what he said, and what he did. "And thus seeking, and searching, and hunting after him every where, (as Erasmus's words are in his preface to his Annotations on the N. T.[z],) we shall find in that most simple and rude Scripture the ineffable counsel of celestial wisdom; we shall see in that foolishness of God (if we may so speak), which at first sight appears mean and contemptible, that which far excels all human prudence, though never so sublime and admirable."

And the next principle is like to it, viz. that *the Lord Jesus will come to judge the world in righteousness, according to his gospel.* This if we thought of, that we shall be judged and have sentence passed upon us by this rule, we could not but lay it to heart, and square our life by it. Therefore let these first principles of faith be strongly fixed in our mind, and always be in our thoughts; and let us think we have as much use of them, as he that reads hath of his letters, which are the first elements of learning.

Then for the principles of practice, this is the prime, the chief, the most fundamental in the whole gospel; *He that will be my disciple must deny himself, forsake all, and take up his cross, and follow me.*

This our Saviour tells his disciples again and again, upon several occasions[a]. In the last of which places he lets them know, that it is as foolish to think of being a Christian without learning this lesson, as it is for a man to begin the building of a tower before he hath computed the charge; or for a prince to undertake a war, without considering both his own force, and the strength of his opposer. The sense of which two parables our Lord sums up in these words; *So likewise, whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple.*

In which few words we have this account made to our hands, (as a great doctor of our's speaks,) that ere we can hope to be built up in the faith of Christ, or safely engage in the war against the devil, the world, and the flesh, we must make over

[z] [Opp. tom. vi. init.]

[a] Matt. x. 38, xvi. 24; Luke ix. 23, xiv. 27, 33.

our interest in all that is dear unto us here, and resign it up to our Lord Christ; holding nothing so precious as his love and his salvation.

That is the meaning of this lesson; we must not prize any thing so much as the mercy, grace, and favour of God in Christ Jesus. All the contentments of this life, and life itself, must not weigh so much with us as God's good esteem of us, his affection to us, the honour, glory, and immortality that Christ hath promised us.

When we have once learnt this and have it by heart, there will be no difficulty in learning all the rest. The immediate result of it will be an unfeigned assent to the truth and goodness of all that Christ the Prince of life hath revealed unto us; and an uniform obedience to his holy will in all things. For then there will be nothing left to oppose him, nothing to gainsay him; no interest, no headstrong affection and desire to resist the impulsions of divine truth: whose natural property is to incline and sway the soul to all kinds, and to every part of true goodness.

It is our duty then to ruminate upon these things over and over again, to repeat these lessons continually to ourselves, till they become familiar to us, and have seated themselves in our hearts; not thinking we know them till we feel them, nor imagining we feel them to purpose till we be transformed into them.

That is an excellent saying of the Hebrews, "He that learns the law and doth not repeat it, is like to him that sows his seed, and never reaps nor binds it into sheaves, that he may carry it home into his barn." And this, "He that repeats his lesson an hundred times is not so wise as he that repeats it an hundred times and one."

Let us ever be telling ourselves that it is God who speaks unto us by his Son in these holy books; that this is the rule of life whereby we must be judged; that we must stand or fall before God according as we keep these sayings; that nothing is comparable to being beloved of God; nothing so desirable as to *have our faith found to honour, and praise, and glory at the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.* And then we shall deny ourselves and our own desires, commodities, and interests, that God's will may be done by us: the whole world will seem

inconsiderable in our eyes, and we shall easily forego any thing that he will not allow us to keep, according to the fundamental rule of our religion; *He that forsaketh not all that he hath cannot be my disciple. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.*

I conclude this part of my discourse with the words of one of the Homilies of our church, in the second part of the Exhortation to the reading and knowledge of the holy Scriptures[b]:

"As concerning the hardness of Scripture, he that is so weak that he is not able to brook strong meat, yet he may suck the sweet and tender milk, and defer the rest till he wax stronger, and come to more knowledge. For God receiveth the learned and unlearned, and casteth away none, but is indifferent unto all. And the Scripture is full, as well of low valleys, plain ways, and easy for every man to use and to walk in, as also of high hills and mountains, which few men can climb unto. And whosoever giveth his mind to holy Scriptures with delight, study and burning desire[c], it cannot be (saith St. Chrysostom) that he should be left without help.

"He that asketh shall have, and he that seeketh shall find, and he that knocketh shall have the door open. If we read once, twice, or thrice, and understand not, let us not cease so, but still continue reading, praying, asking of others; and so by still knocking, at the last the door shall be opened, as St. Augustine saith.

"Although many things in the Scripture be spoken in obscure mysteries, yet there is nothing spoken under dark mysteries in one place, but the selfsame thing in other places is spoken more familiarly and plainly, to the capacity both of learned and unlearned.

"And those things in the Scripture that be plain to understand, and necessary for salvation, every man's duty is to learn them, to print them in memory, and effectually to exercise them. And as for the dark mysteries, to be contented to be ignorant in them until such time as it shall please God to open them unto him: but not lay aside the reading of the whole because of the darkness of such places.

"And briefly to conclude, (as St. Augustine saith,) by the

[b] [Hom. i. pp. 6–8.] are the words of the homily.]

[c] ['Diligent study, and burning desire']

Scripture all men may be amended, the weak be strengthened, and the strong be comforted. 'So that surely none be enemies to the reading of God's word, but such as either be so ignorant that they know not how wholesome a thing it is; or else so sick, that they hate the most comfortable medicine that should heal them; or so ungodly, that they would wish the people still to continue in blindness and ignorance of God.'"

The end of the second part.

PART III.

I AM arrived now at the last of those three things I propounded to be treated of in the beginning of this book.

That all who read the Scriptures are not in danger to wrest them to their own hurt; but only the *unlearned* and the *unstable.* Such men will wrest them from their true meaning; but so they will other discourses as well as the Scriptures; and the most clear and perspicuous things are liable to be perverted by them, as well as the difficult.

In this we shall soon be satisfied, if we consider briefly whom the apostle St. Peter means by *unlearned and unstable:* which will also clearly direct us what course we are to take, that we may not wrest the Scriptures as such men do.

Now there is no great difficulty to know who these are, if we mind the proper use of words, and the place where they are used.

I. *Unlearned.*

And for the first of these, the unlearned; the apostle cannot be thought to have respect to such as are ignorant in those parts of knowledge which are now commonly called learning, (for so the apostles themselves were generally *ignorant* and *unlearned*[a],) but to those who are ignorant of such things as the holy Scriptures treat of, and ought to be learnt by all Christians.

This I think all will allow; and then they are more particularly meant who are not skilled in the first principles of religion: men that know not, or mind not, those common natural truths upon which all religion is built; nor are acquainted with those plain unquestionable principles of Christianity before mentioned in the second part of this discourse.

These I take to be the ἀμαθεῖς here spoken of; who have not learnt so much as the first elements, or (as the apostle

[a] Acts iv. 13.

speaks) *the word of the beginning of Christ*[b]*:* who wanting the foundation of true knowledge will be apt to wrest every thing they read from its proper meaning.

Such there were even in the school of Christ, as St. Paul himself teaches us, who were *ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth*[c]. They frequented, that is, the Christian assembles, where they received good instructions: but their naughty affections would not suffer the known doctrines of Christianity to find entertainment in their minds.

Which doctrines are such as these; that there is one God, who is perfectly just, and perfectly good, and knows the very thoughts of the heart, and changes not. And that he hath sent Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, the eternal Word, who was before all worlds, to take our nature upon him, to die for our sins, to rise again, that he may be the Judge of all. And that he hath sent the Holy Ghost from the Father, to teach us those rules of faith and holy life whereby we shall be judged at the last day; when he will raise up our dead bodies, and give to those who have done good everlasting life, but send those who have done evil into everlasting fire.

These and such like, which depend on these, and are coherent with them, are the Christian learning: which they that did not know, and believe, and accordingly practise, (as I showed in the foregoing discourse,) must needs be very great strangers to the holy books, and be so far from reaping any profit by them, that they would rather corrupt and abuse them to the support of their own uncertain, vain, or absurd imaginations.

Nor were they secure from this danger when they had learnt them, unless they were likewise so fixed in their minds that they were constantly guided by them. For the apostle here teaches us, that not only the *unlearned*, but the *unstable* also, wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction.

II. *Unstable.*

Who those are is now easier to determine, if what hath been said of the other be admitted. They are such as do not stead-

[b] Heb. vi. 1. [c] 2 Tim. iii. 7.

fastly believe what they have learnt: who, having entertained the truth, do not stick to those principles of natural light and plain revelation, nor are settled in them; but sometimes believe them, and sometimes question or disbelieve them.

Such persons the same St. Paul also describes in the Christian church: who were *tossed up and down with every wind of doctrine*, and could fix nowhere; but rolled in uncertainty from one opinion to another, till they lost themselves in infidelity[d]. The principles they had received were floating in their mind, and never came to any certain constant resolution: which made them apt, on all occasions, to pervert the Scriptures according as their own fancy, or the confident suggestion of some bold seducer, inclined them. For some men deliver the vainest conceit with such an assurance and earnest zeal, that they may be well compared to a violent blast, which carries those along with it who are not settled and confirmed in their belief.

I may make many words about this, but I shall scarce make it plainer; and therefore I will not endeavour it. But now desire you to mind what course these words, thus explained, direct us to take; that we may be preserved from abusing the liberty we have of consulting on all occasions with the oracles of God.

There is some learning, you see, required to the understanding of the holy Scriptures. But you need not go far to seek it; for it consists only in the knowledge of such natural truths as are engraven upon our own minds, and of those plain doctrines of Christianity, which are revealed in God's word so clearly that there is no controversy about them; especially of the great design of Christianity, which St. John expresses in this short sentence, *These things write I unto you that ye sin not.* This is very solid and deep learning, to know that the first and chief end of Divine writings is to teach us to live well: and the next follows in the next words of St. John, *If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous*[e], &c. Be not discouraged, if contrary to the great design of Christianity you fall into sin; but hope for mercy through the propitiation made by Christ Jesus, who will inter-

[d] Eph. iv. 14.

[e] 1 John ii. 1.

cede for the sins of those who heartily make this their main design and business, not to sin.

Which truths of both sorts we must take some pains to fix in our minds and root in our hearts, that our belief of them may not be shaken by any other persuasion whatsoever; much less by any sudden conceit which starts up in our minds, or is suggested to us by others.

And the way to do that is to live by them: for nothing settles knowledge so much as faithful practice according to it; especially when we are settled in this practice. For those St. Peter calls *unstable souls,* (in the chapter before this[f],) apt to be beguiled and ensnared, who had not arrived at a settled resolution and an habitual course of well doing.

Now when this is done, which must be our first work, there is but one rule which I shall propose (because, if well followed, it comprehends all in it) to make our reading the holy Scriptures safe and secure. Which is this:

Never to admit any interpretation of Scripture from others, or fasten any sense upon them ourselves, which contradicts those known truths which we have learned, and in which we are fixed, as the undoubted mind and will of God. They must be the measure of all the rest: by them we must judge of all things, whether they be true or false. Whatsoever overthrows them, and will not consist with them, must be rejected; it must not make us doubt of them, but they must make us conclude it is a safe interpretation. And on the other side, whatsoever agrees with them, though it should happen not to be the proper meaning of a place of Scripture into which we inquire, it can do no harm if it be entertained.

And here now I shall do these three things:

First, show how we are to use this rule.

Secondly, how necessary it is to keep to it.

Thirdly, how readily thereby we may salve many seeming difficulties in the holy Scripture; at least pass by them safely, if we observe it.

I. Concerning the first, I shall only say these two things:

1. First, that we must never admit any interpretation on a

[f] 2 Pet. ii. 14.

sudden, till we have examined how it agrees with the principles of known and undoubted truth.

Fancy will be suggesting things to us, and if we be not attentive, will sometimes insinuate very absurd notions into our belief. Here therefore our care and labour is required to bring along with us to the reading of holy Scripture such a sense of God, and of our known duty to him, and of the end and intention of religion, that it may be ready at hand to correct our extempore conceits and apprehensions, which will be forward to mislead us. And if they represent any thing to us which makes him unjust or unmerciful, if they plainly lead us to negligence and carelessness in our duty, if they strike at the *end of the commandment*, which is *charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned*; we must as suddenly lay them aside as they obtrude themselves upon us. For that cannot be the mind of God which crosses the natural notions we all have of him, or thwarts the plain revelations he hath made of his blessed nature and will, or tends to make us less diligent in his service, less zealous of good works; unto which we are *created* and formed *in Christ Jesus, that we should walk in them*[g].

And we are all concerned to watch carefully lest any thing of this kind insinuate itself, to the high dishonour of Almighty God, and the infinite hazard of our immortal souls. And to watch not only when we are reading the holy Scriptures, but

2. Secondly, at all other times we must use due care, lest our thoughts lead us to form any opinions which are contrary to the known principles of humanity and Christianity.

The thoughts of men are restless, and are apt to cast themselves into a thousand shapes, and frame innumerable conceits. Now if we let any settle in our minds which agree not with the truths I have often named, they will not fail to be intermeddling when we read the Scriptures, and draw it to speak in their favour contrary to its meaning. There is no private opinion which we have received, but we are naturally desirous to have it justified and confirmed; and therefore we had need take care to entertain none that are inconsistent with piety, for they will be sure to catch at every word of holy Scripture to give

[g] Eph. ii. 10.

them countenance by its great authority, and press it, against its will, to come to their service. At every turn they will be interposing their inclinations, and prove a bias upon our minds to carry them aside from the mark.

And the fuller we are of these, and the more desirous to have them confirmed, the more hastily shall we persuade ourselves that the holy Scripture speaks in their favour, and proffers itself as a witness to give testimony to the truth of our conceits.

Let us provide therefore, by a due vigilance and attentive consideration, that they be not formed by our own private imaginations, but by the common standing rule of natural honesty, justice, and goodness, and by all other certain principles engrafted in us, or revealed to us: which serve as an index to point us which way our thoughts should run, and where they should fix themselves.

II. The necessity of which care is the second thing I propounded to be briefly considered.

And here two things more may be sufficient to be duly weighed.

First, that without this care the plainest Scriptures will be in danger to be perverted as soon as the most difficult.

Secondly, the very same places of Scripture will be liable to be shamefully wrested to serve different purposes.

1. First, I say, the plainest Scriptures will be in danger to be perverted, (and very dangerously too,) as well as the most difficult. For it is not their difficulty that makes them be perverted, but men's own easiness to believe any thing which their private desires would have to be true, though never so contrary to sound reason and religion; which, if they had regarded, would have directed them to make another construction of holy writings.

All the metaphors, for instance, and resemblances borrowed from things visible, to represent the glory of Christ's heavenly kingdom, make the miserable Jews (as their forefathers did before them,) still entertain themselves with pleasant dreams of a glorious pompous monarchy here on earth; though the prophets, in as plain words as can be devised, represent Christ their King as a man of sufferings, who should endure greater indignities than any man ever did, and at last die, and so rise

again, to sit at the right hand of God, and give his holy Spirit from thence to fill all the earth with the knowledge of the Lord, and thereby make them pious subjects of a divine kingdom. This drowsiness is so hereditary to their nation that they will not be awakened out of their slumber by considering how much more the soul is God's care than the body; and what the prophets speak concerning Christ's government over men's minds and consciences, and the reformation he should come to make in their life and manners.

Some Christians have been deluded with the same fancy, as if they had dreamt upon their pillow.

But there are more palpable instances of the abuses committed among them, not by reading the Scripture, (for that they were not forbidden,) but by not observing the rule I am now establishing. It was usual for people, even in the ancient times of Christianity, to interpret the Scripture according to their fancy, merely to serve a present turn, just as many make it do now. For Tertullian tells us, that they who after their conversion to Christianity still followed the trade of making idols and images for the heathen to worship, defend themselves (when they were reprehended for it) by a saying in St. Paul[h], which they thus contracted, *ut quisque fuerit inventus, ita et perseveret;* 'as every man is found when he is called to Christianity, so let him continue.'

There is no man that reads what follows, but plainly sees (if he be not resolved to shut his eyes against all that contradicts his desires) the apostle designs nothing but that all men should remain so well satisfied with the condition in which they were when converted to Christ, that if they were mere slaves, they should be content to continue so, and not depart from their lords and masters, unless they would give them their liberty; which he grants was much to be desired. But if the following words had not told us this is his meaning, yet the rule before mentioned would have sufficiently secured them from the ill use they made of his words: for as Tertullian well observes, (in his book of Idolatry[i], where he treats of this matter,) it is an interpretation that directly leads to all wickedness. *Possimus igitur omnes in peccatis perseverare ex ista inter-*

[h] 1 Cor. vii. 20. [i] [Cap. v. p. 87 D.]

pretatione, &c., as his words are: "We may all then continue in our sins, according to this interpretation, for there is not one of us who was not found a sinner when he was called into Christ's service, who came down for no other reason but to deliver us from our sins."

But in the same manner they also abused, he observes there, some other texts of St. Paul, wherein he required, that after his example, *every man should work and get his living with his own hands*[k]. By which precepts if all that men wrought with their hands might be defended, then thieves and highwaymen, and coiners of false money, and all other wicked persons, would be justified by them, as well as these image-makers who alleged them. In a word, "Let the gate of the church be set wide open," saith he, "for all comers who live by their labour, if there be no exception of such arts and trades as the discipline of God doth not receive[l]."

And indeed the Scripture itself teaches us this truth, that it is not the difficult places only which men wrest to their destruction, but the plainest also, when thereby they can have some colour for their evil practices. As for example, what can be more certain than this, that the apostle never gave any encouragement by his doctrine for men to say, much less said thus himself, *Let us do evil that good may come:* that is, a good end will warrant evil actions. And yet there were some who were so audacious as to affirm he taught this doctrine; whom he contents himself to confute with these few words, and vouchsafes them no other answer; *Whose damnation is just*[m]. There was no ground, that is, for such an interpretation of his words, but only their own evil principles and affections, which led them to make this conclusion against the dictates of natural reason and Christianity: and therefore nothing could be said for such men, but they would perish, and nothing was more just than that God should leave them under condemnation, who perverted holy words to a meaning so cross to all the known principles of natural and revealed truth, that nothing could be more.

Œcumenius, upon this very text of St. Peter, gives another such like instance of wresting St. Paul's words, which he saith

[k] 1 Cor. iv. 10; 2 Thess. iii. 9, 10. [l] [P. 88 A.] [m] Rom. iii. 8.

may serve instead of all[n]. "He having said, *Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound*[o]; ungodly men perverting his sense say, We have Paul on our side, who says, Ἁμαρτήσωμεν πλέον, ἵνα πλέον συγχωρηθῶμεν, *Let us sin the more abundantly, that we may be the more abundantly pardoned.* Which they do to their own destruction, (saith St. Peter,) for they that killed the prophets and the apostles, and they that destroy and take away their words by a perverse interpretation, are obnoxious to one and the same condemnation: because they slew them that the world might be no longer taught by them the saving truths of the gospel; and these in the like manner wrest or put upon the rack their words, that none by them may work out their salvation."

Again, what is there clearer in the apostolical writings than that they every where taught, God will raise the dead *at the last day*, in which he will judge the world in righteousness. And yet there were those who wrested these words so foully, that some said *the resurrection was past already*, of whom were Hymenæus and Philetus[p], and others said there was *no resurrection*[q], and others said Christ would never *come again*, but laughed at his promises of coming to reward the good, and at his threatenings of coming to punish the wicked, as St. Peter tells us in this very chapter, ver. 3, 4. *Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts*, (there was the reason of their scoffing,) *saying, Where is the promise of his coming? For since the first men fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the world.* Which they would not have had the impudence to affirm, (it being so easy to disprove them,) had they not affected (as he shows, ver. 5,) to be ignorant of what was as plainly recorded in the holy books as any thing whatsoever; that there had already been long ago a great change made by the flood, which swept away the world of the ungodly. Which, if they had been serious, would have kept them from mocking at another destruction threatened to the wicked, with a promise of salvation to the godly, at our Saviour's second coming, and made them look upon what was past as an example of the like future judgment.

[n] [Tom. ii. p. 555.] [o] Rom. v. 20. [p] 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.
[q] 1 Cor. xv. 12.

I might give more numerous instances which would prove something beyond this, that unpurged minds, or, which is all one, unlearned and unstable souls, will not only wrest plain truths to serve their lusts and humours, but thereby be apt to grow more wicked and more prejudiced against God and goodness. For "the opinion or presumption, (as is excellently observed by a great man,) that any of our evil actions or dispositions are countenanced from God's word, doth mightily heighten them in a degree of evil more than usual."

The covetous, niggardly, and unmerciful, for instance, if they please themselves in the precepts of frugality and diligence, are exceedingly stiffened and rooted in those sins, with the pleasure they take in their conceited conformity with the rule of God's word, which teacheth us to avoid riot and luxury, sloth and negligence. And thus the stubborn and self-willed are encouraged in their obstinacy by the commendations which are given to the constant and the well-resolved. And the malicious, turbulent, and seditious spirits justify their bitterness, fury, and contempt of authority, from the examples of excessive zeal or indignation swelling in holy men upon just occasions, and that, perhaps, by a special divine incitation, which is not by any man to be now imitated.

But it is time to leave this, and to give a short account of the other.

2. It is no less usual, for want of observing this plain rule, to press one and the selfsame Scripture to serve for different purposes; unto the great dishonour of God and of his holy oracles, which men from hence imagine have an uncertain sound.

I might instance in some very ancient abuses of this nature; as that of our Saviour's, Matt. x. 25, *It is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master*, may be strained to prove nobody knows how many absurdities. You may guess at the rest by this one, that it was alleged by the Ebionites to prove that Christians ought to be circumcised, because Christ their Master was, (as Epiphanius expressly remembers[t],) and by the same reason may be urged to prove that no Christian ought to marry, because Christ their Master never married.

[t] [Hæres. xxx. vol. i. p. 160 D.]

But there are modern instances, more than enough, of this; such as show, that not only ignorant people, but the most instructed in human learning, wrest the Scriptures notoriously, if they keep not close to principles of known morality and piety.

From those two words, *Pasce oves, Feed my sheep,* I know not how many things are endeavoured to be established by the doctors of the Roman church. If you ask how they prove the pope's monarchy and supreme dominion in the church, the answer is, Christ said to Peter, *Simon Bar-jona, Feed my sheep*, i. e. saith Bellarmine, *Regio more impera,* 'Command after a regal manner.' If you ask again by what right he challenges to be the supreme judge in controversies of faith, which anciently was thought to belong to general councils out of the word of God, the same doctor tells you it is evident from the same words, *Feed my sheep.* Hence he proves also his infallibility, or that he cannot err in matters of faith, because Christ said, *Feed my sheep.* Nay, by the same words a fourth prerogative is established, which is a power to make new articles of faith if he think good. They are alleged also for a fifth purpose, to prove that he hath a treasure made up of the merits of Christ and of the saints, which he dispenses as he pleases to the faithful; for so the same doctor teaches in his book of Indulgences, because Christ said to Peter, *Feed my sheep.*

By which wonderful words also he and others labour to prove, that the pope can transfer kingdoms, absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance, and depose them from their thrones. And Becanus from the same words still gathers that he may inflict temporal punishments, as they call them, not excepting death, upon those princes that are disobedient to him.

So strangely are men bent to force the meaning of holy writ, though they have never so good parts and great learning, when they have once forsaken the guidance of common sense, and the obvious notions of Christianity. Nay, the more witty they are, the worse they are; if they have lost their conscience, and keep not strictly to the first principles of all religion.

There is another example to be given of this of the same nature. From those words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this*

rock I will build my church, &c., one is content to prove no more but this, that the universal church cannot err: but another from hence affirms, that the tradition of the present church cannot err: which will not satisfy others, who conclude from the same words, that the pope cannot err: and there are those who allege them to prove that a general council cannot err. These words cannot alike serve all these purposes, (as our divines rightly have observed,) for a pope may err where a council doth not, and a general council may err where the truly catholic church cannot. And therefore it is not the evidence of things which leads men thus to expound the holy Scriptures, but their own private affections, and their several interests and designs, to the advancement of which they easily consent to apply them; not attending to the clear scope of them, or rather shutting their eyes, not only to that, but to the main scope of the whole book of God, and to all other notices which would give them better direction; and solve also even many seeming difficulties which are in the Scripture, or at least guide us so evenly that we shall pass safely by them.

Which is the third general truth I propounded in the beginning of this part of my discourse.

III. Among all those things which we are concerned to learn, there are none thought more difficult than several passages in St. Paul's Epistles; some part of which St. Peter had in his eye when he concluded his second Epistle. But I may be confident, that if we will admit or take up no sense of them that is contrary to such known and confessed truths as are on all sides embraced, we may give a fair account of them; at least, preserve ourselves from making any dangerous construction of them.

That which above all the rest is thought to be of greatest difficulty is his doctrine of election and reprobation: which some take to be the things hard to be understood in St. Paul's Epistles. But if we stick close to the known fixed principles of reason and religion, which are naturally written on our hearts, or revealed by our Saviour, we shall be led thereby unto a fair and easy interpretation of his meaning in these matters.

For there is an election of whole nations, and there is an election of particular persons: and they are elected either to enjoy the means of grace, or to partake of eternal salvation.

The first of these, it is evident, are absolute, and have no dependence upon any thing we do: but the latter are not, as St. Paul expressly teaches us 2 Thess. ii. 13, where he saith, God had *chosen them to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth.* Faith was supposed to this, and the fruits of faith, in sanctity and holiness. They were not chosen to salvation but through these; though they were chosen to be made partakers of the grace of the gospel before these.

The like may be said concerning reprobating or rejecting men. Which sometimes plainly concerns whole nations, and sometimes particular persons, and sometimes is only from the privileges they formerly enjoyed, sometimes from eternal life; both of them for their sins; and the former (the national rejection from their former privileges) is designed by God to prevent the latter, viz. the final destruction of every one of them, which he doth not desire.

Thus God reprobated or rejected and cast away Israel, as St. Paul teaches in the Epistle to the Romans: but it was not with an intention that they should utterly perish. No, he saith more than once, *God forbid:* i. e. he abhorred such a thought; he disclaimed any such meaning. For, quite contrary, by their being rejected from enjoying the privileges they formerly had, the Gentiles were brought to Christianity: and the end of that was to *provoke the Jews also to jealousy*, and move them at last to bethink themselves better, and to repent of their sin and be saved.

Let any man read seriously the tenth and eleventh chapters of that Epistle, and he will be satisfied that the reprobation spoken of in the ninth chapter was such, that they might notwithstanding be restored into the favour of God, and be finally saved. That is, they were rejected from being his peculiar people as they had been; but not from all hope of his mercy, if they did not continue *a disobedient and gainsaying people.* For the apostle still prays for them in the entrance of the tenth chapter; and begins the eleventh in this manner, *I say then, Hath God cast away his people? God forbid.* That is, will any man infer then from what I have said, that God hath utterly reprobated them, never to receive them more? No such matter, none ought to interpret my words to such a

sense; which I disown, nor did it ever come into my mind. For I myself am an instance of the contrary, being *an Israelite of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin*, &c.

And yet he saith afterward, that *God had blinded their eyes, and given them a spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear; according to that of David, Let their table be made a snare, and a trap, and a stumbling-block*[u], &c.

But what then? *Have they stumbled that they should fall*, and be utterly ruined? *God forbid: but rather through their fall salvation is come to the Gentiles, to provoke them to jealousy*[x]. For if they did not abide still in unbelief, he shows they might be grafted into the church again[y]; and explains his mind still more fully in this matter, that *blindness was happened only in part to Israel*[z], till the fulness of the Gentiles was come in: *and so all Israel shall be saved.*

For though they were, *as concerning the gospel, enemies for our sake; yet as touching the election, they were beloved for the fathers' sake.* They were not absolutely and finally reprobated, but for the present did not believe that through the mercy showed to us Gentiles *they might also obtain mercy. For God concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all*[a].

All these expressions, and a number more in that chapter, evidently demonstrate it was not an irrecoverable rejection which the apostle speaks of, much less a rejection without any respect to their sins; but such a rejection for their rejecting Christ, as in the design of God was to bring them to repentance and to faith in Christ, when they saw what they had lost (and others had gained) by their infidelity.

He now that will interpret the ninth chapter according to the plain declared sense of the apostle in this will have no hard work to undertake; but easily see that as he speaks of the whole body of the Jewish nation, so he did not think them to be utterly lost, but designed even their reprobation for their recovery.

And now I might proceed to show (if it would not enlarge this treatise too much) how the difficulties which are raised

[u] Romans xi. 8, 9, 10. [x] Ver. 11. [y] Ver. 23. [z] Ver. 25.
[a] Ver. 28, 31, 32.

about faith and works are not so great neither as they seem, if we firmly adhere to common truths. Which lead every man to conclude that the faith which enters us into a state of justification doth include in it an hearty purpose of well-doing: and that, being thus entered, we cannot continue in that state, unless (according to our holy purpose) we bring forth the fruit of good works.

And in like manner, what he saith of *God's hardening men's hearts* is not difficult to be understood by those who are not unlearned and unstable, but are skilful in the principles of natural knowledge and of true Christianity; and who are rooted in them so that they hold them fast, whatsoever expressions there may be that seem to contradict them.

But it is time to draw towards a conclusion of this treatise, which shall end as it began. The doctrine of this church, it appears, is most pure and sincere in this point, and most conformable to what we find delivered by the holy doctors of Christianity in the best ages. And therefore no member of it ought to be persuaded for any reason to lay aside the reading of the holy Scriptures, when there is a more pious course to which they themselves direct us. Which is, to learn those things well which we cannot misapprehend if we mind them; and which will keep us from misapprehending all other things if we stick to them, and will not desert them.

Let that be your first business, to learn all general truths which comprehend the particular in them. And when you have learnt them, receive no particular opinion which crosses those general truths, for you may be sure it is false; because one truth cannot cross another, and all conclusions must be judged by the prime truths, which ought to stand unmovable.

But above all, let us establish those truths in our minds and hearts which teach us to be good. For there is no dispute about this, that we ought to be devoutly religious and sober, and just and temperate in all things; meek also, humble, patient, ready to do good and to forgive. And if we exercise ourselves continually in the practice of these and such like virtues, which are evidently taught us in the holy books, they will preserve us from making any ill use of any thing we read there, and teach us to turn all we read into our nourishment and increase in true godliness.

Hear the first Homily of our church, in the conclusion of it.

"In reading God's word, he most profiteth not always that is most ready in turning of the book, or in saying of it without book; but he that is most turned into it, that is most inspired with the Holy Ghost, most in his heart and life altered and changed into that thing which he readeth: he that is daily less and less proud, less wrathful, less covetous, and less desirous of worldly and vain pleasures: he that daily (forsaking his old vicious life) increaseth in virtue more and more. And to be short, there is nothing that more maintaineth godliness of mind, and driveth away ungodliness, than doth the continual reading or hearing of God's word; if it be joined with a godly mind and a good affection, to know and follow God's will. For without a single eye, pure intent, and good mind, nothing is allowed for good before God."

Objection.

The great objection against all that hath been said is, that, notwithstanding these directions, laymen we see do abuse the holy Scriptures; and, which is more, the reading of them hath bred infinite heresies: and therefore the safest course is to forbid them to be read by the common people.

Answer I.

To the first part of which an answer hath been returned already, that there is nothing in the world so useful and necessary but it is liable to be abused; and yet it must not therefore be kept out of the hands of vulgar people for their common benefit. What more useful, nay necessary, than fire? and yet malicious or negligent people may burn the best house that is with it, which they should only warm.

But besides this, I have one short reply more to make; that none have been more guilty of abusing the holy Scripture than they who ought to have been guides to the church and people of God by a sound interpretation thereof. Examples of which I am not disposed to name, unless any shall be so untoward as to deny it: and then a great many may be produced like to that of him who, because Moses said, *If a beast touch*

the mountain let it be stoned, concluded that no simple or unlearned man ought to presume to meddle with the sublimity of the holy Scripture.

A hard case this, that vulgar people should be treated like beasts: but thus learned men will misinterpret Scripture, when they are inclined only to serve their cause; and be as forward (if they be not disinterested) to mislead the people as the people are to mislead themselves.

Answer II.

To the other part of the objection I shall give something fuller satisfaction.

I. And first of all, it is not true that all heresies have sprung from men's reading the Scriptures, or from their misunderstanding them; but rather from their not reading them; as St. Chrysostom, you have heard, was of opinion, whose words I have quoted more than once in the first part of this discourse. Which are of the same import with those of our Saviour, *Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, and the power of God*[b]: that is, not being acquainted with what natural reason taught concerning God's omnipotency, as well as what the Scripture taught about the resurrection.

Here it may be fit to observe these four things:

First, that the fathers observe all the ancient heretics did not read the Scripture. They are the words of St. Austin, *lib. vii. cap. 9, De Genesi ad literam*[c];—"For neither do all heretics read the catholic Scriptures; nor are they heretics for any other reason but because they, not understanding them aright, pertinaciously assert their own false opinions against their truth." And thus St. Hierom in the last words of his Commentary upon Hosea vii., "All the questions of the heretics and of the Gentiles are the same, because they follow not the authority of the Scriptures, but the sense of human reason[d]."

Secondly, they observe that the men who pretended most to this were the original of heresies, viz. the philosophers. Thus Tertullian, in his first book against Marcion[e], speaking of the

[b] Matt. xii. 29.
[c] [Tom. iii. part. i. col. 215 G.]
[d] [Tom. vi. col. 80 E.]
[e] [Cap. 12. p. 371 D.]

professors of wisdom, saith, *de quorum ingeniis omnis hæresis animatur,* 'from whose wits all heresy is begotten and encouraged.' And more fully in his book of Prescriptions, cap. 7, *Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosophia animantur*[f], "Heresies themselves had life given them from philosophy. For the Æones came out of the school of Plato: Marcion's God came from the Stoics: and the soul's mortality from the Epicureans: and the denial of the resurrection of the body was taken from one school of all the philosophers." And so he proceeds, showing how the *fables,* the *endless genealogies,* the *unprofitable questions* and *disputings* mentioned in the Scriptures, came out of the same forge: and that the apostle takes notice of it when he gives the Colossians a *caveat* against *vain philosophy*[g]. From whence we may note that the Scriptures themselves assign the original of heresies, and teach us to beware of it; so far are they from leading us into them.

Thirdly, and there is a third cause of them mentioned in Scripture also, viz. *the traditions of men*[h]. And thus Firmilian observes in his letter to St. Cyprian[i], that Marcion, the disciple of Cerdo, a great while after the apostles, *induxit sacrilegam adversus Deum traditionem,* "brought in a sacrilegious tradition against God. Apelles also, consenting to his blasphemy, added *multa alia nova,* 'many other novelties[k],' which were more grievous, and directly opposite to faith and truth." And so did Valentinus and Basilides, who rebelled against God's church by their wicked forgeries.

And thus St. Hierom introduces heretics maintaining their errors in the very dialect of the now Roman doctors: "We are the sons of those wise men who from the beginning delivered unto us the apostolical doctrine," &c. *lib. vii. in Esaiam, cap. xix.*[l] But St. Cyprian every where appeals from all pretended tradition whatsoever, unto the dictates of our Lord and his apostles, i. e. unto Scripture tradition. Particularly in that famous epistle of his to Pompeius[m]: "All religious and simple minds have a compendious means both to lay aside error, and to find out truth:

[f] ['Subornantur,'—p. 204 C.]
[g] Coloss. ii. 8.
[h] Mark vii. 7, 8.
[i] [Epist. lxxv. p. 219, inter epistt. Cypriani.]
[k] [Ibid.]
[l] [Tom. iv. col. 293 B.]
[m] [Epist. lxxiv. p. 215.]

nam si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat error humanus, ' for if we go back to the head and original of divine tradition, there is an end of human error.'" And a little after he tells us what he means by this divine tradition, when he saith, " If there be any doubt, any wavering about the truth, let us return *ad originem Dominicam, et evangelicam et apostolicam traditionem,* to our Lord's original or beginning, both the evangelical and apostolical traditions :" that is, to the doctrines delivered in the Gospels and in the writings of the apostles.

Fourthly, another spring of heresy were pretended revelations. Thus the Cataphrygæ, as the same Firmilian tells us, *et novas prophetias usurpare conantur,* ' endeavoured also to make use of new prophecies [n].' And a little after, " We know they cannot have Christ, who challenge to themselves their false prophecy against the faith of Christ." And whence they had their illuminations, who, in the bosom of the Roman church, invented a fifth Gospel, (which threatened the overthrow of our four,) is not hard to resolve. Not out of the holy Scriptures, we may be sure; and therefore the taking away them from the people will not prevent all heresies, but they will start up, as they have done, from ôther causes; and they will the sooner start up if the Scriptures be neglected.

II. But I desire it may be further considered, that as heresies will spring up from other causes, though men do not read the Scriptures, so laymen have not been always the devisers of them; but they to whom none deny the liberty of reading the holy books. For the most pernicious heresies that have been in the church had their beginning from priests, as appears by Arius and Nestorius. And indeed no man can frame an heresy but he that is of excellent parts, as St. Hierom's opinion is; whose words are these upon Hosea x. " No man can devise and set up a heresy but he that is *ardentis ingenii,* ' of an extraordinary wit,' and hath gifts of nature created by God the great Artificer: such as Valentinus, such as Marcion, whom we read to have been most learned: such as Bardesanes, whose wit the philosophers themselves admired[o]." And there-

[n] [P. 220.]

[o] [Tom. vi. col. 106 A.]

fore, either the Scriptures must be wholly laid aside, the greatest men for learning and parts being apt to abuse them, if they be not humble and thoroughly good; or men must be taught how to prepare themselves for the reading of them, and what to seek for there; and then anybody may safely take them into their hands, and make them their constant companions.

III. It must likewise be further considered, that there is something else to be feared beside heresy; and that is, stupid ignorance or gross infidelity; which, experience shows us, have followed upon the taking the Scriptures from the people, even as darkness comes and covers the earth when the light is withdrawn from it. And ought we not, in all reason, to be as studious and solicitous to prevent these as to prevent heresy; since they are no less dangerous, or rather, more dangerous by far: even for this reason, because they make men liable to fall into the most sottish superstitions, if not into downright idolatry, which is a worse thing than heresy?

How images came to be laymen's books, it is needless to relate, (the matter being very plain:) and how image-worship thence arose, and how fatal this hath been to the vulgar people, I have not room to discourse: nor how legends of saints were invented, full of absurd and incredible stories, which have disgraced the doctrine of Christianity, and tempted many to disbelieve the true history of our Saviour's and his apostles' miraculous operations. But this is certain, that they were devised to supply the place of the holy Scriptures, that the people might have something to entertain them when they were taken away from them. It was the effect, at least, of that; these fabulous stories being recommended to the people's affection, when they were frightened from meddling with the Bible as a dangerous book; nay, when its credit was disgraced by many words of reproach. Which we in this church think ourselves bound to wipe off, by recommending it to the people's best affection and constant perusal, as a means to preserve them from sottish ignorance, and stupid impostures, and all vain superstitions, and false worship.

IV. Nor is it easy for our people by this means to fall into heresy, because they have the liberty of reading the Scriptures,

but interpreted to them by the ministry of the church, (whereby they are taught continually to have recourse to their pastors,) and by sundry tracts, expositions, and paraphrases, allowed by public authority. Particularly in the beginning of the reformation care was taken that Erasmus's Paraphrase should be placed in every parish church of the realm; in which he doth not follow his own private fancy, but like a truly great man, represents the sense of the ancient doctors of the church.

V. Now if after all this men do fall into heresy, it must be imputed to some other cause than their reading the Scriptures. For if they had minded them they would have learnt to be humble, modest, peaceable, tractable to their guides; and to take heed of those who cause divisions, and are proud, and dote about questions and strifes of words, and that creep into houses to instil private doctrines, and very frequently lead men from the Scriptures to pretended revelations or traditions. That is, they would not have fallen into any sort of heresy, but kept unto the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according unto godliness. Unto which if men will not attend, there is no remedy; they will fall into heresies, or worse, whether they read the Scriptures or read them not. The Scripture itself tells us as much, that *there must be heresies*[p]; that is, God will not hinder it, unless men will be guided by him and be truly good. But he hath a very good end, as it there follows, in permitting it, which is, that it may be manifest who are honest-hearted Christians, sincerely in love with truth and goodness, and who are not.

And that must be the care of every good man, not to take or throw away the Scriptures to prevent heresies; but if heresies do arise, to endeavour (according to the direction of the Scriptures,) to approve his integrity unto God by steadfast continuance in faith and holiness.

And after the same manner must he govern himself if the guides of his soul do not perform their duty. Which I shall represent in the words of Erasmus, out of his Preface to the Reader before his Annotations on the New Testament[q].

"It is the pastor's office to distribute the bread of life to the

[p] 1 Cor. xi. 19. [q] [Opp. tom. vii. init.]

people. But what if they do not their duty? What must the people do?

"They must implore the help of the supreme Pastor, Christ Jesus, who still lives, and hath not forsaken the care of his flock; but being solicited by the public prayers of his people, will do what is promised in Ezekiel; *Behold, I will both search my sheep, and seek them out. As a shepherd seeketh out his flock in the day that they are scattered, so will I seek out my sheep, and will deliver them out of all places where they have been scattered in the cloudy and dark day;* with all the rest that there follows[r].

"The vulgar people are sheep, but endued with reason, and out of those sheep are pastors made. And sometimes it falls out that a sheep may know more than his pastor. As a layman therefore ought not seditiously to rebel against the priests, lest that order be confounded which St. Paul would have in the body of Christ; so the priests ought not to exercise tyranny over the flock of Christ, for if they do, the sedition will lie at their door.

"When the pastors do their duty, they are to be reverently heard as angels of God, by whom Christ speaks to us. And when they teach unsincerely, the people must pick out all that is good, if there be any mixed with it. But if they teach not at all, or teach those things that are plainly repugnant to the gospel, let every man refresh his soul with private reading; and Christ, who promises to be present when two or three are gathered together in his name, will not be wanting by his Spirit to one soul that meditates piously in his holy word.

"In vain are six thousand gathered together, if it be not in his name. Now they are gathered together in Christ's name, who have respect to nothing but his glory, and the eternal salvation of their souls."

CONCLUSION.

I shall conclude all with the sense of that great man, St. Athanasius, who wrote a little treatise on purpose to reprove the audaciousness (as he calls it) of those who said that it was

[r] Ezek. xxx. 12, 13.

needless to look into the Scriptures, and bade men "not to search into them, nor to speak out of them, but to content themselves with the faith they had received. For searching into the Scriptures (said they) doth but make things more obscure."

To which he replies many things, which I might digest into heads, but I shall present them to the reader just as they lie in the second tome of his works, p. 295 of the Paris edition, MDCXXVII[s].

"This very assertion," saith he, "shows the inconsistency of their doctrine, and that it hath nothing to support it." He means, they would not be afraid men should search into the Scriptures, if they thought what was taught by them would be there justified.

"But we trust to the truth of the mystery, (i. e. the Scripture,) and to the help of him who cannot lie, who saith, *Every one that seeks shall find.*

"Therefore we seek as we ought, and we find what we ought, and we speak with demonstration, and we hear with a genuine intention; that we may persuade our domestics, and that we may confute our adversaries, and that we may by our search be gainers ourselves, and not propound any thing that is inconsistent unto others.

"Would you have me neglect the Scriptures? Whence then should I have knowledge? Would you not have me to mind knowledge? But whence then should I have faith? Paul cries, *How should they believe unless they hear?* And again, *Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.* He then who forbids the word obstructs hearing, and throws out faith.

"No man can be ignorant of the Roman laws (being a member of the empire) without danger. They then who forbid us to study and learn the great oracles of the King of heaven, what kind of mischief do they not craftily contrive against us?

"The Scripture is the food of the soul. Cease then, O man, to starve the inward man and to kill it with hunger, introducing a famine, not of bread nor of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord.

"There is one that inflicts wounds, and dost thou forbid the

[s] [Tom. ii. ed. Ben. p. 562, 563.]

application of medicines? For shame, do not talk as if the various wisdom in the books of physicians were vain and to no purpose." One may as well, he means, bid people not mind their prescriptions, though there be many diseases in the world, as not read the Scriptures when their souls are in danger.

"Reverence the lover of God's word, the eunuch, who did not neglect reading upon the road; whose good intentions our Lord accepting, sent him straightway an instructor, who made him understand what he read, and by the Scriptures brought him to his Saviour.

"Hence it is that our Saviour commands, *Search the Scriptures:* by *searching*, meaning careful and sober inquiry into hidden things.

"Out of the Scriptures is the manifestation of things obscure, the confirmation of hope, the event of promises, the finding of our Saviour; according to that, *We have found him of whom Moses and the prophets wrote.*

"Paul himself uses Scriptures for the establishment of the truth. And if he that heard ineffable things, he that was thoroughly instructed in secrets, he that had Christ speaking in him, doth not simply use his own private authority without the testimony of the Scriptures; how can we with safety now neglect the divine legislation, and speak what we think good out of our own hearts?

"But there are some things transcending our conceptions. I say so too, and this we learn out of the Scriptures, that we may understand what things are fit for us to seek after, as being attainable.

"For it is neither pious to venture upon all things, nor is it consistent with holiness to neglect all things.

"What we worship we ought all to be acquainted withal, according to that which is written, *We know what we worship.* But how great, or what kind, or after what manner, or where, it is the part of madmen to inquire.

"They that would have none to judge of their doctrines but themselves deter men from reading the Scriptures, pretending it is immodest to pry into such inaccessible things, but in truth fearing to be convinced out of them of holding bad opinions."

I omit the rest, which is but little more than I have repre-

sented; and shall end all with his words to Macarius, in the very beginning of his works against the Gentiles[t]: "The holy and divinely inspired Scriptures are sufficient of themselves for the declaration of the truth, and there are many books composed about the same things by our teachers of blessed memory; which if any man peruse, he will know in some measure the meaning of the Scriptures, and be able to attain the knowledge he desires."

[t] [Tom. i. p. 1.]

A

SERMON

PREACHED UPON

ST. PETER'S DAY.

[1686.]

PRINTED AT THE DESIRE OF SOME THAT HEARD IT,

WITH SOME ENLARGEMENTS.

A

SERMON

PREACHED UPON

ST. PETER'S DAY, &c.

MATTH. xvi. 18, beginning,

And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.

THE text, as we call it, is part of the Gospel for this day; and according to the interpretation which some give of it, it is the whole gospel of Christ: these two words, PETER and CHURCH, being so comprehensive, that if they be well learnt, there needs no further pains to come acquainted with all the rest of the Christian religion.

For in PETER, who they say is the rock here spoken of, all the bishops of Rome in all succeeding ages are included; who inherit the very same prerogative which St. Peter had, of being the foundation of the church. Which CHURCH, say they, is nothing else but that body of men and women who are united unto the Roman bishop as their head: from whom all ecclesiastical power is derived unto all other pastors of the church. Over whom, and consequently over all Christians, he hath a sovereign authority to declare the rule of faith, to determine the canonical books of Scripture, and the traditionary word; in brief, to be as infallible a guide in the way to heaven as St. Peter was. So that if any man would know infallibly what the Christian religion is, he need be at no more trouble but only to inquire of that church which adheres to him as the foundation, and resign up himself to the belief of whatsoever it teaches him; because it cannot possibly teach him amiss.

These are wonderful things, and we are highly concerned to examine whether there be ground enough in this speech of our Saviour for the church of Rome to raise upon it so large, so high, so glorious a structure to itself as this is. Because, if it appear that our Lord did give, not only to St. Peter, but to all the Roman bishops, and to them alone, this universal pastorship and power, to teach, to rule and govern all Christians, of whatsoever sort they be, we must without any contradiction obediently submit unto it; and have not so much as this liberty left us, to inquire whether the Roman bishops do not extend their power too far, in commanding us to do those things which are directly contrary to the commands of him from whom all power comes: because, though we think we see clearly that they do, yet we must not believe our own eyes, but them who tell us they do not. On the contrary, if it can be demonstrated that our Saviour in these words to St. Peter did not confer any such power upon him, much less upon all that succeed in the Roman see, we shall discern how little reason we have to commit ourselves to the guidance of that church which builds upon such a sandy foundation: and that it is our certain duty to adhere to the constitutions of this church of England, whereof we are members; which not only teaches, "that no manner of obedience and subjection is due to any such foreign power, but commands us who are ministers in it to use the utmost of our wit, knowledge, and learning, purely and sincerely (without any colour or dissimulation) to teach, manifest, open and declare, four times every year (at least), that all such power is for just causes taken away and abolished[a]."

In obedience to which injunction, which is the very first canon of our church, I shall in this discourse endeavour, according to the best of my understanding and most diligent inquiry, to give you the genuine and sincere meaning of those words, (which are the prime foundation of that high claim now mentioned,) and that as they were expounded in the first and best times of the church; when the doctors of it were not engaged in those unhappy controversies, which now disturb, or rather distract the Christian world.

[a] An. 1603. [P. 539, ed. 8vo, Oxon. 1840. Wilkins, tom. iv. p. 380. Sparrow's Collection, p. 271. Cardwell's Synodalia, vol. i. p. 165.]

And if I prove, that neither the apostles after they heard these words from Christ, no, not St. Peter himself, who is said to be most, nay, only concerned in them, nor the ancient bishops that succeeded them, no, not the bishops of Rome themselves, when they on purpose treat of these words, did think of any such monarchy (it may be truly called) as is now built upon them; you will conclude that this is a new doctrine, and that the asserters and maintainers of it, not we who oppose it, deserve the name of innovators in religion.

And for the clearer exposition of them, I think it will be necessary,

First, to observe the occasion upon which they were spoken; and from thence proceed,

Secondly, to show in what sense they were anciently understood; and

Lastly, what inferences and deductions are necessarily to be made from their interpretations.

PART I.

The occasion of the words.

THE meaning of these words of Christ will be better understood when we have well weighed the occasion on which they were spoken; which was this,—the opinion and discourse of the country concerning our blessed Saviour; which was thus reported to him by his disciples when he asked them about it, *Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets*[b]. That is, there were very various and uncertain opinions conceived of him; for though they all agreed in general he was a great man, nay, a man of God, (as they called the prophets,) yet they were not resolved, much less settled, in any particular determinate notion of him.

To try, therefore, the proficiency of those who were constantly bred in his school, he asks what their opinion was. *But whom say ye that I am*[c]*?* Unto which Simon Peter makes this reply, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God*[d]. The question, ye may observe, is propounded to them all, not to Peter alone. He doth not say, "Peter, whom dost thou say that I am?" But *he saith unto them*, that is, to his disciples before mentioned, *Whom say ye that I am?* Unto the same persons of whom he inquired, *Whom do men say that I am*[e]*?* he now saith, *But whom say ye that I am?* And yet the answer to this question is not returned by them all, or by several of them, as before, but by one only: *Simon Peter answered and said*, &c. What should be the reason of this?

The plainest and most undoubted answer is, that there was no difference of opinion among them, as there was among the common people, but they were all of one mind in this matter, and therefore no more offered to speak but one, because they had all but one thing to say, that he was *Christ, the Son of*

[b] Matt. xvi. 14. [c] Ver. 15. [d] Ver. 16. [e] Ver. 13.

the living God. To the first question one of them alone could not return an answer, because they had not all met with the same opinion; but some with one, some with another; and therefore every one related what he had heard the people say about him. But to this question they had but one answer to make, being all agreed in one and the same belief; and therefore it was sufficient for one to speak the mind of every one to whom the question was put.

But still the reason is demanded, why St. Peter rather than any of the rest made this answer? To which St. Chrysostom thinks it enough to reply, "When men are moved by the Spirit to do or say a thing, it is in vain to ask a reason of it." Yet he, as well as others, have given us divers reasons which have a foundation in the holy Scriptures.

I. First, because he was more warm and forward than the rest, of a zealous and active spirit, which made him ready in speech and all other motions, as well as quick of apprehension, and ardent in his affection. Many of the fathers have given this account of it[f], as well as St. Chrysostom, who mentions it often; and here particularly affirms it to be the reason why he stepped, or rather leaped forth, (as his word is[g],) and prevented the rest in this confession.

And if they had not told us this, the story of the gospel would have furnished us with ten or twelve instances of his forwardness, most of which are collected by St. Hierom[h]. I will name but two or three. The first of them is mentioned in this very chapter[i]. When our Lord acquainted his disciples what things he should suffer, Peter, out of a certain heat which was natural to him, and a vehement but imprudent love to our Lord, (as St. Chrysostom's words are,) takes upon him to chide our Lord for having such a purpose, advising him to be more favourable to himself. A second instance is in the fourteenth chapter, where we read of his forwardness to go unto our Saviour upon the sea, though he had not faith enough to support him there. A third, in his forwardness to draw his sword

[f] S. Hieron. in loc. [tom. vii. col. 123.] S. Cyril in Joh. xxi. 15. [tom. iv. p. 1118.] S. Greg. Naz. Orat. 34. [ed. Ben. Orat. 28. § 19. tom. i. p. 510 B.]

[g] [Προπηδᾷ καὶ προλαμβάνει,—Hom. liv. tom. vii. p. 547 A.]

[h] In Matt. xiv. 28. [tom. vii. col. 107.]

[i] Matt. xvi. 22.

on our Saviour's defence, when the soldiers laid hold on him in the garden [k]. These things show his temper to have been so warm and zealous, that we need no other reason for his speaking first the mind of them all.

II. But others add, that he was the eldest of the company, being a married man when he entered into our Saviour's service. His brother Andrew indeed was first acquainted with our Saviour [l]: but when they were called to be his constant attendants, (which was not till some time after,) Peter is mentioned before him as the elder of the two [m]. Epiphanius indeed thinks otherwise [n], making Andrew the elder brother; but it is unreasonable to follow his opinion alone, (especially when he alleges no tradition for it,) against the sense of many other ancient writers, who (Baronius confesses [o]) looked upon Peter as elder than him. Which St. Hierom gives as the reason why St. Peter was preferred before St. John, the beloved disciple, to be the first in the order of the apostles, because he was the elder. His words are very remarkable, and worthy to be read of all in his first book against Jovinian [p], where he sets forth the prerogatives of St. John as most dear to our Saviour, because he was a virgin, and so continued to the end. Unto which he brings in his adversary objecting, "that the church was founded upon Peter, who was a married man: though in another place (saith St. Hierom) the very same is said of all the apostles, and they all received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the solidity of the church was equally established on every one of them. Yet among the twelve one was therefore chosen, that, an head being constituted, all occasion of schism might be taken away. But why was not John, being a virgin, chosen? This was yielded to his age; for Peter was the senior. Otherwise he will have St. John to have had the preeminence, as it there follows: Peter an apostle and John an apostle, a married man and a bachelor; but Peter only an apostle, John both an apostle, and an evangelist, and a prophet."

III. To which may be added, that he was the first of them

[k] Matt. xxvi. 51.
[l] John i. 40, 41.
[m] Matt. iv. 18, Mark i. 16.
[n] Hæresi li. [§ 17. tom. i. p. 440 B.]
[o] Ad An. xxxi. n. 23. [tom. i. p. 72.]
[p] [Tom. ii. col. 279.]

all called to be Christ's constant follower; as appears from what was now observed, that though he was not the first that believed on Christ, yet he was the first that our Lord called from his secular employment to wait upon him, and to be always with him; and therefore called by some of the ancients, the "first fruits of the apostles."

IV. For lastly, upon such accounts as these he was made the first apostle: not in power and authority, for therein, as hath been said already and will appear more anon, they were all alike; but in orderly precedence, which is natural and necessary in all societies. And being the foreman, who so fit as he to speak for them all, as he did, not only now, but upon other occasions[q]? Upon which account St. Chrysostom fitly calls him *στόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων*, 'the mouth of the apostles[r].' Which he frequently repeats[s], and alleges this, together with his heat and zeal, as the reason of his speaking rather than the rest[t]. For all of them could not make answer to the question our Saviour here asked without confusion, and they all having but one thing to say, therefore one spake for them all. And who fitter to be their speaker than he that was the senior of all, the leading man of the company, whose age and forward zeal, and early entertainment into our Saviour's family, had given him the priority of place among the apostles?

But observe then, that if he spake because he was the mouth of the rest, (as the ancient opinion was,) then, as he spake the sense of them all, so he spake in all their names; and that which he said was the voice of all the apostles. For either he was not the mouth of the apostles, or his confession was the confession of the whole body of the apostles, who spake the same in him. None of the ancients, that I can find, doubted of this. St. Hierom particularly hath this note upon these words; *Petrus ex persona omnium apostolorum*, &c: "Peter in the person of all the apostles confesseth, *Thou art Christ, the*

[q] Matt. xix. 27, and John vi. 67, 68, 69.

[r] [In Matt. xvi. 5. hom. 54. tom. vii. p. 546 E.]

[s] [*Τῶν μαθητῶν πρῶτος.*] In Matt. xvii. 24. [hom. 58. p. 585 B.] Act. i. 25. [hom. 4. tom. ix. p. 36 E.] Galat. ii. 12. [tom. x. p. 686 E.]

[t] [*Ὡς θερμὸς καὶ ὡς ἐμπιστευθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ποίμνην, καὶ ὡς τοῦ χόρου πρῶτος, ἀεὶ πρότερος ἄρχεται τοῦ λόγου.*—Hom. 3. in Act. tom. ix. p. 23 B.]

Son of the living God." And the famous saying of St. Austin is now grown so familiar to all, that I need only translate it, "Peter answers one for all." Thus St. Cyprian [u] and St. Ambrose [x], from whom this sense is transmitted down to later times; for Dionysius Carthusianus follows it, whose words are these in our language, "Peter as the principal gives the answer for them all."

And there are two reasons the fathers give for this; the one is a moral reason, the other a mystical. The moral is, to avoid confusion, it being unseemly and disorderly for all to speak at once; therefore he being first spake the mind of them all. The mystical is, to denote the unity that should be among the apostles, (and consequently the unity of the church, and of all that believe,) according to the prayer of our Saviour when he was about to leave the world; *That they all might be one, as he and the Father were one* [y]: that, speaking the same thing, and perfectly agreeing in the doctrine they preached, *the world might believe that the Father had sent him.* This was much in the thoughts of St. Cyprian, (in more places than I can easily number,) and other African fathers who followed after him.

But I do not find any of those ancient writers mention this as the reason of Peter's speaking, and not any of the rest, (which Bellarmine [z] makes his peculiar prerogative,) because he

[u] Epist. ad. Cornel. [Epist. lix. p. 131.]

[x] L. vi. in S. Luc. c. 9. [tom. i. col. 1406 A.]

[y] John xvii. 21.

[z] L. i. de Pontif. Rom. C. xix. [tom. i. col. 577 A. Bellarmine refers to the following passages in the works of S. Hilary:—in Psalm. 131. ("Petrum primum Filii Dei confessorem," &c.—Opp. col. 447 D. ed. Ben.) de Trin. l. vi. ("Apostolica fides nunc primum naturam in eo divinitus agnovit: neque enim Petro tantum ex confesso honore laus reddita est, sed ex agnitione mysterii: quia non Christum solum, sed Christum Dei Filium esse confessus est:" on which words the marginal gloss adds, "tunc primum eum agnovit Deum;"—§ 36. col. 903 C.) and in Matt. xvi. ("Dei Filium cœlestis Patris revelatione conspiciens, dignusque judicatus qui quod in Christo Dei esset primus agnosceret;"—col. 690 D.) He does not allude to the passage in S. Basil, referred to by Patrick; but cites other authorities, passed over by the bishop:—"Athanasius serm. 4. contra Arianos dicit Petrum omnium primum cognovisse Christi divinitatem, deinde autem alios omnes discipulos." If he intends to indicate the passage in the third oration of S. Athanasius, denominated the fourth in the older editions, which alone seems to approximate to the sub-

alone knew at this time that Jesus was the eternal Son of God. St. Hilary in the Latin church, and Basil of Seleucia in the Greek, were the first and only persons of any account (who by the rule of the Roman church ought not to be followed against the stream of ancient interpreters) that had in their minds this conceit. For Euthymius, who follows them, is of no consideration for his antiquity.

What advantage they that contend for it can make of this notion, I do not see; (because, if Christ did now reveal this to St. Peter alone, it was that it might be known to them all;) yet I do not think fit to grant it, because it is apparently against common reason, and against the history of the gospel, and against the best and most ancient authority.

1. In reason we cannot think the apostles to have been such dullards, (to use no harder word,) as in two years' time and more, when they had been in our Saviour's school, heard his words, and seen his wonderful works, not to have learnt the τὸ κύριον τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, (as St. Athanasius calls this confession[a]) 'the peculiar and principal article of our Christian faith,' that he was God incarnate, the Word made flesh. Especially when they had been introduced into this belief by John the Baptist, who had told them as much before they were admitted Christ's disciples. Andrew, it is certain, was not ignorant of it, who thereupon sought his brother Simon, and told him, *We have found the Messias*, i. e. Christ[b]. For John the Baptist had reported how he saw the Spirit descend on our Saviour, and had heard the voice from heaven, and therefore bare record, saying, *This is the Son of God*[c]. Nay, he bare witness that he was God's only begotten; for he cried, saying, *No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son,*

ject,—οὐκ ἀμφίβολον ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ πυνθανόμενος Κύριος πρότερον ἀποκάλυψας τῷ Πέτρῳ παρὰ τοῦ Πάτρος, κ. τ. λ. § 46. tom. i. p. 596 A,—the sense of the passage is entirely misunderstood, if not intentionally falsified. The cardinal adds, "Similia habent Chrysostomus in c. 16. Matt. (vid. hom. liv. tom. vii. p. 547.) Cyrillus lib. 12. in Joann. c. 64: (tom. iv. p. 1118.) August. serm. 124. de tempore, (ed. Ben. serm. 79. in append. tom. v. col. 145 B.) et Leo serm. 2. de natali Petri et Pauli," (al. serm. 83. tom. i. col. 330.) none of which passages however can be considered decisive of the point in question.]

[a] Orat. iii. contra Arianos. [Orat. ii. ed. Ben. § 73. tom. i. p. 541 A.]

[b] John i. 40, 41. [c] Ver. 34.

which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him[d]. By this testimony they were drawn to our Saviour, who at the very beginning *manifested forth his glory* (that is, his divine majesty) by such illustrious miracles *that his disciples believed on him*[e]. That is, did not doubt of the truth of what John had said; and which, as you shall see presently, the very devils themselves openly acknowledged and confessed. Who then can believe after all this that they were ignorant of the very first thing in our religion? With other points we find them unacquainted; but to fancy them not to have known this, is to make them as insensible as so many stones; and in no other sense to have deserved the name of *stones* and *pillars*, (whereby they are afterward called,) but only because they were so hardened in stupidity that nothing would enter into them, no more than our words will into the hardest flint in the world. What wretched Christians do we make them, if after such means of instruction we suppose them to have learnt nothing of the very foundation of Christianity!

2. But besides this, it is directly against the express testimony of the holy Scriptures; which informs us that several persons had before this time made as full a confession of the faith as St. Peter himself. They, for instance, who were with our Saviour in the ship when it was tossed on the sea by a contrary wind, and when St. Peter's heart had failed him as he walked with our Saviour on the water, came and worshipped him, (after he had made the sea calm,) saying, *Of a truth thou art the Son of God*[f]. Nay, more early than this, as soon as ever St. Peter was acquainted with our Saviour, Nathanael (who is thought, not without some reason, to be the apostle Bartholomew) made as distinct and clear a confession as his: *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel*[g]. I shall not insist on the confession of Martha[h], because it was afterward, towards the conclusion of our Saviour's life: the plain acknowledgment of the mariners and passengers in the ship (who were the persons, St. Hierom thinks, that came and worshipped him, and made the forementioned confession) is a sufficient proof that this was not a secret known to St. Peter alone by a special revelation.

[d] John i. 15, 18. [e] John ii. 11. [f] Matt. xiv. 33. [g] John i. 49. [h] John xi. 27.

St. Chrysostom[i], indeed, is of opinion that there is more in these words of St. Peter than in theirs or in Nathanael's: who only confessed him to be the adopted Son of God, but St. Peter went further, and confessed him his Son by nature. But the reason he gives is insufficient, which is only this: that our Lord here pronounces Peter blessed, which he doth not say to the rest. For there might be other reasons for pronouncing him blessed: particularly this, that the shipmen, perhaps, made that confession only in a great transport of passion, but he upon a settled and deliberate persuasion; and that notwithstanding the various opinions that were in the country about him, which might have distracted the apostles' minds, if they had not been attentive considerers of the testimonies our Lord gave of his divinity. Besides, he seems, in effect, to have called Nathanael blessed, though he does not use the word: for, because he believed upon such a small and single testimony of his divinity as his seeing him under the fig tree, he tells him he would reward his faith with stronger confirmations of it; *Thou shalt see greater things than these*[k]. Which is a promise containing much of his grace and favour toward him, and is thus enlarged, *And he saith unto him, Verily I say unto you, Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man*[l]. That is, more manifest tokens of his divinity, upon which the angels waited and attended; just as they did upon the Divine Majesty in the Old Testament[m]. And if all this do not seem sufficient to evince the truth, what think you of the testimony which St. Peter bears to them all, that they did *believe and know that he was the Christ, the Son of the living God*[n]? To which may be added, that our blessed Lord and Saviour himself solemnly gives praise and glory to God for revealing those things which concerned his kingdom (of which this was the first) unto them all[o].

And lastly, as this opinion is against reason and Scripture, so it is most certainly against the authority of the ancient

[i] [Hom. 54. in Matt. tom. vii. p. 547 B.]
[k] John i. 50. Verse 51.
[l] Verse 51.
[m] Gen. xxviii. 12.
[n] John vi. 69.
[o] Matt. xi. 25, 26.

fathers. For as St. Hierom[p] alleges the confession of the mariners against the Arians; so the orthodox commonly used this as an argument against them, that the very devils had more faith than they; for they confessed what the Arians denied, that Jesus was the true and natural Son of God. So they interpret those words, Mark iii. 11. Which Maldonate himself acknowledges[r] the fathers are wont wonderfully to amplify against those heretics, which they could not have done if they thought less was meant by it than by this confession of St. Peter's. Who if he were the only person that at this time understood this secret, then the quire of the apostles (as Basil calls them when he speaks of their ignorance) had less knowledge of the Saviour of the world than the head of unclean spirits. Which we cannot affirm without the greatest reproach to them; they having been so long under our Saviour's discipline, and seen his power over those spirits, nay, received power themselves from him, as it there follows, to *heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils*[s].

But I need not laboriously enlarge upon this argument. St. Ambrose saith expressly[t] they all knew what St. Peter alone spake. And St. Chrysostom himself is of the same mind when he makes him here the mouth of all, and elsewhere[u] saith he was their tongue, and answered for them all; which he could not have done, if he had not known they were all of his belief. And therefore we can learn nothing in this matter from such doctors as Bellarmine, but that they are resolved to affirm any thing to maintain their unjust pretences. The ambitious claim of the bishop of Rome must by all means be supported, else they would not prostitute their consciences and their reputations too in this manner, by asserting things which are so apparently untrue, that the smallest skill in the holy Scripture is sufficient to confute them.

But of all the accounts of this confession of St. Peter, there is none so unaccountable as that of cardinal Baronius; who,

[p] In Matt. xiv. 33. [tom. vii. col. 108 E.]

[q] V. Athanasium, de Incarn. Verbi, p. 85. [tom. i. ed. Ben. pp. 63 E, 75 A.]

[r] [In loc. col. 742 E.]

[s] Mark iii. 15.

[t] L. vi. in Luc. cap. 9. [tom. i. col. 1406 A.]

[u] In Gal. ii. 2. [Vid. tom. x. p. 686.]

without the least syllable in all antiquity to countenance it, adventures to say that now St. Peter defined, decreed, and made a rule of faith for all the world: for he fancies our blessed Saviour now to have held a council with his disciples, in which St. Peter "decreed and constituted the canon of faith for ever to endure[x]." "So that there was no need," saith he, "our Saviour should consult the rest of the apostles (though the text saith expressly he asked them all, *Whom say ye that I am?*) what their opinion was: it being sufficient that Peter had spoken[y], and so struck the nail to the head, that he had settled what was to be thought of faith." Which is such an astonishing instance of the power of prejudice, passions of all sorts, and worldly interest, to corrupt and pervert the wisest minds, that it ought to be an admonition to us all, to employ the strictest care to discharge all these when we are seeking after truth, that they may not frame our opinion for us. For how could such a thought as this, without a strange bias upon his mind, enter into any man's head? Or if it did, how could it stay there? or how should he be persuaded to publish such an absurdity to the Christian world? Is it credible, that in the company where the Lord Jesus, the eternal Son of God, was present, any person, though never so great, should take upon him to teach, nay, to make an article of faith? St. Peter certainly was no master in this assembly, but a scholar only; not an instructor, but a learner of religion at this time, and in this place. Much less was he a supreme lawgiver, and a judge of truth, (of which as yet he had not much knowledge, it appears by what follows in this chapter, where we read he so opposed our Saviour in another great point of faith that he calls him Satan,) but barely pronounced what he had been taught to believe by our Lord himself; and had heard, as I have shown, from John the Baptist, and seen proved by such mighty works as none could do but God alone.

If I seem to have stood too long in explaining this confession, let those who think so consider that it was to open the clearer

[x] Ad annum xxxiii. n. 17. talem fert sententiam, ut [causam ipse definiat, et quid ab omnibus sentiendum esset] erudiat atque decernat, ac fidei canonem perpetuo permansurum constituat. [tom. i. p. 106.]

[y] Ac quid de fide sentiendum esset, clavum fixisse.—Ibid.

passage to all the rest that follows, which will be the more plainly and easily understood. Particularly the next words of the evangelist, who tells us, that upon this confession of St. Peter, our Lord answered and said unto him, *Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood* (that is, man) *hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven*[z]. In which word she pronounces them all happy men; this not being revealed peculiarly unto him, but unto the whole company; who were all taught of God, by such means as I have named, as much as he. For if Peter were their mouth, then, as you have heard, his confession was their common voice in answer to a question put to them all; and by the same reason, our Saviour's reply to him was the pronouncing a blessing on them all; who in him had made this worthy confession, and thereby demonstrated their proficiency in his school. In one regard, indeed, St. Peter was more happy than the rest; that as he was the first in the college of the apostles, so he had the honour, as you shall hear, to be the first employed in that glorious work unto which they were all chosen as much as he; and in which they so laboured that they were partakers no less than himself in that blessedness which is elsewhere pronounced to *that faithful and wise servant whom his Lord hath made ruler over his household*, &c.[a] Which words[b] Bellarmine hath the confidence to apply peculiarly to St. Peter and the Roman bishop, but directly against the sense of the ancient fathers, whom he was bound by solemn oath to follow, who (as a learned man[c] of the Roman communion hath largely proved) understand hereby every faithful pastor in the church of Christ.

Who, according to the way and method of the divine counsels, which is to give unto those that have, to bestow more on those who make a good use of what they have already received, immediately hereupon opens to the apostles his purpose of gathering a church, and drawing more disciples to him besides themselves, who should perpetually keep and preserve this confession; and withal declares that he would use Peter as an emi-

[z] Matt. xvi. 17.

[a] Matt. xvi. 45. 46.

[b] Lib. ii. de Concil. c. 17. [tom. ii. col. 95 D.]

[c] Io. Launoy, Epist. ad Raimundum Formentinum, pars 2. [Epist. 1. tom. v. p. 134 sqq.]

nent instrument in this great undertaking: Κἀγὼ δὲ, *and I also,* or *moreover, say unto thee;* beside what I have said already, I tell thee further, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.*

His speech is directed to Peter, but it is evident from what hath been said, that in him he comprehends all the apostles, as they were all comprehended in his confession: who knew already that he was *Christ, the Son of the living God;* but did not understand his intention of gathering a church by their means.

This name of Peter we met withal before[c], being given him at his first coming to our Saviour[d], where he told him, *Thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation a stone,* or *Peter:* concerning which Justin Martyr[e] hath this excellent observation, "that it was to show our Saviour was the very same God who in the beginning had given new names to Abraham and Sarah, to Jacob and Joshua. And for the same reason he called other two disciples by the name of *Boanerges,* to signify that he had the same authority by which names were anciently changed, and that he was their Lord and Sovereign, of which the imposing a name on any person was a mark: so that the words of our Saviour in this place are to be understood as if he had said, "Thou art he, to whom when thou first camest to me I gave a new name, and called *Peter,* a *stone;* and truly my church shall be built on a bottom as firm as any stone or rock."

It was the custom of our Lord, when he was about to declare any divine truth, to lay hold on some sensible similitude then near at hand, the better to represent it to the minds of those that heard him. As, discoursing with the woman of Samaria at the well-side, he takes occasion to tell her of *living water* that he had to bestow upon her; such as should be in those that drank it *a well of water, springing up into everlasting life*[f]. And at another time, feeding a multitude miraculously with a few barley loaves and fishes, he thence lays hold of the opportunity to discourse of the *bread of life which came down from heaven,* which he admonishes them to labour

[c] Matt. x. 2. [d] John i. 42. [e] Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 333, 334. [§ 106. p. 201 A.] See also Tertullian. l. iv. adv. Marcionem, c. 13. [p. 425 B.]
[f] John iv. 10, 14.

after, because *if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever*[g]. In like manner here, from the name he had given Peter he takes occasion of representing the steadfastness of that foundation on which his church should be built, saying, *on this rock will I build my church.*

There was something in Peter, no doubt, which was the motive to the bestowing this name upon him, and that was the forwardness of his faith, which carried him to Christ merely upon the report which his brother Andrew gave of him. Which was the reason, St. Gregory Nyssen thinks, that though Abraham's name was not changed till after long acquaintance with God, and many divine apparitions to him, Peter's was changed at the very first sight of our Saviour; he at the same time hearing his brother, and believing on the Lamb of God, was consummated by faith, and being knit to the Rock, (viz. Christ,) was made Peter[h]. For our Lord intended to employ him (though not him alone) as an eminent instrument to bring others to the faith, and build them on the same Rock that he himself was built, till they became a church.

The word *church* signifies the whole company of believers united unto Christ as their Lord and Master, who are here compared to a house.

The building of this church is nothing else but the joining these persons, with their pastors, into company and society one with another, in such good order, as the stones which make an house are laid in upon their foundation.

All the difficulty is about the *rock*, or the foundation upon which this society stands, and by holding fast to which it remains a church; which is the second thing I undertook to treat of, unto which I now proceed.

[g] John vi. 26, 27, 50, 51.

[h] Προσφυεὶς τῇ πέτρᾳ Πέτρος ἐγένετο.—Hom. xv. in Cantic. Canticorum, p. 691. [tom. i. fol. Par. 1638.]

PART II.

What is here meant by the Rock.

Concerning this there are various expositions among the ancient fathers, as is manifest to every one that hath read their writings, though in truth (as you shall see before I have done) they differ rather in words than in sense, and quite overthrow all the pretensions of the church of Rome from this place of holy Scripture. I will name four.

I. It is confessed by all protestants that some of the ancient fathers by the *rock* do understand Peter. Nobody that I know of disputes about this, but only about their meaning, when they say he was this rock on which Christ said he would build his church. Which undoubtedly is not such as they of the church of Rome would have it, because other persons far more in number, and of as eminent rank in the Christian church, expound it of the faith which St. Peter confessed. So that he was the rock and the foundation only as he preached this faith, which is the second interpretation, and shall be made appear to be the meaning of those who call Peter the foundation of the church.

II. If numbers are to be followed, there are most, I am sure, for this sense of these words; that by the *rock* we are to understand that faith which St. Peter now confessed. It is mentioned by Fortunatus, an African bishop, in a council at Carthage[i], where he saith, the Lord hath built his church *supra petram, non super hæresim,* "upon a rock, not upon heresy." In which words *rock* being opposed to *heresy,* without all doubt he understood our Saviour to speak of a sound and solid faith in him, when he said he would build his church upon this rock. Which is exactly the sense of Epiphanius also, who by the *gates of hell* understanding all sorts of heresies, adds immediately[k],

[i] De baptizandis hæreticis, apud Cyprian. p. 233, edit. Oxon. [per Joann. Fell, 1682.]

[k] Ἀλλὰ *κατὰ τῆς πέτρας οὐ κατισχύουσι, τουτέστι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας.* Hæres. lxxiv. n. 14. [tom. i. p. 904 A.]

" but they cannot prevail against the rock, that is, against the truth." To whom I could add sixteen other ancient writers, (and not put St. Austin into the number, who often follows this exposition,) four of which were popes of Rome[l], and I do not reckon neither Isidorus Hispalensis, venerable Bede, and a great many other excellent writers later than they, down to Alfonsus Tostatus, and lower: among whom are five or six bishops of Rome[m], who expressly say, the rock that Christ here speaks of is the faith which Peter confessed. " For the church," saith the last named writer[n], " is built upon faith, which faith is called a rock, because it always remains firm and solid."

III. But there are others of no less name and credit that understand Christ himself by this *rock*. Who then may be conceived to have pointed to his own person when he spake these words, showing by his voice and gesture, whom he meant by *this rock:* which as it is an elegant, so it is no unusual form of speech, but made use of by our Lord himself on another occasion[o], when he saith, *Destroy this temple*, (intending the temple of his body,) *and in three days I will raise it up.* And there are no small number of the ancient doctors who thus expound these words, particularly St. Austin in divers places of his works, as he himself takes notice in his review of them: where he saith[p], that in a certain place of his book against the Epistle of Donatus, he made Peter the rock on which the church was founded, but since that time had very often said it was *Christ the Son of the living God.* He leaves the reader, indeed, to choose which he pleases, but any one may see he inclined to the last; which he followed in those books which he wrote after this of his Retractations. For which I must needs say there are no small reasons that are worthy to be mentioned.

First, this very apostle (whose name is *Peter*, or *stone*) calls Christ a *living stone, unto whom ye coming* (saith he to his flock) *as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house,* &c.[q] Who can read these words without prejudice, and not think

[l] Leo I. Fœlix III. Gregorius I. Adrian I.

[m] Nicholas I. John VIII. Steph. VI. Innocent II. Hadrian IV. Urban III.

[n] [In loc. part. iv. quæst. 67. fol. 170 a.]

[o] John ii. 19.

[p] Retract. l. i. cap. 21. [tom. i. col. 32 B.]

[q] 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5.

that St. Peter looked upon Christ as that Rock on whom every one must be built who will be a part of the spiritual house, that is, of the church? And therefore he adds, that Christ is that *chief corner stone, elect and precious*, whom the prophet Isaiah foretold God would *lay in Sion*[r]. And Christ alone: for if he had had any conceit that he was a joint, secondary foundation of this building, it would have been very seasonable, or rather necessary, to have bidden his flock *come to him*, as that *chief corner stone* which God of old predicted he would lay in Sion, as the foundation of his church, together with Christ.

For so Bellarmine[s] is bold to expound that prophecy of Isaiah; endeavouring at large to prove that every particular there mentioned belongs to Peter, and his successors in the see of Rome: who, he saith, are that *tried stone*, that *precious*, nay, that *corner stone*, that *sure foundation, in fundamento fundatus*, (as they translate it,) that *stone laid in the foundation*, which we read of, Isaiah xxviii. 16. Directly against the words of St. Peter himself, who applies all this to Christ alone, and endeavours to fasten his flock unto him, as the only sure Rock of their redemption and salvation.

This is a doctrine frequent in the mouth of this very apostle, (whom, against his own mind, they will needs make the foundation of the church,) and which he had read in other places of the ancient prophets. For, long before the writing of this Epistle, he tells the council of Jerusalem that Jesus was *the stone* which was *set at nought* by such *builders* as they, but *become the head of the corner*[t]. The great men, that is, of the Jewish church would not build on this foundation, by joining themselves unto him, as the rest of the stones in a house are to that of the corner: and so they excluded themselves from his body, and from salvation; for *there is no salvation*, saith he, *in any other*.

Secondly, another great apostle also tells us that Christ is the *Rock*[u]: who poured out his Spirit, after his death, upon the church; as the rock in the wilderness, after it was smitten, did water for the Israelites.

Thirdly, and more than that, he tells us in that Epistle, iii.

[r] Ver. 6.

[s] Præfat. ad libros de Summo Pontif. [tom. i. col. 407.]

[t] Acts iv. 11.

[u] 1 Cor. x. 4.

11, *Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.* How is it possible to have a better interpreter of Christ's words to Peter than this which is here given us by the great apostle of us Gentiles? There are sundry elogiums indeed which the ancient fathers have bestowed on St. Peter in their writings, of which they of the church of Rome are wont to boast: and we grant them all, nay, have often told them, that if it will do them any service, we will furnish them with as many more titles of honour out of the fathers as they have collected. But when we have done, we will present them with as many, and great, and transcendent, yea, the very same titles bestowed upon St. Paul: who here tells us in plain words whom we are to understand by the *foundation* of the church, and consequently by the *rock* on which it is built. And indeed our Saviour doth not here say to Peter, *Thou art Peter, and upon* thee *will I build my church;* but *upon this rock*: as if he spoke of something else, either himself, or that faith concerning him which Peter had confessed. *Tu Petrus, Ego Petra,* 'Thou art Peter, and I am the Rock,' on whom thou art built thyself, and must help to build others. If Peter himself was the rock, then how is he built upon the rock? he would be a rock and a foundation to himself: for there is no mention of more rocks than one, which if it be Christ, then Peter and all must be built on him.

Hear how handsomely St. Austin[x] expounds these words: "Thou therefore art Peter; and upon this rock, which thou hast confessed, upon this rock which thou hast known, saying, *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God, I will build my church. Super me ædificabo te, non me super te:* 'I will build thee upon me, not me upon thee.' ... For they that would build upon men said, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas,* that is Peter: and others, who would not be built upon Peter, but upon the rock, said, *I am of Christ.* Now St. Paul, seeing them make choice of him and contemn Christ, asks them, *Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized in the name of Paul?* No, neither in Paul's, nor in Peter's, but in the name of Christ; that Peter might be built upon the rock, not the rock upon Peter."

[x] Serm. xiii. De verbis Domini, cap. 1, 2. [ed. Ben. Serm. lxxvi. tom. v. col. 415.]

The like we meet withal in another place[y]. "The church is founded upon the rock, whence Peter received his name. For the rock is not denominated from Peter, but Peter from the rock[z]," as "Christ hath not his name from Christian, but a Christian from Christ: for therefore the Lord said, *Upon this rock I will build my church*, because Peter had said, *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God. Upon this rock* therefore, saith he, which thou hast confessed, *will I build my church. For the rock was Christ:* upon which foundation even Peter himself is built. *For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus.*"

I will not trouble you with any more authorities, such as that of venerable Bede[a], who hath transcribed these last words of St. Austin into his own book; because I have a fourth exposition to add, which will help to clear the rest, especially the first.

IV. There are those who, having what I have now said in their mind, expound these words of all the apostles and their successors; that is, of all Christian bishops, who laid this foundation stone, and continued to build upon it after it was laid. Thus St. Cyprian[b] most expressly: "Our Lord, whose precepts we ought to reverence and observe, ordering the honour of the bishop and the rule of his church, saith in the Gospel unto Peter, *I say unto thee, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock*, &c. From hence, through the course of times and successions, runs down the ordination of bishops and the rule of the church; that the church may be constituted upon bishops, and every affair of the church be governed by those overseers." The very same is affirmed by St. Austin, who in several places looks upon the whole order of bishops as comprehended in St. Peter: particularly in an epistle to three[c] great persons; where he saith, Christ spake these words to

[y] Tract. cxxiv. in Evang. Johannis. [tom. iii. part. i. col. 822 D.]

[z] Non enim a Petro petra, sed Petrus a petra: directly contrary to card. Baronius, who confidently says, Non Petrus a petra, sed ipse petra, 'not Peter from that rock, but he is the rock.' Ad an. xxxi. n. 24. [tom. i. 72.]

[a] In cap. xxi. Johan. [tom. v. col. 622.]

[b] Ad Lapsos, Epist. xxxiii. edit. Oxon. [p. 66.]

[c] Epist. clxv. vide Launoii Epist. part v. ad Carolum Magistrum, p. 47, &c. [tom. v. part. ii. p. 17.] et ad Gulielm. Voellum, p. 12, &c. [p. 103 sqq.]

him, sustaining the figure of the whole church." It will not be fit to mention all the rest of the ancient writers who thus extend the sense of this place: I shall only note that Paschasius Radbertus, the founder of transubstantiation, was of this mind. For thus he writes [d], "The church of God is not built upon Peter alone, but upon all the apostles, and the successors of the apostles."

Unto these four expositions I might add a fifth, there being those who have understood every Christian man and woman by this rock; they being the stones and materials, as I may call them, of which the church consists. But I will pass this by, though it have more great names to support it besides Origen: because I have said enough already to expose the foul dealing and unworthy reasonings and conclusions of the greatest doctors of the church of Rome; which I shall represent in these following considerations.

[d] In Matt. [lib. viii. Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. tom. xiv. p. 549 E.]

PART III.

Reflections upon what hath been said concerning these interpretations.

I. If these things be certainly true, as I assure you they are, and themselves cannot deny that there are these several interpretations of this Scripture among the ancient doctors, then there can be no excuse made for their partiality, who receive and adhere only to one of these interpretations as the catholic exposition, and lay aside all the rest, even those which are far more catholic. Thus doth Bellarmine[a]; who, finding fault with Erasmus for contradicting their exposition of the church being founded upon Peter, saith that all the fathers teach it. And thus doth cardinal Baronius[b], (to name no more,) who is not ashamed to say that it is an interpretation "received and approved by the consent of the whole catholic church."

What truth can you expect from such men, or who can think it safe to give up himself to the conduct of such guides; who thus notoriously falsify in a matter so evident, that for one ancient father or ecclesiastical writer that by the rock understands Peter himself, there are two, nay, very near three, that interpret it of the faith which St. Peter confessed? For to all those which a very learned and ingenuous doctor of the Roman church hath collected (which are forty-four in number[c]) others may be added, besides Fortunatus and Epiphanius before mentioned. For example, Evagrius seems to have had this in his thoughts, who, speaking of Anastasius bishop of Antioch, (where St. Peter sat before he was at Rome,) to whom such fierce assaults were given, as if they thought in his overthrow to subvert the church itself, saith, he manfully withstood them all, for he stood firm upon the impregnable rock of faith[d].

[a] L. 1. de Pontif. Rom. c. 10. [tom. i. col. 543.]

[b] Ad. an. xxxiii. n. 27. [tom. i. p. 109.]

[c] V. Jo. Launoii Epist. part v. ad Guil. Voellum, p. 18, &c. [p. 106 sqq.]

[d] Ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν ἄρρηκτον πέτραν εἱστήκει τῆς πίστεως. L. iv. c. 40.

If the sense of the ancients be to be reverenced at all, why not one sense as well as another? And why not that most of all which hath the most to assert it? With what conscience do they fix upon one, and throw away, nay, detest all the other, which are of more credit? Is it not highly unjust to make Peter this rock here spoken of, rather than Christ our Lord, when there are so many reasons, as well as great authority, for the last more than for the other? And yet they not only do this, but most immodestly say all the fathers are of their mind.

And, which is worse, they make this an article of the faith, that the church is founded upon St. Peter, nay, the prime article of all; unto which it is evident the church hath never agreed, but manifestly contradicted it.

Upon this Bellarmine grounds the infallibility of the bishop of Rome, "because Peter is the rock and the foundation of the church, as the supreme governor of it; and therefore every successor of his is in like manner the rock and foundation of the church." And thus he saith "all the fathers have expounded it[d]:" and hence proceeds so far as to say, "this is the sum of Christian affairs[e];" the whole frame of the visible church depending so much upon the Roman bishop, that if he be taken away the church falleth.

Upon this foundation also they have raised to him such an authority, that they make him, by Christ's institution, the monarch of the church[f]; and consequently above the whole church, above general councils, the supreme judge of controversies, who can be judged by none, and I know not how many other extravagancies.

And to make all this indubitable, some have had the confidence, against the sense of all antiquity, to translate these words thus, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Peter I will build my church*[g]. Which translation, though the Rhemists have not put in the text of their English Testament, (as a great doctor among them would have had them done,) yet they maintain in

[d] L. iv. de Pontif. Rom. c. 3. [col. 805 sqq.]

[e] Præfat. in illos libros. ["Etenim de qua re agitur, cum de primatu pontificis agitur? Brevissime dicam, de summa rei Christianæ."—col. 497.]

[f] Baron. ad an. xxxiii. n. 20. [tom. i. p. 107.]

[g] John Hart, Confer. with Dr. Reynolds, p. 22. [Chap. 2. p. 56 of the English version, 4to, Lond. 1584.]

their Annotations, that they who translate out of Hebrew, Syriac, or Greek, ought to have so translated it: not observing that they herein condemn their own authentic Latin, which hath done otherwise.

But when men are bent to serve a cause, right or wrong, they cannot but thus contradict themselves, as well as the ancient fathers: whose authority they pretend to reverence; but when it is against them make so bold with it, as not only to reject, but to endeavour utterly to destroy it. Thus they have ordered these words to be expunged out of a sermon of St. Chrysostom's [h], though I have shown they are most catholic, "The church is not built upon the man, but upon his faith."

After all which confidence, it is no wonder if they proceed to such a height of boldness as to call those innovators and heretics, nay, shameless innovators and impudent heretics [i], who interpret this place not of Peter, but of Christ, or the faith which Peter confessed. I will not imitate their ill language, though it might most justly be returned upon them: for their opinion who make faith the rock (as the Lutherans commonly do) is so far from novelty, that it hath the most antiquity, among which seven or eight popes of Rome, on its side: and they who say Christ is the *Rock* (as the followers of Mr. Calvin commonly do) are backed also with the authority of ancient doctors [k], among whom are some popes; particularly Innocent the Third, who mentioning these words saith, "Christ himself is both the founder and the foundation of the church [l]."

How then can they be said to have lost their modesty who say nothing but what the greatest men in the church of Christ have said before them? And what character do they deserve, who, notwithstanding this unquestionable evidence against it, not only affirm that Peter is meant by the rock, but that this is the proper, and, as one may say, the immediate

[h] Sermon in Pentecost, in his Works printed at Basil. ["*Super hanc petram*, non dixit *super Petrum;* non enim super hominem, sed super fidem ædificavit ecclesiam suam."—Serm. xxvi. tom. iii. p. 335 B. Opp. fol. Bas. 1530. The clause is omitted in the Benedictine edition. See vol. iii. p. 791.]

[i] Baronius ad an. xxxiii. n. 21. [tom. i. p. 107.] Bellarm. de Pontif. Rom. l. i. c. 10. [col. 545.]

[k] Such as St. Hierom, St. Austin, Theodoret, &c.

[l] Serm. 2. de Consecr. Pont. ["Cum enim idem ipse sit fundator et fundamentum ecclesiæ," &c.—Opp. tom. i. p. 187.]

and literal sense of the words, and hath the consent of the whole church, both of the Greek and of the Latin fathers[m]?

II. But that which aggravates all this guilt is still behind; that they thus expound the place directly against the decree of the council of Trent, and that profession of faith which every priest solemnly makes, wherein he promises "he will never understand and interpret the Scriptures but according to the unanimous consent of the fathers[n]." Now it is as clear as that there are such fathers, that they most unanimously consent in that interpretation which these men contradict; and that there are but few in comparison who agree in that which they assert for the proper sense of the place.

Think seriously of such things as these, and you will not be moved from your steadfastness by the confidence of those who bear the world in hand that they alone hold the ancient apostolic catholic faith, according to the exposition of the ancient doctors. It is mere pretence, for in their exposition of our Saviour's words they choose that which is least catholic; and more than that, they make that which is least catholic to be a principal point of the catholic faith.

If this be not the highest degree of partiality, it is because they themselves exceed it in what follows.

III. They cannot but know that those very persons in the ancient church who by the rock understand Peter meant no more than they do, who understand thereby Christ himself, or faith in him. For these are not really three different senses, but in effect no more than one; the ancient doctors using only a diversity of speech, not of opinion, as St. Austin was wont to say. Which appears most manifestly in this, that the very same person uses these words promiscuously, sometimes Peter, sometimes his faith, sometimes Christ. St. Hilary[o], for instance, is often quoted for this saying, (speaking of St. Peter,) "O happy foundation of the church!" But the same Hilary says in another place, "This faith is the foundation of the church[p];" and

[m] Bellarm. l. i. c. 1. de R. Pont. [col. 542.]

[n] Bulla Pii IV. super forma juramenti professionis fidei. [Bull. Rom. per Car. Coquelines, tom. iv. part 2. p. 203. Cherubini, tom. ii. p. 128.]

[o] ["O in nuncupatione novi hominis felix ecclesiæ fundamentum."] cap. xvi. in Matth. [col. 690 E.]

[p] ["Hæc fides ecclesiæ fundamentum est," &c.] L. vi. de Trinitate. [§ 37. col. 904 A.]

in another, "This is the one happy rock of faith, confessed by Peter's mouth, *Thou art the Son of the living God*[q]." These sayings ought in justice to be taken notice of as much as the first; but then Peter, in his opinion, was no such foundation as they would have, unless the good father be supposed to contradict himself. In like manner St. Chrysostom, who upon these words, *on this rock*, makes the sense to be (as he doth in many other places), upon the faith which he confessed, upon the very next words expounds the words thus, "Thou art Peter, and upon thee I will build my church[r]."

Shall we think that so great a man did, in one and the same breath, as I may say, forget and contradict himself? and not rather expound the latter words by the former; that by *upon Peter*, he still meant upon the faith that Peter then confessed, and afterward preached? Pope Leo the First also, who in his epistle to Leo Augustus says Peter is the rock, in four other places interprets it of his faith. St. Cyprian likewise, I have shown, expounds it of all the bishops and pastors of the church, as well as of St. Peter. And St. Austin expounds it all the four ways before mentioned, of Peter, of Christ, of faith, and of all the apostles.

What shall we say then? Did not these great doctors know their own mind? Were they wavering and unsettled in their opinions, not knowing what to determine? They were not such children in understanding; but by these various forms of speech have plainly told us, that when they say Peter is the rock, they did not mean his person, much less him only; but his doctrine which he preached, which was also preached as much by others. Just as when we bid one read Tully or Virgil, we mean their works which they have left us.

The reason of all which is nothing else but this; that the church is built upon Christ by faith in him, which was professed and preached by Peter, and by the rest of the apostles. Christ is in proper speaking the rock and the foundation upon which the whole church relies. Peter was an eminent minister of his, and so were the other apostles, to lay this foundation; that is, to preach and declare him to the world, and persuade

[q] ["Una hæc felix fidei petra Petri ore confessa. Tu es filius Dei vivi."] L. ii. de Trin. [§ 23. col. 800 A.]

[r] [Vid. hom. liv. tom. vii. p. 548.]

men to believe on him, upon whom they themselves were built as their foundation. They first believed on him, and then were co-workers with him to bring others to the faith: and lastly, after they were dead, that faith which they confessed and taught still remained to be preached by their successors in all ages as the doctrine on which we must stand, and to which we must hold, if we intend to be owned by Christ as members of his church.

So all these expositions agree very well, and do not cross one another: for when the fathers use sometimes one word, sometimes another, they still mean the same thing. If they say St. Peter is the rock, they mean only as a minister that laid the foundation stone; and then so was St. Paul too, who calls himself a *chief master-builder*. If they say faith is the rock, they mean a belief of this doctrine that Jesus *is the Son of the living God;* which is the first principle of the Christian religion. And if they say the faithful are the rock, (for so some of them have spoken,) they mean that being built upon this faith in Christ, they also profess, maintain, and support it. For in effect, as I said, all these interpretations meet in one; Christ being the principal cause of all, Peter a ministerial or instrumental cause, by preaching Christ while he lived, and persuading men to join themselves to him and become a church: and their belief of that which he and the rest of the apostles preached concerning Christ Jesus was, both then and after they were dead, the means whereby they were joined to Christ. He and the doctrine concerning him was the foundation upon which all were built, by the ministry of Peter and his fellow-apostles, who squared and fastened men unto this *living stone:* upon whom being settled by faith in him, they became themselves *living stones,* (as St. Peter speaks in the place before mentioned,) and were *built up a spiritual house,* or temple, *an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.*

I will conclude this with an excellent saying of St. Chrysostom[s], who, speaking of St. Paul and what he had preached and done, says, "When I mention Paul, it is as if I had said Christ himself." For Christ moved and inspired that blessed

[s] Ὅταν Παῦλον εἴπω, τὸν Χριστὸν λέγω, &c.

soul, Christ spake by him, and his voice was the voice of Christ. Which I may fitly apply to the present matter, and say as truly of St. Peter; when he is named, Christ is named, and nothing else is meant but that upon him, that is, upon Christ preached by him, or speaking in him, the church should be built. Thus, it is certain, Tertullian understood these words, which he thus interprets; "The church is built on him, that is by him[t]." But not on him (that is by him) alone.

IV. For that is a further piece of injustice, to make these words spoken only to Peter; who, I have shown, was the mouth of the apostles in the confession he made, and spake the sense of them all; and therefore in all reason this reply of our Saviour's is to be thought intended to them all, who were as much rocks or foundations of the church as he. For did not our Lord propound the question to them all in those words, *Whom do you say that I am*[u]*?* And if he asked them the question, did he not expect their answer? Where then shall we find that answer, unless the foreman delivered in the sense of the whole body, and in the name of the rest of his brethren made this declaration, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God?* Which is affirmed, I have told you, by St. Austin and others, who say, Peter answers one for all. Now if they all made this confession, then they were all concerned in our Saviour's reply: who tells him, and in him tells them, that upon this rock, that is, himself which they confessed, he would build his church by their ministry; that is, by their constant preaching what they had now confessed. And thus venerable Bede our countryman understood this matter, in his Homily upon St. Peter, where he hath these very words[x]; *Nam sicut interrogatis generaliter omnibus*, &c. "For as when all were asked in general who he was, Peter answered one for all; so what our Lord answered to Peter, *in Petro omnibus respondit*, in Peter he answered to all the apostles."

Thus even common reason taught men to expound words, when it was not swayed by prejudice, interest, or any private affection. Which when we suffer to intermeddle, they pervert

[t] In ipso ecclesia exstructa est; id est per ipsum. L. de Pudicitia. c. xxi. [p. 574 B.]

[u] Matt. xvi. 15.

[x] [In hom. æstiv. de Sanctt. tom. vii. col. 110.]

our judgment, and make strange glosses upon God's word; casting a mist before our eyes when the light of divine truth clearly shines into them. An instance of which we have in the Rhemists' annotations on these words, who could not but see that the fathers do some time say (if they could have spoke out they would have said, do very often, or rather most commonly say) the church is built on Peter's faith: but immediately, as if darkness had come on a sudden upon them, they add, "the fathers meant not that it should be built upon faith, either separate from the man or in any other man, (as we, they say, unlearnedly take them,) but upon faith, as in him who here confessed that faith[y]." Which is as much as to say, the church is built upon Peter's faith alone, and not upon the same faith in any other apostle. If this be Christian learning, it is very new; never thought of till of late, as will more fully appear in the following considerations.

V. If we should grant that these words of Christ were spoken only to him, yet it is very unjust to understand them exclusively of all the rest. For we may as well argue that Christ intended St. Peter only should draw men to him by preaching the gospel, (and so the rest of the apostles have nothing to do,) because he said to him alone, and not to James and John who were his partners, *Simon, fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men*[z], as that he intended him alone to be the rock, because he said only to him, *Thou art Peter*, &c. without any mention of the rest of the apostles. Who ought not to be thought excluded, unless there had been some such word of restriction as limited the sense to St. Peter only, and barred their claim to a joint share in this grant: for the church may be built on him, and on them too; he may be the rock, and they also, in the same sense that it is meant of him. And this appears to be true from a great many things that may be fit here to be observed.

1. First, the apostles never thought themselves to be excluded, but by their behaviour declared they took themselves to be equal to him. Which Alphonsus Tostatus[a] (no longer

[y] [P. 46. ed. 4to, Antv. 1600.]
[z] Luke v. 10.
[a] In Matt. xviii. qu. vii. [part v. fol. 3 a.] and in Matt. xx. qu. 83. [fol. 195 a.]

ago than in the fifteenth century) asserts most earnestly, and with great concern alleges many undeniable arguments to prove they did not understand any supremacy to have been given to Peter by these words. For after this, saith he, they contended for superiority, *disputing who should be the greatest*[b]. And again, the two sons of Zebedee (who always seemed to be equal with him in our Saviour's favour) have their desire of preference promoted by their mother[c]. Nay, this dispute was renewed at his last supper, (as he understands Luke xxii. 24, 25,) concerning which his words are remarkable. "Every apostle," saith he, "doubted which of them should be the greater, and that doubt remained until the day of Christ's death: for in the last supper of Christ they began to inquire among themselves which of them should seem the greater; and yet they would not have made this dispute publicly, if they had thought Peter, by the collating of the keys, to have been preferred above them."

Thus far then they thought themselves equal, when they could not resolve which should be the greater.

2. And after our Lord's resurrection, and the coming of the Holy Ghost, when they cannot be supposed ignorant of any thing concerning his kingdom, they still took themselves as much concerned in these words as Peter. For not only St. Paul, but St. John, a man exceedingly beloved of our Saviour, and his bosom disciple, thought all the apostles to be the foundation on which the church is built. Read at your leisure Ephes. ii. 20, and Rev. xxi. 14, where you will find the wall of the New Jerusalem, that is, the Christian church, had *twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb:* not one foundation, and on that the name of Peter; but twelve foundations, bearing the name of the twelve apostles. Peter was *unum, sed non unicum fundamentum,* 'one foundation, but not the only one.' He was one of the next stones, which lay immediately upon the rock Christ, and so may be called a foundation: but so was St. John also another of those stones which immediately rely upon Christ; and so were all the rest of the apostles; none of which were built upon St. Peter, nor he on them, but all on Christ: whom St.

[b] Matt. xviii. 1; Mark ix. 33.

[c] Matt. xx. 10, &c.

Austin[d] calls *fundamentum fundamentorum*, 'the foundation of the foundations;' that is, of the very apostles and prophets, upon whom the church is said to be built, because by their ministry it was erected. In this sense Peter was a rock; and so were all the rest of the apostles as much as he: equal in power, alike entrusted with this great work of raising a church upon him the *living Stone*.

3. Whence it is that St. Paul, giving an account of the several orders and ranks of men which God hath placed in his church, makes the highest power in it to be that which belongs unto them all: for he saith, *God hath set these in the church, first apostles*, &c.[e] He doth not say, first Peter, (as he should have done, if by these words, *Thou art Peter*, &c. he was set higher than the rest,) but the apostles in general, who were all the prime ministers of Christ, of equal dignity among themselves, without any one set over them in superiority above the rest.

4. Which appears further from the promise of bestowing *the keys* upon him, (which here immediately follows, verse 19, and is acknowledged on all sides to be the highest power conferred upon him,) which is promised to all the apostles in the next chapter but one, Matt. xviii. 18, in the very same words, without any alteration, but only a change of the singular into the plural. Here it is said, *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth*, &c.; there, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth*, &c. What reason then to fancy any difference between them? Which the ancient Christians did not, but looked upon them all as having a joint share in this power: which is so evident, that a learned man[f] in the Roman communion hath shown at large, even by the confession of popes themselves, that in Peter Christ gave the keys, or rather promised them, to the whole church.

5. And the truth is, nothing was here given to him by these words of Christ, *Thou art Peter*, with respect to the apostles, but with respect to the church only; which was raised by the joint labour and pains of the whole number. To whom another being afterwards added, *he laboured more abundantly than they all*[g].

[d] In Psalm. lxxxvii. [al. lxxxvi. tom. iv. col. 920 a.]

[e] 1 Cor. xii. 28.

[f] Joh. Launoii Epist. ad Hadrianum Vallantium, p. 27, &c. part. ii. [Epist. v. p. 222 sqq.]

[g] 1 Cor. xv. 10.

6. And was so far from thinking he had any superior, (though he was chosen last of all, and looked upon himself as a kind of abortive[h],) that he doubted not to say, *he was not a whit* (in nothing) *behind the very chiefest of the apostles*[i]. The words are very significant in the Greek[j], implying there were more very eminent or superexcellent apostles than one; called in other places *pillars*[k], and *chiefs*[l]. Peter no doubt was one of these, but there were others as eminent: and neither he nor they had a preeminence of power and authority among them, there being nothing wanting in St. Paul to make him equal to the most eminent apostles.

7. Particularly to St. Peter, with whom he contended, openly opposing and reprehending his error[m]; which he durst not have done, if he had known any superiority in power and authority to have been in St. Peter. Nay, here had been a fit occasion for St. Peter to have asserted his authority, (if he had known any to have been in him which was not in St. Paul,) and not have suffered himself to be thus corrected by him for his error. Of which we have not one word; "nor did he, though our Lord chose him first, and built his church upon him, challenge to himself any thing insolently or arrogantly; so as to say he had the primacy, and therefore ought rather to be obeyed by those who were novel and later persons." They are the words of St. Cyprian[n], who plainly hereby declares his sense to have been, that these words of our Lord to St. Peter gave him no such primacy as set him above correction; that is, no supremacy or dominion; and that it had been an insolent and arrogant thing, if he had assumed to himself any such primacy.

8. For the fathers, it must be next observed, never understood these words exclusively; but call all the apostles by the very same names of honour and dignity that they do Peter, and other bishops afterwards by the same names that they do the bishop of Rome. For example, I find one called "father of fathers," another "bishop of bishops;" nay, all of them called

[h] 1 Cor. xv. 8.
[i] 2 Cor. xi. 5, and xii. 11.
[j] Οἱ ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀπόστολοι.
[k] Gal. ii. 9.
[l] Οἱ δοκοῦντες. Ib. ver. 2, 6.
[m] Gal. ii. 11.
[n] Epist. lxxi. edit. Rigalt., whose notes there *a*, *f* are worth perusing. [pp. 194, 5. ed. Fell.]

vicarios Christi, the 'vicars of Christ,' whose place they here supplied. Which eminent title the popes of Rome heretofore were so far from appropriating to themselves, that, as their common title was "vicars of St. Peter," not "vicars of Christ," so this last they themselves have honoured other bishops withal, as whole councils have also done; who exhort the people to honour the governors and pastors of churches as fathers, and Christ's vicars [o]. But that perhaps which will be thought most to the purpose is this; that as St. Chrysostom [p] in his sermon upon those blessed pair, as he calls them, St. Peter and St. Paul, gives them alike titles, and says, "God trusted them with the souls of the whole world;" so, speaking of all the twelve apostles, he calls them expressly in the singular number, "the rock or foundation of the church." Thus, I showed before, St. Cyprian also discourses, when he saith from these words of our Saviour is derived all the power of bishops and governors in the church, who successively ordain pastors; that the church may be constituted upon bishops. To whom I will only add Theodoret, upon that known place in the Psalms, lxxxvii. 1 [q], *His foundation is in the holy mountains:* which, in the spiritual sense, being meant of the New Jerusalem, he thus expounds: "The *foundations* of piety are the divine instructions which Christ hath given us: the *holy mountains*, upon whom he hath laid these foundations are the apostles of our Saviour;" who are thence called themselves *foundations*, because they laid the foundation of Christianity by the divine instructions which they gave from Christ; according to that of St. Paul, which he immediately adds, *Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.*

9. And therefore, when the fathers treat of this very matter, they give other reasons why Christ named Peter only when he spake these words; not to give him any prerogative, much less monarchy, but to signify the unity he would have in his church. This St. Cyprian discourses of at large in words as express as can be desired. "Christ said to Peter, *Upon this*

[o] V. Joh. Launoii par. 3. Epistol. ad Michaelem Marollium, p. 21, &c. [Epist. ii. part 1. p. 276.]

[p] Tom. v. p. 992 and 995. edit. Savil. [tom. viii. append. ed. Ben. inter spuria, pp. 8, 11.]

[q] [Al. Psalm. lxxxvi. 1. tom. i. p. 1216.]

rock I will build my church; and though he gave to all his apostles after his resurrection *parem potestatem*, 'equal power,' yet *ut unitatem manifestaret*, 'that he might declare the unity' he would have, he spake first to him alone, that on him he would build his church." Not making him by these words, it is plain, the imperial head of the church, but only a representative type of its unity. For he immediately adds, "The rest of the apostles were the very same that Peter was, endued with equal co-partnership both of honour and of power; but the beginning proceeds from unity, that the church of Christ may be showed to be one[r]." And a little after he considers "all the bishoprics in the world as one mass or lump, whereof every bishop in the world hath an entire part[s]." The like I might add out of pope Symmachus himself, in a letter to the bishop of Arles[t], where he acknowledges, that "as the power of the Holy Trinity is one, and undivided, so there is one bishopric amongst divers bishops." But I have not room for more authorities of this kind.

I will rather observe that there is another plainer reason of Christ's speaking thus to St. Peter, which is, that he was chosen by Christ to begin the glorious work of gathering a catholic church; and therefore he directed his speech particularly to him, as the person who should be first employed in this business, telling him, *I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;* because he was first to open the gate or door of faith to the Gentiles, and let them into the church of Christ. This appears from the memorable history of Cornelius, upon which he reflects when he tells the apostles in the council at Jerusalem, *Ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the gospel, and believe*[u]. The words are more significant in the Greek, which we translate *a good while ago*, ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων, 'from the ancient days,' or the 'first times,' God made choice of me from among the rest; which may well refer to those of our Saviour, whose times are the ἀρχὴ[x], *the beginning* of the gospel

[r] De unite ecclesiæ cathol. edit. Rigalt. p. 180. [p. 106 sqq. ed. Fell.]

[s] Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. [p. 108.]

[t] Baron. ad An. cccexcix. num. 36. [tom. viii. p. 633.]

[u] Acts xv. 7. [x] Mark i. 1.

of Jesus Christ the Son of God, which St. Peter first published among the Gentiles.

This was an honour peculiar to him, and bestowed on him, it is likely, because of the forwardness of his faith in Christ, and the vehemency of his affection to him, as well as because he was first chosen to be an apostle. And with respect to this, we readily acknowledge Christ promised something singular to him in these words, which was that he should first lay the foundation of the church among the Gentiles. Some add among the Jews also, because we read he was the first speaker upon the day of Pentecost[y]. But those words sufficiently intimate that the rest of the apostles then spake as well as he, especially if we compare them with what goes before[z], where it is said, *The multitude heard them speak, every man in his own language*, &c. Tertullian[a] adds other instances of his first exercising the power of the keys, but none of them prove more than that he had the honour to be *primus, non supremus*, 'first, not supreme;' *princeps, post quem alii deinceps*, 'the chief or beginning, whom all the rest followed in equal power and authority.' For he was chief only in order and place, not in dominion or jurisdiction.

10. No, we must after all this consider that our Lord when he spake these words did not lay the foundation of the church, but only promises he would hereafter *build his church upon this rock, and give him the keys of the kingdom of heaven:* for so the words are in the future time, *I will build,* and *I will give thee*, &c. Now, as he makes this promise to them all, I showed before in the next chapter but one; so, when he actually gives this power which he saith here he *will* give, he bestows it upon every one of them, which was after his resurrection[b]. *As my Father hath sent me, even so I send you.* Here he speaks in the present time, and gives them in this commission the power which they had not before, making them to be what they were ever after. In token of which *he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted*, &c.[c] Can any one who reads these words think that Peter was only sent and made the

[y] Acts i. 14.
[z] Verses 7, 8, 9.
[a] De Pudicitia, c. xxi. [p. 574.]
[b] John xx. 21.
[c] Ver. 22, 23.

only foundation, and the only gate to let men into the church, when he hears such an authority as this granted and sealed to them all? He hath lost then the ancient sense of the church, which Theophylact[d] represents in these words, "Though it was said to Peter only, δώσω σοι, *I will give thee*, yet it was given to all the apostles. When? Then, when he said, *Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted to them.* For, *I will give*, denotes the future time; that is, after the resurrection." Hear also how St. Austin[e] discourses upon these words of the Psalmist before mentioned; "Why are they called the foundations of the apostles and prophets? Because their authority supports our weakness. And why are they *gates?* Because by them we enter into the kingdom of heaven. For they preach to us, and when we enter by them, we enter by Christ." Is it not plain by this that they did not think St. Peter to be the only man that stands at the gate, as it were, and with his keys lets men into heaven? To say this, is as much as to say he only preached. Did not St. John preach also, and St. James? As for St. Paul, he laboured more than them all. Therefore I may truly say according to St. Austin's meaning, by John, and by James, as well as Peter, but especially by Paul, we have an entrance into the kingdom of heaven. They all had equal power, they were all equally gates, whereby men entered into the New Jerusalem; they were all equally foundations of the church of Christ. St. Peter laid the first stone as he let in the first of the Gentiles; but St. Paul let in more than he afterwards, as appears by the whole story of his preaching the gospel of Christ.

To conclude this; St. Peter himself, it is manifest, did not know of any such authority as is now claimed residing in him. For writing two catholic epistles, he gives not the least intimation of any such universal pastorship as is now pretended to be derived from him, but, quite contrary, calls himself *fellow-elder* with the pastors of the church, to whom he gives the same exhortation that Christ did to him, *Feed the flock of God*[f]; which doth not differ in sense from *Feed my sheep*, or *Feed my lambs*[g]. Nay, more than this, in the Gospel which the ancient

[d] Matt. xvi. 19. [tom. i. p. 85 D.]
[e] Enarratio in Psal. 87. [al. lxxxvi. tom. iv. col. 921 B.]
[f] 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.
[g] John xxi. 15, 16.

fathers say St. Mark wrote by St. Peter's direction, he doth not so much as mention this speech of Christ to him, but only his own confession[h]; which we may look upon as an argument that he did not think it contained any power peculiar to him, which we may be sure he would not have forgotten.

Objection I.

Against so many weighty reasons some think it sufficient to argue for his supremacy, merely from his being constantly named first, when there is occasion to speak of him. Five places are alleged for this purpose[i]. Unto which I think fit to make a short reply:

Answer.

First, that this is not such exact truth as to admit of no exception; for there are no less than four places where he is named with other apostles, and not set the first[k].

Secondly, supposing it was done designedly in those places where there is a catalogue given of the apostles, the mere placing of a name first will prove no superiority of power over those who are named after him, as might be shown from a great many instances. For any little advantage of age, service, affection, or the like, may well be a reason for such precedence.

Thirdly, the exact truth is, when they were together as a college, it was necessary some one should be first in order; but afterward, when they were scattered abroad all over the world, there was no such precedence thought of. For others, I have shown, are named before him, and sometimes took place of him, as St. James did at Jerusalem, where he presided in the council held there. Peter indeed spake and delivered his opinion first, but the decree is made by James, who saith, after he had taken notice of what Simeon had spoken, Ἐγὼ κρίνω, *I determine,* or judge, *my sentence is,* (as we translate it,) *that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write unto them, that they abstain from pollutions of idols*[l], &c. And accordingly it was drawn up in his very words, in that letter which was written in the name of them all to the Gentile Christians[m].

[h] Mark viii. 29.
[i] Matt. x. 2. Mark iii. 16. Luke vi. 14. Acts i. 13. John xx. 2.
[k] 1 Cor. iii. 22. ix. 5. Gal. ii. 9. John i. 44.
[l] Acts xv. 19, 20. [m] Ver. 28, 29.

This is no novel criticism of protestants, but acknowledged heretofore by eminent writers in the Roman communion. Alphonsus Tostatus[n], for instance, observes, that in this council Peter did not produce the definition of the church, but James alone spake definitively as the organ of the whole church, and greater than any of the assessors. And later than this, Lorinus[o] the Jesuit here notes that James seems to speak authentically and as a judge, when Peter is said simply to have spoken his mind.

How easy were it here, (if I durst take the liberty to strain several observations beyond their true intention,) to bid you mark and observe how St. James declares himself in this council the head of the church, set over all his brethren. For, first, he being bishop of Jerusalem, the mother-church of the whole world, thus begins his speech; *Men and brethren, hearken unto me* [p], as if he were the successor of Christ, of whom it was said, *Hear ye him.* Next, he calls him who had spoken before him bare *Simeon*, not Peter now [q]; as if that name signified nothing to him who sat above him. For he adds, as I have said, his Ἐγὼ κρίνω, *I judge*, or *give this sentence.* And lastly, when Peter had pleaded for an absolute and indefinite liberty from the burden of all legal rites [r], James thinks fit not to grant them an entire freedom, but to tie them still to some necessary observances [s].

But we have not *thus learned Christ*, (as St. Paul speaks,) that is, the Christian religion; though from less circumstances than these some endeavour to prove the monarchy of St. Peter.

Objection II.

Our Saviour, say they, speaks to him after such a particular manner as argues he intended to bestow on him some particular grace not common to him with others. For he calls him by the name he had before he came to him, and mentions his father's name, and the name he himself had given him, and then alludes to that name of Peter in the word *rock*, and gave him a particular blessing upon occasion of a particular act, of

[n] In Matt. xvii. [Quæst. 13. part. iv. fol. 202 a.]

[o] Comment. in Acta, c. xv. fol. 645. [p. 588. ed. fol. Col. Agr. 1609.]

[p] Acts xv. 13. [q] Ver. 14.

[r] Ver. 10. [s] Ver. 19, 28.

his confessing Christ's divinity, which God in particular revealed to him. All these show that the promise made to him after such a way, and introduced with such peculiar circumstances, was not common to others, but peculiar to himself.

ANSWER.

But after this laborious heaping up of mere circumstantial things, the consequence they would infer from hence falls to the ground. Because we are informed by him who cannot deceive us, that he did not design the great power here promised particularly to him alone, but to them all: for what he promises here to him[t], he promises to them all in the next chapter but one[u]. And besides this, as the substantial part of this discourse belongs to them all, so most of the circumstances which I have enumerated are common to others, and not peculiar to him. For others confessed his divinity, and were taught it by God, and were blessed and designed also for stones in the fabric of the church, as hath been already proved. So that there is nothing left but Simon Barjona (that is, his own name and his father's name) and the name of Peter to support this weighty foundation of St. Peter's supremacy. And they are very slender things. For the mention of Barjona, son of Jona, was necessary to distinguish this Simon from the other Simon Zelotes: and Simon was necessary to be mentioned, that this son of Jona might be distinguished from Andrew, who was his son also. And as for the name of Peter, though we should grant it to be the very same with the rock after mentioned, it is very far from proving that he alone had the thing, because he alone had the name; for they were all rocks, I have shown, in the same sense that he was a rock. And the most we can gather from it, or from the rest of these peculiar circumstances, is this; that he had the honour promised him of being the first that should lay the foundation of faith among the Gentiles. Which St. Ambrose [x], or some other old homilist that assumed

[t] Matt. xvi. 19. [u] xviii. 18.

[x] Serm. xlvii. de fide Petri Apostoli. [This sermon is rejected from among the works of S. Ambrose by the Benedictine editors, but occurs in the appendix to vol. v. of S. Augustine's works, as serm. cxcii. in cathedra S. Petri, col. 320 B: and among the sermons attributed to S. Maximus, in Bibl. Max. vet. Patr. tom. vi. p. 24 B.]

his name, makes the reason of his being called a rock: *Petra dicitur, eo quod primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta posuerit;* 'he is said to be the rock, because he first laid the foundations of faith among the nations.' Which, notwithstanding, did not give him a supremacy over them, but St. Paul was the *apostle of the gentiles* [y]; and as God wrought so mightily with him that he made great conversions among them, so being brought to Christ, he had upon him *the care of all the churches* [z]. Which if St. Peter had any where said of himself, I am sure it would have been urged as an evident proof of his universal pastorship: but we make no such inference from it for St. Paul, because we know Christ made no one head of all churches, nor gave to any of the apostles a supremacy of power and universality of jurisdiction.

V. But beyond all this there is still a higher presumption that they are guilty of, who extend the prerogative supposed to be granted here to St. Peter unto all the succeeding bishops of Rome, whom they make the heirs of his authority. In which there are a vast number of suppositions that can never be proved, as many writers of our church have shown, and therefore I will not here repeat them. It is sufficient to tell them, that they themselves are forced to grant that some speeches of our Saviour were so personally directed to S. Peter, that he himself only was concerned in them, and not his successors [a]. Now if any, there is great reason to look upon this as one of those speeches which were limited to Peter's person, and cannot be thought to be intended to anybody after him. For,

1. First, the description of his person by the personal adjuncts both of his name and of his parentage, may most properly be urged to prove that this speech is personal, limited to him alone by express terms of individual difference. And it is observable, that both here when he saith he will *build his church upon him*, and when he bids him *feed his sheep* [b], he uses the very same terms of individual difference, calling him

[y] Rom. xi. 13.

[z] 2 Cor. xi. 28.

[a] See Bellarm. Q. 2. de Pont. Rom. c. xii. Resp. ad. 5. object. Calvini. [col. 639, referring to Matt. xvi. 23, Mark viii. 33, Luke iv. 8; and Matt. xxvi. 31, Mark xiv. 30, Luke xxii. 31—34, John xiii. 38.]

[b] John xxi. 15, 16, 17.

Simon, son of Jona: so that of all the places upon which they of the church of Rome chiefly ground the claim of their bishops as his successors, there are none more personal than these two, which most evidently restrain the words to Peter alone.

2. And this appears further, from the impossibility that this honour of founding the church upon him should reach beyond his person. Because there can be no more foundations of a building than are laid at first. All that comes after is built upon that, and is, as we call it, superstructure. If St. Peter therefore were the foundation of the church, his successors cannot be intended in this name; because the church is not still to be founded, but all that come after him do themselves rely upon that foundation.

3. But the chief thing of all is, that Christ did not lay such a foundation of his church as might fail, and have need of the succession of another; which was also to fail itself, and required another continued succession of foundations. For as the author to the Hebrews proves from hence the infirmity of the Aaronical priesthood, that their high priests being mortal could not administer an eternal priesthood, which belongs to Christ alone, who remains for ever; in like manner may we certainly argue in this matter. If the foundation of the church must be constant and permanent, they cannot be the foundation of it, who dying frequently make it necessary another should be substituted in their stead: but it was absolutely necessary the foundation should be perpetual, immovable, and unalterable, always remaining the same and never changing; and therefore we may be sure they are not the rock on which the church is built, who are in a perpetual change, and cannot continue, but must give way to others. If we should allow such a foundation of the church, we must allow as many several foundations as there are popes: and so the rock on which the church is built cannot be said to be one and the same for ever.

All which shows how true it is that Peter himself was not that rock on which Christ promised to build his church; unless we understand thereby only his ministerial function, which he did not exercise solely, but had all the rest co-workers with him.

VI. But let us, in the last place, suppose once more that he

was the rock more than the rest: yet it is a strange conclusion from hence, that Christ made him the lord and sole governor of his church. For what relation hath a *rock* to power, government, and dominion? We may as soon draw water out of a pumice, as any such doctrine out of this word *rock;* which hath relation only to solidity, firmness, steadfastness, or something of that kind: as appears from the very nature of the word, and the use of it in all authors; where it never imports any thing of that which is now so much pleaded for, and made the subject of the greatest contests.

And therefore those writers who expound these words of Peter say nothing of his dominion, much less of the dominion of the popes of Rome, for which there is now so much stickling; but they give us quite another reason why he is called the rock. Because of the solidity of his devotion, saith one: because he was πεπετρωμένος, 'as hard as a rock,' or stone, in the faith, saith another: because of the τὸ στερρὸν τῆς πίστεως, 'the firmness of his faith,' saith a third: because of his faith in the true Rock, saith a fourth: because also he laid the first foundation of faith among the Gentiles: and because that this faith which he professed, viz. that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, is the first principle of our religion, the beginning of Christianity, the foundation and bottom of all that we believe. In which faith he was so steadfast, that he did not fluctuate in uncertainty, like the rest of the Jews, some of which said he was Elias, others Jeremias, others John the Baptist, but was settled in this constant persuasion that Jesus was the Son of God; which he as constantly preached unto others, and converted unto this faith.

I have not thought it necessary to quote the authors where all these things may be found: I will only name Epiphanius[c], who speaking of St. Peter, whom he calls the most principal of the apostles, he adds, "Who truly was to us a firm rock, founding the faith of the Lord, upon which the church is altogether built. First, when he confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God, and heard our Saviour say, *Upon this rock*, of an unshaken faith, *will I build my church.* And again, he was a firm rock, the foundation of the house of God, when

[c] Hæres. lix. num. 7, 8. [tom. i. p. 500.]

denying Christ he returned, and had those words said unto him, *Feed my sheep.* For Christ saying this draws us to repentance, that on him may be built again a well-grounded faith, which doth not deny life to those that truly repent."

Who doth not see that this father thought he was the rock because he laid the foundation of faith in us? And there are those who think he had the name of Peter given him to show also the difficulties and dangers he was to go through in that employment unto which he was called, of preaching the faith.

But more than such things as these is not to be drawn out of these words. No such thing as the infallibility of the bishop of Rome, which is another presumption built upon this word *rock.* For supposing Peter to be the rock, that is, saith Bellarmine, the foundation of the church, thence it follows he could not err; because then the foundation would prove ruinous, and the church, which is the building, would fall to the ground. And consequently his successors cannot err, for the same reason; because they are what he was, the foundation upon which the church relies, and if they should fail, the Christian religion might come to nothing. Which is so wretched a sort of reasoning, that it shows the greatest wits were not able to say any thing considerable in this cause. For it supposes that which hath no proof at all, that Peter was the sole foundation of the church. If he were not, then, if this reasoning be good, it proves all bishops, who are the successors of the apostles, (and frequently so called by ancient writers,) to be infallible.

But I shall say no more of this, for there are so many flaws in such discourses as derive to the successors all that was in Peter, or the rest of the apostles, that they are not easily numbered; and I have said enough, I hope, to show that all the pretensions of the present church of Rome grounded upon this place are weak and without any bottom. They fall to the ground when we come to touch them with one rational thought, and prove like a building that hath no foundation. Or, they are not like a structure built on a rock, but like a house that men build on the sand. There is nothing of solidity, nothing of strength in their arguments upon this subject; but after much pains to connect a great many things together, they

fall asunder like a rope of sand. There is no solid reason to make us think that our Lord spake here of Peter, and not of himself; or, if he spake of Peter, that he meant his person, and not that doctrine which he preached. And no reason in the earth that he spake concerning himself or his doctrine only to Peter, and not to them all: or, if we should make this large grant, that he spake only of Peter, there is not the least shadow of reason to make us think he spake of his dominion and supreme power; but only of his steadfastness in the faith, and his being the first instrument in gathering a church among the Gentiles: though he was not the prime instrument, if we thereby understand the chiefest and greatest, for that was St. Paul.

SOME USES OF WHAT HATH BEEN SAID.

I. And therefore we are a true church, though we have nothing to do with the bishop of Rome. This is no part of the definition of a church, that it is united to him as its head; but it is entire without it. The bishop of Rome makes all his claim from St. Peter; who, it is plain, had no universal jurisdiction granted or promised in these words: and therefore the pope can get nothing by them. Faith in Christ Jesus, communion with our Christian brethren, and subjection to those pastors who are over us in the Lord, are sufficient to make us a church, whether the pope will or no. Though there were no such bishop in the world, though the chair of St. Peter were overturned, and no where to be found; the church of Christ would be where it was, built upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets. There is not one of the apostles that say a word in their writings of the prerogative of St. Peter. Among all their admonitions to the churches, they never bid them be subject unto him, much less to his successors; but only to *those that rule over them*, to those that *admonish them*, and *watch for their souls;* that is, to their own pastors and governors in those places where they lived.

II. Since therefore we are undoubtedly a true church of Christ, though we have no dependence on him, and should have been so though we had never heard there was such a bishop in the world; let us be mindful of the exhortation of

the apostle St. Jude, ver. 20, 21, which contains the properest use of what hath been said.

20. *But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost,*

21. *Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.*

First, *Build up yourselves on your most holy faith.* Do not think of building upon the successor of St. Peter, as the priests of the church of Rome would persuade you; but upon that Christ, and that *most holy faith*, on which St. Peter himself was built.

There are three things which the apostles of our Lord speak concerning faith.

First, They speak of *laying the foundation of it;* which I hope is done already, so that there is no need to exhort you to it: but I may say, as the apostle doth to the Hebrews, *Let us go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God*[d].

Secondly, They speak of *continuing in the faith;* for by that we continue in the church, the body of Christ. *Thou standest by faith*[e]. *By faith ye stand*[f].

Thirdly, Of continuing *steadfast* in it. *I rejoice, beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ*[g]. *Stand fast in the faith*[h].

And here St. Jude adds an exhortation to *building up ourselves on it,* to endeavour, that is, to increase and grow strong in faith, by understanding all the grounds and reasons on which it relies, by observing all the testimonies which God hath given to his Son Jesus Christ: for this is the "very foundation of religion, (to use the words of St. Chrysostom,) the original of righteousness, the head and fountain of sanctity, the beginning of all true devotion, the light of the soul, and the gate of eternal life."

But we need not go to Rome for any of these, and particularly we may know this great thing St. Chrysostom speaks of, and be sure, without consulting them, that *the Son of God is*

[d] Heb. vi. 1. [e] Rom. xi. 20. [f] 2 Cor. i. ult.
[g] Col. ii. 5. [h] 1 Cor. xvi. 13.

come, (as it is in the last verse but one of the first Epistle of St. John,) *and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true,* (i. e. the true God, whose nature and will is declared by him,) *and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ;* that is, children of the true God, or his chosen people, in or by his Son Jesus Christ; that is, by hearty faith in him who is his only begotten, of one substance with the Father, full of grace and truth.

Of all this I say we may be sure, (and *this,* as it there follows, *is the true God and eternal life,*) though we never know whether there be such a place as Rome, and such a bishop as the pope, of whom many Christians, no doubt, in several parts of the world never heard so much as one word. And therefore let us not be so weak as to think we must needs use any of his tools and instruments for the *laying the foundation,* or for the *building up* ourselves in the Christian faith. Which relies upon the testimony of all the apostles whose words we have recorded in the holy books, and no where else, and which all the ministers of Christ have as much authority to expound as they, and can give as good reason for what they say, as appears by what hath been said upon this place, which is the principle from whence they would wring (for derive they cannot) so great a power as they challenge. To which if you submit, it is to undo all that you have done, to *lay again the foundation of faith,* or rather to overturn it, and build upon human authority instead of divine. Which is one thing that would prevail with you, if it were considered, not to give up yourselves to their directions, whose great labour it is to unsettle your faith, not to strengthen it; to make you doubtful of every thing in the Christian religion, not to build you up on the faith of Christ.

Secondly, but besides this, he would have us *pray in the Holy Ghost,* that is, ardently and with such devout affections as the Holy Ghost sometimes inspires; and for such things as the Holy Ghost teaches us to ask in the holy Gospel, which is the mind of the Spirit of God; and especially to pray thus in the Christian assemblies. For the apostle here opposes these things to the practice of those that *separated themselves,* being *sensual, having not the Spirit*[1]. Our Lord would have us

[1] Jude 19.

pray *always*, and *in our closet*, especially in the assemblies of our Christian brethren, where we must take heed of being frigid or lukewarm; of praying to gratify any of our carnal desires, especially that of revenge, (as St. James teaches us[k],) and of praying in the name of St. Peter or St. Paul, or any other saint or angel; for which the Holy Ghost hath given no direction, but, quite contrary, told us by the mouth of his holy apostles, that *to us there is but one God and one Lord*[l]; *One God, and one Mediator between God and man*[m]. So that to use any other is to fall into a schism, to spoil the unity and break the communion of the church of Christ, as they of the church of Rome have done, both by this and by changing the ancient government, discipline and faith of the Christian church, which believed nothing heretofore concerning St. Peter and his successors' supreme power over all the bishops in the world, who took themselves to be the vicars of Christ as much as the bishop of Rome. Take a review of what I have said, and you will see that it is they who have separated themselves from the rest of the Christian world by usurping this universal jurisdiction, as well as by many other things; and so broken that charity, and quenched that loving and kind spirit, which gives the greatest efficacy to our prayers, and makes them most fervent and most prevalent. Join not therefore yourselves to them, but, as the apostle adds in the third place,

Thirdly, *keep yourselves in the love of God.* Our Lord Christ tells you how[n]: *If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love*, &c., adding[o], *This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you:* which he repeats again[p], *These things I command you, that ye love one another.*

Have a sincere and hearty affection for all Christian people, and imitate not the Romanists, who are out of charity with the far greatest part of the Christian world.

This love of God and of our brethren (which are inseparable) is the fruit of faith and of prayer, without which they are nothing worth. We must not only *lift up our hands to God*, which is a description of prayer, but *lift up our hands also unto his commandments, which we have loved*[q], which is to do

[k] James iv. 1, 2, 3.
[l] 1 Cor. viii. 6. [m] 1 Tim. ii. 5.
[n] John xv. 10. [o] Ver. 12.
[p] Verse 17. [q] Psalm cxix. 48.

God's will with a sincere affection to it. Without such fruits of faith we shall not be able to stand fast in time of temptation, as men built upon a rock: no, our Lord hath told us that they who hear his word and do it not are like to a man that built his house upon the sand, which is soon overturned.

If we profess then this faith which St. Peter confessed, that *Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God,* which is the foundation of Christianity, let us be faithful and obedient unto him in all things. For what he hath bidden us do, as well as what he hath bidden us believe, comes with the very same authority, and ought to be looked upon as the words of the everliving God, by his only begotten Son, whom he hath sent to reclaim the world both from their infidelity and from their impiety.

This is part of the foundation of our religion, that we renounce all wickedness, as well as that we believe our Lord Jesus to be the eternal Son of God. So St. Paul teaches us, as we translate his words. *The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his And, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity*[r]. As much as to say, this is a settled truth in the Christian religion, that they are Christ's, they alone are known or approved by him, who so profess belief in him, as to depart from iniquity. A profession of his faith we ought to make, but not content ourselves with that alone. We must add something to it, and St. Peter tells us what[s]. *Add to your faith virtue; and to virtue knowledge; and to knowledge temperance; and to temperance patience; and to patience godliness; and to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity. For if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.* And so as St. Jude teaches you in the last place,

Fourthly, you may *look for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.* That is, have a good hope to be saved in the day of the Lord, by the great grace and mercy of God in Christ Jesus. Steadfastly expect this, and wait for it with a patient hope, whatsoever any man can say to discourage you.

[r] 2 Tim. ii. 19. [s] 2 Pet. i. 5–8.

Let it not shake you nor make you doubt of the mercy of God in this way, unto which the Holy Ghost directs us: all the power to which the pope pretends from St. Peter shall never be able to shut you out of heaven.

He may shut out himself by his unjust usurpations, and by his uncharitableness, and by his unwarrantable additions to the Christian doctrine and religion; but none of those who trust in God after this manner which I have declared shall ever be confounded. Let him thunder and lighten as much as he pleases, it shall never hurt, and therefore should not fright any of those pious souls, nor shall their hope ever make them ashamed. The sound of damnation perpetually in their ears they ought to hear as an empty noise and vain words, which should not so much as startle, much less terrify them or turn them out of the way wherein they are.

All the conceit which others may have of their own merits, and of the merits of the saints, and of the treasures of their church, and the indulgencies of the pope, shall never avail them so much as the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ towards those who look for his appearing unto eternal life, by an holy faith, and by ardent devotion, and by unfeigned love to God and to all Christian people; which cannot fail to commend us sufficiently unto him *who is able*, as it follows in St. Jude, *to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy.*

You ought not to question it, nor suffer others to raise doubts in your minds about it; but in assured hope of it, continually bless and praise the *Father of mercies* who hath called you into his church, chosen you to be his people, wrought faith, and love, and hope of eternal life in you; saying, (as he concludes his epistle,) *To the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.*

END OF VOL. VI.

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